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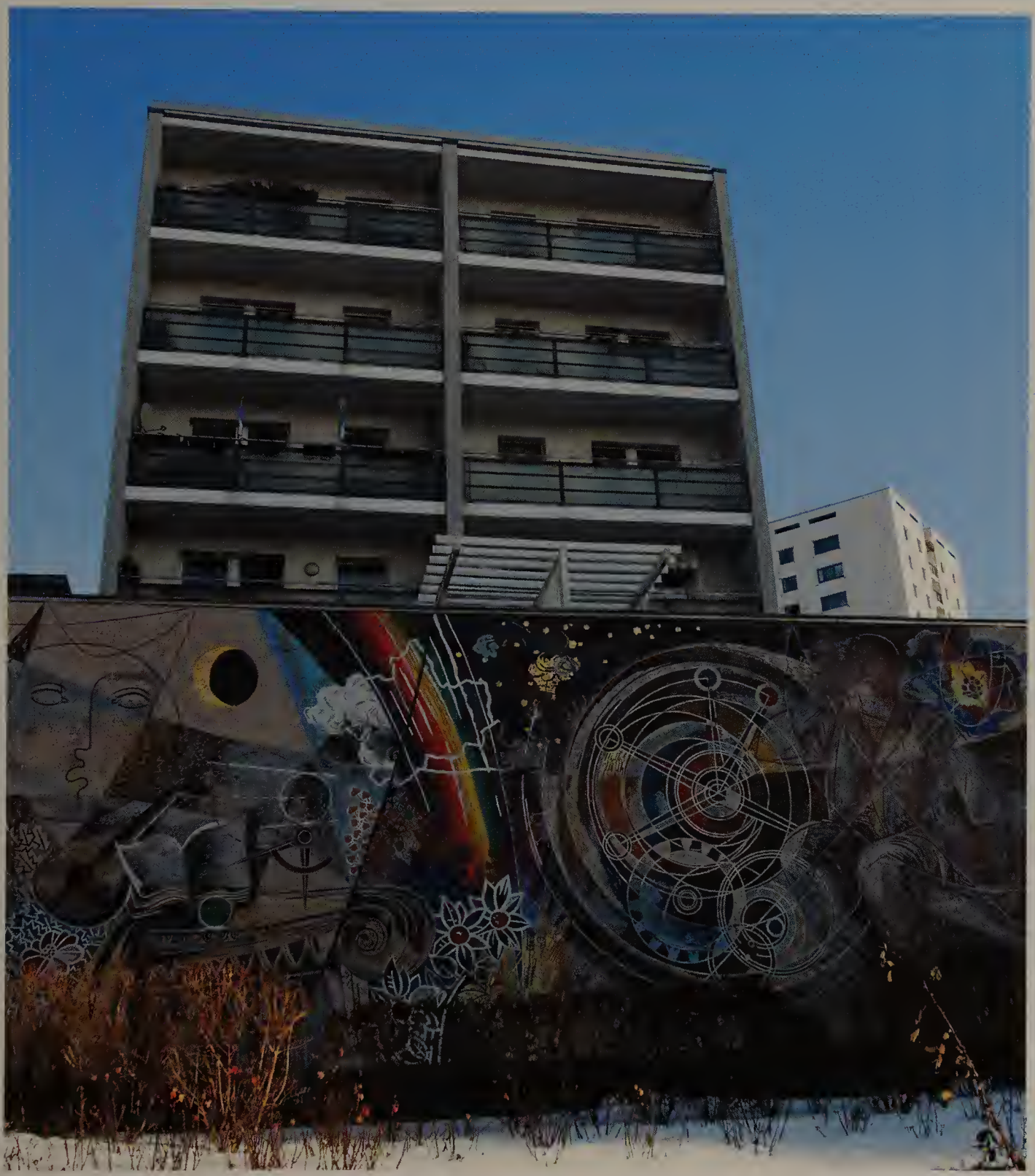
The American Historical Review



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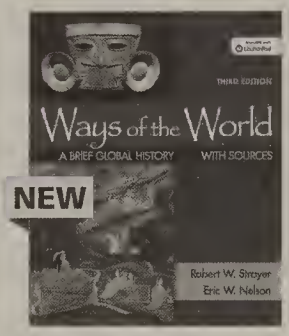

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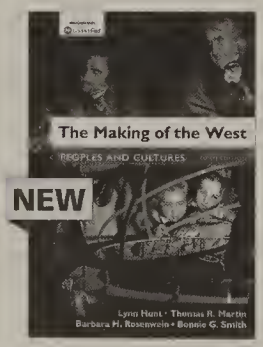

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Cover Illustration: "Work for the Happiness of Humanity." Mosaic by East German artist Walter Womacka at the Marzahn housing development in Berlin. This glass tile mosaic was completed shortly before the Berlin Wall fell in 1989. At the time of its construction, it would have been one of the brightest parts of Marzahn's landscape, in contrast to the drabness of the surrounding high-rises. After the wall fell, one of the first things that East Germans did across the former country was to paint their apartment buildings bright colors, and today many of Marzahn's buildings match the vibrant colors of the mosaic. In "Mass Housing, Late Modernism, and the Forging of Community in New York City and East Berlin, 1965–1989," Annemarie Sammartino explores the flexibility of urban modernism through a comparison of Marzahn and Co-op City, a mass housing complex in New York. Detail from 2011 photo "Walter-Womacka-Mosaiken in Berlin-Marzahn," from the validd Flickr album "Berlin," https://www.flickr.com/photos/validd/albums/888008.

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In This Issue

The April issue includes five full-length articles, ranging from the sixteenth-century Atlantic world to late socialist East Berlin. The issue also contains five featured reviews and our regular book review section. The "In Back Issues" column examines the *AHR*'s treatment of the history of fascism.

Articles

The issue opens with a methodological *tour de force* by **Lara Putnam**, "The Transnational and the Text-Searchable: Digitized Sources and the Shadows They Cast." Putnam explores the twinned transnational and digitized turns in scholarship, considering the often unrecognized consequences for historians' research practices. The accelerating digitization of both primary and secondary sources and the dramatic shift in the granularity of access to information within them has radically changed historians' approach to research, she observes, reducing the role of place-specific expertise and archival digging as a prerequisite to discovery. Indeed, using the power of keyword searches, we can now find information without even knowing where to look. Yet this shift has incited remarkably little reflection regarding the consequences for individual projects or collective trends. What are the implications for research into the supranational past? How does digital access to sources relate to the current boom in transnational topics and approaches? This essay heralds the new kinds of knowledge-generation made possible by technological transformations. At the same time, it attempts an accounting of all that we formerly gained from the frictions inherent to physical border-crossing research in an analog world. What, Putnam asks, are the intellectual and political blind spots created by the digital accessibility of sources?

Four more traditional empirical articles follow Putnam's methodological essay. In "Sugar Machines: Picturing Industrialized Slavery," **John E. Crowley** shows how throughout the Atlantic world, from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, technology trumped humanity in visual representations of sugar plantations and their enslaved workforces. European artists presented the production of sugar as technologically progressive, while minimizing its crucial reliance on slave labor. The sugar mill, with its three vertical rollers and trains of evaporative vats, represented the most intensive and expansive industry in the early modern world. Crowley argues that a major historiographic debate—whether the dependence on slave labor made the production of

sugar economically regressive—has largely ignored the abundant visual evidence on the issue. As a humanitarian abolitionist movement mobilized in late-eighteenth-century Britain, images of sugar production emphasized the abuse of slaves as individuals but overlooked the plantation's industrial setting. Meanwhile, artistic clients of anti-abolitionist patrons responded with picturesque landscapes showing slave plantations as tranquil manorial communities that happened to have intensive productive technology. Similarly, planters in mid-nineteenth-century Cuba advertised their global economic aspirations with hypertechnological images of factories requiring only minuscule inputs of enslaved labor. The visual showcasing of sugar technology, Crowley argues, suggests how easily Europeans could be distracted from concerns about the millions of enslaved people in their colonies.

The following article shifts attention from the Atlantic world to Eurasia, conjoining microhistory and global history. As Putnam's opening essay reminds us, these are often seen as opposing strategies of historical inquiry, with irreconcilable research methods, central questions, and strategies of narration. But in "Maidservants' Tales: Narrating Domestic and Global History in Eurasia, 1600–1900," **Amy Stanley** combines these approaches to recount the story of a nineteenth-century Japanese maidservant in local and global registers. This maidservant, Tsuneno, is not an obvious protagonist for a global history. She never manufactured a product for export, conversed with a foreign person, wore imported cloth, or traveled beyond the shogun's realm. Yet her experience of urban migration, service work, and marriage resembled those of other women across Eurasia in the years between 1600 and 1900, Stanley contends. Situating Tsuneno's mundane story in both local and global frames, Stanley adapts the microhistorical approach to consider how questions of agency might be answered with reference to transnational and long-term trends as well as close attention to intimate contexts. In many ways, this article suggests that the transnational approach described by Putnam can, in fact, be pursued with more traditional research strategies. Stanley also shows how attention to overlooked historical actors can challenge the periodization and spatial imagination of global history. Collectively, maidservants' tales do not show us a world divided between "Europe" and "Asia," or a sudden break that occurred with the industrial revolution, but rather a continuous "early modern" era that converged across Eurasia and lasted well into the nineteenth century.

In "The Gesture-Speech of Mankind: Old and New Entanglements in the Histories of American Indian and European Sign Languages," **Céline Carayon** returns to the Western Hemisphere, bringing together two distinct moments of encounter between Western and indigenous notions and practices of sign language in an effort to disentangle faulty interpretive assumptions and to reveal new historicized connections. Starting in the late fifteenth century, European explorers and settlers across the Americas came into contact with indigenous modes of nonverbal communication. This first encounter between the sign systems of Europe and America was less defined by misunderstandings than has previously been suggested, and can fruitfully be connected with the "rediscovery" of western Plain Indians sign languages in the late 1890s by early ethnologists. Carayon argues that these scholars' investigations have had a misleading effect on our understanding of both Indian and Western sign systems, by

initiating assumptions about their origins in speech incapacity and their resemblance to the sign language of deaf communities. Neither of these presuppositions, she asserts, structured earlier encounters, when sign languages were more accurately conceptualized in conjunction with rhetoric and eloquence. By undermining the ethnological paradigm, Carayon shows that the Western intellectual history of sign language was significantly shaped by earlier initial encounters with American indigenous nonverbal systems. By bridging temporal and disciplinary boundaries, and by integrating Atlantic, global, and *longue durée* lines of inquiry, this article helps to reframe traditional debates about the colonial "clash of cultures," orality and literacy, and cultural/linguistic misunderstandings in early America.

In the issue's final article, "Mass Housing, Late Modernism, and the Forging of Community in New York City and East Berlin, 1965–1989," **Annemarie Sammartino** offers a detailed comparison of the histories of two mass housing projects: Co-op City in New York and Marzahn in Berlin, constructed in the late 1960s and late 1970s, respectively. (A photograph of the latter appears on the issue's cover.) Her article explores both the intentions of urban planners and the experiences of the communities' residents in these two very different societies. The article revises the standard narrative of urban modernism, which regards its demise as linked to the growth of new urbanist critiques of the 1960s. Instead, Sammartino argues that both capitalist and socialist models of urban modernism proved flexible enough to respond to this challenge with developments like Co-op City and Marzahn. Both projects, she maintains, were far more thoughtful about the nature and meaning of urban community than their modernist predecessors in the immediate postwar period. Sammartino concludes that late modernist ideas about urban community could, in fact, supply an antidote to American-style consumerism and imagine new modes of collective urban social interaction and living. This approach to urban modernism, she suggests, provided a connective thread across the Iron Curtain in the middle decades of the Cold War.

Digital Primary Sources

Finally, in the back pages of this issue, we introduce a new feature to the *AHR*, which readers can find right after the "Other Books Received" section.

There are, as anyone who has even casually looked online for open-source digitized primary sources knows, an infinite number of sites available. The increasing number of these resources prompted us to develop a predictable way to find out about them. We thought the *AHR* could provide a useful tool for navigating the enormous universe of material contained in websites with digitized and "born-digital" sources of interest to historians. The new feature, "Digital Primary Sources," serves as a preliminary guide to selected online collections of primary sources. Over time, a more comprehensive online listing, built from the recommendations of our editors, staff, and readers and collected for easy search, will be hosted by the AHA at historians.org/digital-primary-sources.

Several questions—germane to many of the issues that Lara Putnam raises in her essay on digital archival research—arose immediately as we considered which sites to include. For example, how "curated" should a selected site be? That is, has an archivist and/or a historian already culled certain materials from a larger collection, and if so, by what criteria? Similarly, how complete should a collection of digitized materials be to make it useful? For example, digitized newspaper, periodical, or pamphlet collections should be relatively comprehensive if they are to be used reliably for scholarship. After all, we trust that when historians use archives onsite, they have looked at as much material as possible. Still, using curated or selective digitized materials in the undergraduate classroom might be an excellent way of teaching basic research skills, especially to students without immediate access to major research libraries.

That brings me to another important aspect of our decision about what to include—the ambition to close the "digital divide." Historians, teachers, and students with access to research libraries now have at their fingertips enormous comprehensive collections of digitized sources made available through expensive subscriptions. Digitized archives produced by Adam Matthew, Alexander Street, and ProQuest's "History Vault" are now a familiar feature in many university libraries. We do intend to review these subscription-only collections on occasion, and the AHA will include them in the online Digital Primary Sources database, where they will be marked as available only to subscribers. However, we include in our print listing only digital primary sources that are freely accessible to all who browse the web, precisely because of the prohibitive cost and thus restricted access of digital publishers' exciting new products.

The range of a collection also prompted questions of curation. Some sites, for example, consolidate dozens of *other* sites. Since these "meta" sites are relatively easy to find, and require yet another lengthy culling before a particular scholar might find what he or she is looking for, we have (for now) decided not to include them. Other sites have the opposite problem—they contain only a very small selection of documents derived from a much larger archival collection. Here, too, we have concluded that such curated sites may be of limited utility. Finally, many sites include only limited access to selected primary sources as a means to a larger end, burying such material among blog posts, interpretive essays, pedagogical exercises, mapping tools, and other material. For the most part, as useful as these can be, we chose sites that are relatively "clean"—that is, those that provide an immediate window onto a large and comprehensive collection of primary sources, as if the researcher had just sat down in an archive and requested a printed source or opened an archival box. The less mediated the primary sources, the better.

The sites chosen for this section draw on the expertise of *AHR* staff and the Board of Editors, but we have also solicited submissions from a small group of readers to test a larger crowdsourcing initiative that will drive the list of archives in the future. Since we intend to include this section in each issue, and the AHA will make the cumulative list available online, I invite all readers to submit their favorite primary-source archival collection at historians.org/digital-primary-sources.

In Back Issues

> Authoritarians obey. They rally to and follow strong leaders. And they respond aggressively to outsiders, especially when they feel threatened.[1]

Since the whiff of fascism is in the air this political season, I thought I would use this edition of "In Back Issues" to explore the *AHR*'s past treatment of this political phenomenon. The earliest use of the term "Fascism" in the pages of the journal came in 1927, in E. E. Sperry's brief review of a revised edition of a modern history text, *Europe since 1870* by Raymond Edward Turner (*AHR*, July 1927, 920–921). Deployed purely as a capitalized descriptive term, "Fascism" here (presumably in its peninsular variant) was nothing more than one among several postwar topics Turner was praised for adding to his updated work. The following year, Italian historian Kent Roberts Greenfield reviewed Gaetano Salvemini's anti-fascist polemic *The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy* (January 1928, 441–442). Written from exile in France and England, Salvemini's book, Greenfield suggested, was more a "brilliant invective" penned by a "political idealist" using "circumstantial evidence" than balanced scholarship produced by a trained historian (which Salvemini was). Greenfield concluded his ambivalent review with the hope that in a subsequent volume "Professor Salvemini will attempt to weigh the constructive activities of the Fascisti against the crimes for which this one is such a scathing arraignment."

Nearly twenty years and millions of corpses later, things looked a bit different. The first forensic effort at a scholarly evaluation of fascism—now with a lowercase "f"—appeared in the pages of the *AHR* at the close of World War II. Anticipating the Cold War's conflation of left and right (I would argue), J. Salwyn Schapiro sought the intellectual antecedents of fascism in the ideas of the nineteenth-century anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, who, Schapiro maintained, wanted to "preserve property rights and, at the same time, abolish capitalism"("Pierre Joseph Proudhon, Harbinger of Fascism," July 1945, 714–737, here 720). By reading Proudhon's infamous pronouncement "property is theft" to mean *rentier* property, Schapiro claimed that Proudhon imagined a utopia of smallholders of productive property, supported by free access to credit. Schapiro regarded what he called Proudhon's "contempt and hatred of democracy" and supposed embrace of militarism as a precursor to modern fascist movements. Although Israeli scholar Zeev Sternhell later made much the same argument, finding Proudhon's influence in some early fascist movements, I suspect that many other scholars of Prou-

[1] Matthew MacWilliams, "The One Weird Trait That Predicts Whether You're a Trump Supporter," *Politico Magazine*, January 17, 2016, http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/01/donald-trump-2016-authoritarian-213533#ixzz41m3DSemU.

dhon would disagree.[2] Indeed, only five years later, after his book *Liberalism and the Challenge of Fascism* received a very critical review in the *AHR*, Schapiro wrote a letter to the editor vociferously defending his view that Proudhon was a proto-fascist (April 1950, 786). Schapiro's punchline in his 1945 article was that Proudhon, like the fascists, was no reactionary. Instead, he argued, fascism "is something unique in modern history in that it is a *revolutionary* movement of the middle class, directed, on the one hand, against the great banks and the consolidations of big business and, on the other hand, against the socialist demands of the working class" (733).

If this was the *AHR*'s peculiar epitaph for the movement that had shaken the global order to its core, the journal's readers had a long wait before historians provided a much fuller autopsy in its pages. Schapiro saw in Proudhon the discovery of the idea that in the modern world "there was a powerful class interest, apart from capitalists and workingmen and hostile to both" (734), namely the threatened *petit bourgeoisie*. But no piece of substantive scholarship on fascism, or its alleged class basis, appeared in the journal during the 1950s.

One strain of scholarship in the *AHR* that emerged in the following decade pointed to the appeal of Italian fascism to many American intellectuals during the 1920s. In "Flirtation with Fascism: American Pragmatic Liberals and Mussolini's Italy" (January 1966, 487–506), John Patrick Diggins observed that "Mussolini's Fascist dictatorship drew more admiration from democratic America than from any other Western nation" (487), although it must be said that Diggins did not offer much comparative analysis to uphold this generalization. While admitting that Mussolini's own invocation of William James as an inspiration was "more apparent than real," Diggins argued that many lesser lights of American pragmatism "regarded Mussolini as something of a Jamesian philosopher-king" (489–490). Immediate postwar disillusion with the promise of democracy led several liberal thinkers to a "positive but cautious curiosity" about Il Duce's regime, Diggins maintained, including Lincoln Steffens and, regrettably, Charles Beard (498). *The New Republic* in particular, it seems, under the sway of Herbert Croly's "New Nationalism," proved rather soft on Italian fascism and Mussolini.

By the end of the tumultuous 1960s, however, Edward R. Tannenbaum could disapprovingly aver that "the blackshirted *squadristi* were the first and most notorious examples of one recurring form of youthful revolt against self-righteous liberal establishments" ("The Goals of Italian Fascism," April 1969, 1183–1204, here 1184). NYU's Tannenbaum, perhaps with his eyes fixed on the student protests uptown at Columbia University, thus portrayed Italian fascism as primarily a movement with origins in the postwar revolutionary *left*, which ultimately, under the guidance of Il Duce, "sacrificed ideology to state policy" (1185). Like Schapiro, he argued that the fascists' "goal was not *counter*revolution but *another* revolution" (1204).

[2] Zeev Sternhell, *Neither Right nor Left: Fascist Ideology in France* (Princeton, N.J., 1995), 56–57. In 1946, in the American leftist journal *Politics*, Italian anti-fascist Nicola Chiaromonte responded to Schapiro's *AHR* article, charging that he had quoted selectively from Proudhon's correspondence with the "inexcusably devious" aim of misrepresenting him as a "harbinger of fascism." Those were the days when a "little magazine" could devote an entire essay to an article that appeared in the *AHR*! Nicola Chiaromonte, "Pierre-Joseph Proudhon: An Uncomfortable Thinker," *Politics*, January 1946, 26–29.

Fascism was (and is) a movement of the masses, however, not just of intellectuals, ideologues, and leaders. Mobilization from below, as much as ideology from above, gave fascism the ability to sweep aside competing political forces. Yet, like those of Schapiro, Diggins, and Tannenbaum, most past treatments of fascism in the *AHR* have approached it as a species of intellectual or, at most, high political history, tracing the movement's antecedents and measuring its appeal among writers, thinkers, journalists, policymakers, and propagandists. Roland Sarti's 1970 article "Fascist Modernization in Italy: Traditional or Revolutionary?" answered his own question by proclaiming that "modernizing impulses . . . were at the very core of the Fascist experience in Italy" (April 1970, 1029–1045, here 1031). American historian John A. Garraty's 1973 comparative study of the New Deal and the Third Reich, while alluding briefly to both regimes' techniques of "mass persuasion," focused primarily on their respective "anti-depression policies" ("The New Deal, National Socialism, and the Great Depression," October 1973, 907–944, here 908). These articles do little to explain the mass appeal of nationalist and xenophobic dictatorships to a previously democratic citizenry, socially, economically, or psychologically. Increasingly, today that would seem a potentially pressing historical question for Americans, Indians, Greeks, the French, and Eastern Europeans, among others.

Yet rather than investigate in depth the social history of who supported fascism and why, other treatments in the *AHR* have largely concerned themselves with historiography and typology, seeking (or rejecting) a viable "model" of fascism. Was it part of a larger interwar "totalitarian" phenomenon? How should one differentiate Nazism from fascism and both from communism? Structurally speaking, what was the "social composition" of fascist movements? Wolfgang Sauer first broached these questions in the pages of the *AHR* in a historiographic essay, "National Socialism: Totalitarianism or Fascism?" (December 1967, 404–424). Although Sauer at least touched on the question of Hitler's "prestige with the masses"—which he attributed to "the fact that Hitler succeeded again and again in defeating and humiliating the members of the old oligarchy" (424)—his article was not meant to be an empirical account of this problem.

Twelve years later, an *AHR* Forum revisited the typological question, considering "What Fascism Is Not: Thoughts on the Deflation of a Concept" (April 1979, 367–398). In the lead essay, Gilbert Allardyce denied that there even *was* a typology to be discovered. He bemoaned the "deflation" of the concept from overuse (although I think he really meant the decreasing value of the term due more to inflation of its currency). Parsing the historiography, Allardyce complained of historians' attempts to expand fascism's conceptual reach through efforts to identify "generic fascism" (368). This was, as Stanley Payne observed approvingly in his comment on Allardyce's article, largely designed as an attack on scholars of "Marxian, or what passes for Marxian, inspiration" (April 1979, 389). "To recognize the variety of fascism," Allardyce insisted, "is to recognize the need to free it from the tyranny of concepts" (369). Fascism was *not*, he claimed, a "generic concept" applicable beyond specific self-limiting cases. Nor was it an ideology. Here Allardyce firmly rejected the views of Schapiro and Sternhell. "[I]t is improbable that the nature of fascism can be represented by means of selected quotes from intellectual works," he remarked. Allardyce advanced one final claim: "fascism is not a personality type" (385).

Not transferable; not an ideology; not a personality type. What a relief! Unfortunately, such caveats have done little to blunt the resurgence of more contemporary movements that, at the very least, might be said to have fascist characteristics.

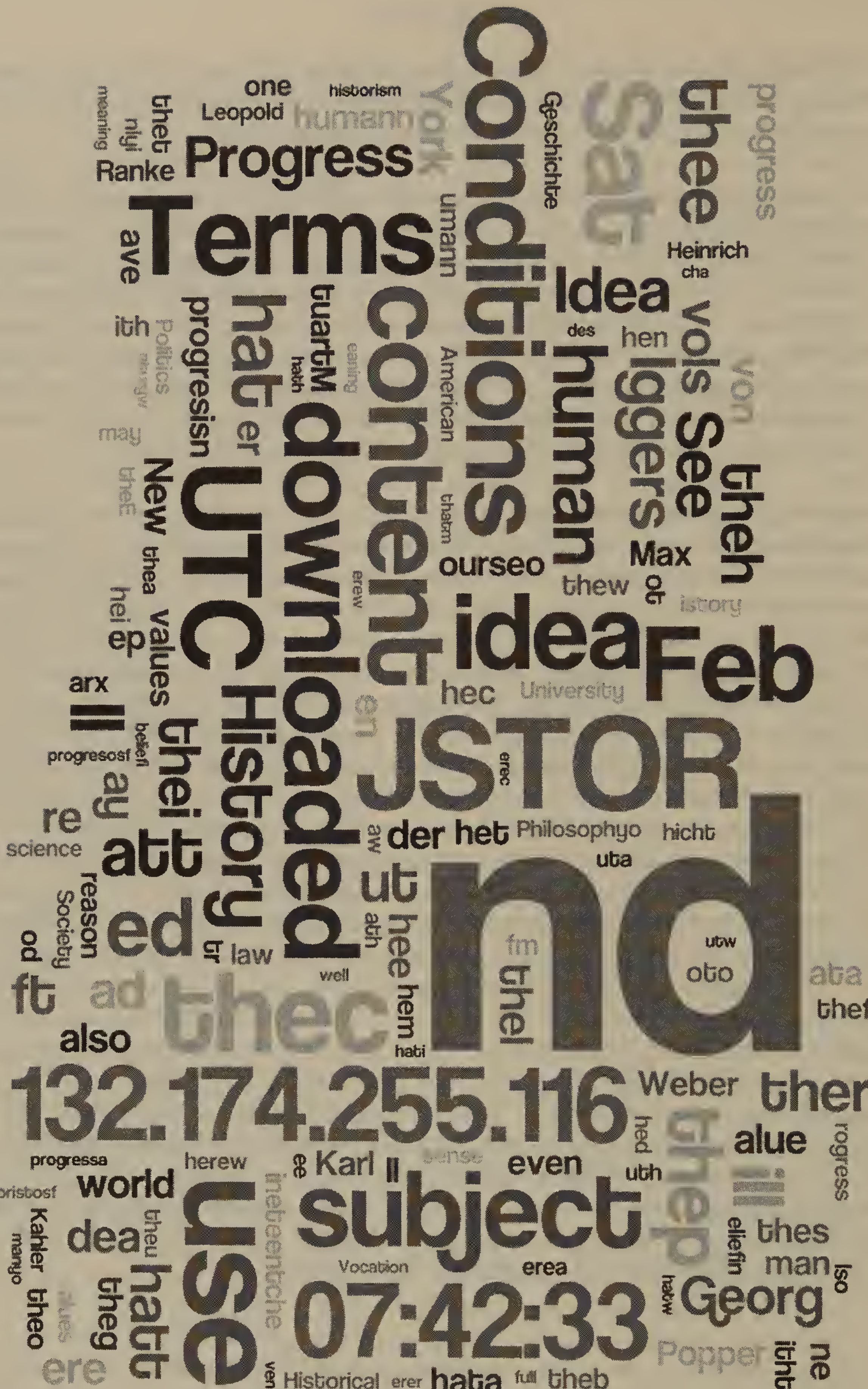
Ultimately, in searching back issues for discussions of fascism, I was struck by the reluctance of most historians to explore the psychological bases of reactionary forms of mass politics. In his review for the *AHR* of a collection of essays by the pioneering scholar of fascism George Mosse (June 2000, 882–883), Sternhell himself complained that "[t]wenty years ago, most educated Europeans refused to accept the idea that fascism was a mass movement." Mosse, he noted, "was one of the first" to recognize the movement's broad appeal. Sternhell, however, was quick to offer his own interpretation that "it was [the] rejection of the Enlightenment adapted to the conditions of the mass-society at the turn of the [twentieth] century that produced the fascist ideology."

Interestingly enough, it was Gaetona Salvemini's 1927 anti-fascist tract that first advanced a psychological diagnosis of Italian fascism, seeing it as generated by "post-war neurasthenia" among young men. To my surprise, the subsequent and more relevant post–World War II phrase "the authoritarian personality," associated with Frankfurt School thinkers Erich Fromm and Theodor Adorno, only rarely appears in the *AHR*. Peter Loewenberg had recourse to the concept in a psycho-biographical article, "The Unsuccessful Adolescence of Heinrich Himmler" (June 1971, 612–641), to explain the Reichsführer's antisemitism. Applying the idea somewhat more broadly to the United States, Michael Kazin alluded to it in an important review essay, "The Grass-Roots Right: New Histories of U.S. Conservatism in the Twentieth Century" (February 1992, 136–155). As Kazin points out, none other than Richard Hofstadter leaned heavily on Adorno's work in his diagnosis of the "pseudo-conservative" populism of the McCarthy era.[3] Perhaps most historians reject the original theory as "junk science," as claimed in a recent piece making the rounds on the Internet about the efforts of political scientists to rehabilitate the term to explain the wrecking ball that Donald Trump has recently laid to the Republican Party.[4] For all that, of course, the original concept's relative claims to scientific truth are wholly irrelevant to its potential importance as a cultural artifact of transatlantic intellectual life in the 1950s, as Kazin's brief mention suggests. As sociologist Nathan Glazer remarked (or, rather, complained) at the time, "No volume published since the war in the field of social psychology has had a greater impact on the direction of the actual empirical work being carried on in the universities today" than *The Authoritarian Personality*.[5] Hence my wonder at its invisibility in the *AHR*, during those years and subsequently. For whatever reason, few historians today, at least in the pages of the *AHR*, seem willing to apply social psychology or detailed methods of social history to an analysis of mass politics. More's the pity.

[3] Richard Hofstadter, "The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt," *The American Scholar* 24, no. 1 (1954–1955): 9–27.

[4] Amanda Taub, "The Rise of American Authoritarianism," *Vox*, March 1, 2016, http://www.vox.com/2016/3/1/11127424/trump-authoritarianism.

[5] Nathan Glazer, "The Study of Man: New Light on 'The Authoritarian Personality,'" *Commentary* 17 (March 1954): 289–297, here 290.



Poorly executed word cloud of Georg G. Iggers, "The Idea of Progress: A Critical Reassessment," *American Historical Review* 71, no. 1 (October 1965): 1–17, stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1863033, as processed via wordle.net.

The Transnational and the Text-Searchable: Digitized Sources and the Shadows They Cast

LARA PUTNAM

THE TRANSNATIONAL TURN IS accelerating simultaneously with the digital turn, and it is no coincidence. Source digitization has transformed historians' practice in ways that facilitate border-crossing research in particular. Web-based full-text search decouples data from place. In doing so, it dissolves the structural constraints that kept history bound to political-territorial units long after the intellectual liabilities of that bond were well known. Digital search has become the unacknowledged handmaiden of transnational history. It is time to take stock of what that partnership enables—and what it obscures.

Digital search offers disintermediated discovery. Algorithms fetch for us, doing away with the need for intermediaries like brick-and-mortar stores (if you are Amazon.com) or regional expertise, bibliographies, and immersive reading (if you are a historian). For the first time, historians can *find* without knowing where to look. As a result, at an unprecedented rate we are finding connections in unexpected places: powering publication on mobile ideas and international audiences; circuits, networks, and border-crossing flows. Technology has exploded the scope and speed of discovery. But our ability to read accurately the sources we find, and evaluate their significance, cannot magically accelerate apace. The more far-flung the locales linked through our discoveries, the less consistent our contextual knowledge. The place-specific learning that historical research in a pre-digital world required is no longer baked into the process. We make rookie mistakes.

Moreover, historical inquiry that is powered by patterns in the digitizable detritus of the modern world will tend to foreground certain kinds of actors and certain aspects of their lives, pulling toward "a kind of international provincialism" that fails to note key local and national dynamics.[1] We risk overemphasizing the importance of

I am grateful to Christian De Vito, Konstantin Dierks, Laura Edwards, Julie Greene, Diana Paton, Shalini Puri, Pierre-Yves Saunier, John Soluri, and Lorrin Thomas; participants in a graduate colloquium at Duke University; and three anonymous *AHR* readers for comments on earlier versions of this essay. Eileen Clancy gets a sentence all her own for the generous insights she extended to a stranger across the Internet, and keeps extending even now that she knows me. I am indebted, too, to Daud Ali, Laura Edwards, Liz Hutchison, Mathew Kuefler, and Peter Perdue for their own elaborations of the complexities of the transnational turn.

[1] Marc A. Hertzman, "The Promise and Challenge of Transnational History," *A Contra corriente: A Journal on Social History and Literature in Latin America* 7, no. 1 (2009): 305–315, quote from

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that which connects, and underestimating the weight of that which is connected: emplaced structures, internal societal dynamics. The prestige of archival research remains high, as our footnotes and letters of recommendation attest. Yet the length of stays shrinks as destinations proliferate and technology speeds capture. We treat archival citations as evidence that the experiential education that fieldwork once provided has been gained, but this is a questionable presumption. As digitization expands, and demand for the multi-sited research that seems apt for a "global age" remains high, we risk creating an increasingly partial aggregate portrait of the wide world's past.

You may think none of this concerns you. The phrase "digital turn" evokes specialized techniques like text mining and distant reading.[2] Tools for counting, graphing, and mapping we recognize as "digital methods." But the mass of historians' research is about finding, and finding out. That so many of us are now finding and finding out via digital search has significant consequences, regardless of whether we count, graph, or map anything at all. Only a tiny fraction of historians are tackling Big Data with tools that quantify or visualize. Vastly more of us use Google, Google Books, JSTOR, newspaper databases, Ancestry.com, and the like as we seek qualitative information on topics, people, places, or eras.[3] And the pedestrian reality is that

312. See the cautions in Anna Tsing, "The Global Situation," *Cultural Anthropology* 15, no. 3 (2000): 327–360.

[2] See Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (New York, 2005); Andrew Stauffer, "Introduction: Searching Engines, Reading Machines," *Victorian Studies* forum "Evidence and Interpretation in the Digital Age," *Victorian Studies* 54, no. 1 (2011): 63–68, and the essays in that dossier; and for applications by historians, Joanna Guldi, "The History of Walking and the Digital Turn: Stride and Lounge in London, 1808–1851," *Journal of Modern History* 84, no. 1 (2012): 116–144; James Grossman, "'Big Data': An Opportunity for Historians?," *Perspectives on History*, March 2012, https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/march-2012/big-data-an-opportunity-for-historians; *Digging into Data Challenge*, http://www.diggingintodata.org/; E. Thomas Ewing, Samah Gad, Bernice L. Hausman, Kathleen Kerr, Bruce Pencek, and Naren Ramakrishnan, "Mining Coverage of the Flu: Big Data's Insights into an Epidemic," *Perspectives on History*, January 2014, http://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/january-2014/mining-coverage-of-the-flu-big-data%E2%80%99s-insights-into-an-epidemic. An illuminating account of initiatives and modalities taken up over the past decade and a half is Paul Turnbull, "Margins, Mainstreams and the Mission of Digital Humanities," in Paul Longley Arthur and Katherine Bode, eds., *Advancing Digital Humanities: Research, Methods, Theories* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, 2014), 258–273; and on the limited impact of many, see Andrew Prescott, "Consumers, Creators or Commentators? Problems of Audience and Mission in the Digital Humanities," *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education* 11, no. 1–2 (2012): 61–75.

[3] See Roger C. Schonfeld and Jennifer Rutner, "Supporting the Changing Research Practices of Historians," Ithaka S+R, December 10, 2012, http://www.sr.ithaka.org/research-publications/supporting-changing-research-practices-historians; Robert B. Townsend, "How Is New Media Reshaping the Work of Historians?," *Perspectives on History*, November 2010, http://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/november-2010/how-is-new-media-reshaping-the-work-of-historians. Commenting on the results of Townsend's survey, Rwany Sibaja concluded, "Tools that have the potential to change how we 'do' history—text mining, social media, GIS/mapping, and data visualizations—received few responses in AHA's survey"; Sibaja, "Teaching and Learning History in the Digital Age," National History Education Clearinghouse, March 11, 2011, http://teachinghistory.org/nhec-blog/24526. His conviction that the "digital cameras, scanners, search engines, word processors, and online archive searches" that are now pervasive cannot have a radical impact on "how we 'do' history" seems commonplace among mainstream historians. It is media historians, historians of rhetoric, and those identifying as digital humanists who have taken the lead in insisting otherwise. See Janine Solberg, "Googling the Archive: Digital Tools and the Practice of History," *Advances in the History of Rhetoric* 15, no. 1 (2012): 53–76; Bob Nicholson, "The Digital Turn: Exploring the Methodological Possibilities of Digital Newspaper Archives," *Media History* 19, no. 1 (2013): 59–73; Ted Underwood, "Theorizing Research Practices We Forgot to Theorize Twenty Years Ago," *Representations* 127, no. 1 (2014): 64–72; and multiple

in terms of discipline-wide transformation, shifting the outer bound of the possible matters less than shifting the center of the easy.

Precisely because web-enabled digital search simply accelerates the kinds of information-gathering that historians were already doing, its integration into our practice has felt smooth rather than revolutionary. But increasing reach and speed by multiple orders of magnitude is transformative. It makes new realms of connection visible, new kinds of questions answerable. At the same time, the new topography of information has systematic blind spots. It opens shortcuts that enable ignorance as well as knowledge. Digital search offers release from place-based research practices that have been central to our discipline's epistemology and ethics alike.

Theorizing this mass "digitized turn," as distinct from the more specialized digital one, is urgent. Scholars self-identified with digital history have well underway debate over the methodological, epistemological, and ethical dimensions of technological innovations.[4] In contrast, the digitized turn is one that all historians, however traditional, are enacting, and about which the great majority of us have had nothing to say. Assessing the aggregate consequences of the coinciding digitized and transnational turns requires treating as remarkable that which has become, almost overnight, quotidian. The information landscape within which historians labor has been remade by two overlapping and accelerating developments. First, beginning in the late 1990s, the time cost of accessing secondary texts located by title or topic dropped precipitously, as JSTOR and publishers' initiatives made large swaths of scholarship accessible via web-based metadata search.[5] Second, beginning in the mid-2000s, web-based discovery of primary and secondary sources by granular content rather than metadata exploded, as optical character recognition (OCR) software made full-text searchability the norm, and Google Books and newspaper and other digitization projects boomed.

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interventions from Tim Hitchcock, including "Digital Searching and the Reformulation of Historical Knowledge," in Mark Greengrass and Lorna Hughes, eds., *The Virtual Representation of the Past* (Burlington, Vt., 2008), 81–90; "Academic History Writing and Its Disconnects," *Journal of Digital Humanities* 1, no. 1 (2011), http://journalofdigitalhumanities.org/1-1/academic-history-writing-and-its-disconnects-by-tim-hitchcock/; and "Confronting the Digital: or How Academic History Writing Lost the Plot," *Cultural and Social History* 10, no. 1 (2013): 9–23, and the response by Ludmilla Jordanova, "Historical Vision in a Digital Age," *Cultural and Social History* 11, no. 3 (2014): 343–348. Toni Weller's recent collection seeks precisely to foreground not particular digital tools but the broader questions raised by, in her phrase, *History in the Digital Age* (Abingdon, 2013).

[4] Important examples (in addition to those cited above and below) include Roy Rosenzweig, "Scarcity or Abundance? Preserving the Past in a Digital Era," *American Historical Review* 108, no. 3 (June 2003): 735–762; Daniel J. Cohen, Michael Frisch, Patrick Gallagher, Steven Mintz, Kirsten Sword, Amy Murrell Taylor, William G. Thomas III, and William J. Turkel, "Interchange: The Promise of Digital History," *Journal of American History* 95, no. 2 (2008): 452–491; Jim Mussell, "Doing and Making: History as Digital Practice," in Weller, *History in the Digital Age*, 79–94; Scott Weingart, "The Moral Role of DH in a Data-Driven World," September 14, 2014, *The Scottbot Irregular: I Am* (blog), http://www.scottbot.net/HIAL/?p=40944; Cameron Blevins, "The Perpetual Sunrise of Methodology" (paper prepared for AHA Session 158, "Authoring Digital Scholarship for History: Challenges and Opportunities," 129th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, New York City, January 4, 2015), http://www.cameronblevins.org/posts/perpetual-sunrise-methodology/; Tim Sherratt, "Unremembering the Forgotten" (keynote address from DH2015, the Alliance of Digital Humanities Organizations conference, Sydney, Australia, July 3, 2015), *Discontents* (blog), http://discontents.com.au/unremembering-the-forgotten.

[5] Accessible to whom and at what cost are key questions, of course. See Robert Darnton, "The National Digital Public Library Is Launched!," *New York Review of Books*, April 25, 2013, http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2013/apr/25/national-digital-public-library-launched/, and further discussion below.

Those linked shifts in the possibilities of discovery are a sea change at the core of our collective practice. If we have hardly remarked it, it is because the same changes have permeated daily life in the wi-fied world in the same years. How can typing words into a search box—which feels as revolutionary as oatmeal—be a sea change? Yet those of us trained in an analog age can look back at how information used to work, and measure the transformation.

To the rich debates underway among those scholars already attentive to the "conceptual impact of the digital age," I seek to add the simple point that the affordances of digitized search are particularly salient for the international past.[6] The disintermediation characteristic of digital information flow shrugs away the nation- and empire-specific archives, indices, and historiographies that have been central gatekeepers within historians' practice. To the likewise rich debates theorizing history's transnational turn, I seek to offer something equally simple: the suggestion that we could not be doing what we are, at the pace that we are, with the range that we are, if it were not for the search box before us.

For historians, borders are not what they used to be. Instant access to topic-specific secondary sources has made glancing outside the boundaries of place-based expertise effortless rather than extraordinary. To underline that this is a method, a procedure worth thinking about as such, I will call it side-glancing. Meanwhile, as primary as well as secondary sources are uploaded from an increasingly broad swath of the globe, full-text searchability has made seeking individuals, place names, phrases, titles, and organizations across hundreds of thousands of publications a viable way to trace international movement. Together, side-glancing and borderless term-searching radically change the questions we are likely to ask and the stories we are able to tell.[7]

The impact of digitization on the knowability of past processes of whatever scale and locale is significant. But the impact on the knowability of supranational or transnational processes is overwhelming. To see why, we need to consider the topography of physical information that long shaped scholars' choices. Once we grasp how radically that topography has changed, we can assess the costs as well as the benefits. We can scope the blind spots of the brave new world of sources at our fingertips, and we can ask what transnational history loses when the real-world friction that international research once demanded is radically reduced.

The real-world geography of textual sources used to define our work. Information in physical form (whether manuscript documents, government publications, scholarly articles, or books) tends to cluster in administrative centers near where it was produced. And, with important exceptions—shaped predictably by imperial rule—information tends to be produced in the places that information is about. Thus, in a

[6] See Toni Weller, "Introduction," in Weller, *History in the Digital Age*, 1–20, here 2.

[7] As I address below, this is currently most true for the nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Anglophone worlds, but the time horizons of the "infinite archive" are rapidly expanding. and its global reach is likewise. See William J. Turkel, "Methodology for the Infinite Archive," April 5, 2006, *Digital History Hacks* (blog), http://digitalhistoryhacks.blogspot.com/2006/04/methodology-for-infinite-archive.html; Tim Hitchcock, "Lives in the Infinite Archive," January 1, 2009, *Historyonics* (blog), http://historyonics.blogspot.com/2009/01/lives-in-infinite-archive.html.

world before digitization and web access, historians' geography of information potential—"Where should I look to find out?"—spread outward in steps something like this: (1) my institution's library; (2) the biggest university library I can reach; (3) archives and libraries in the relevant imperial center (Rome/London/Washington, D.C.); (4) archives and libraries near where it happened.

Thus, accessing in depth information about things that happened elsewhere carried extremely high fixed costs—airplane tickets and house-hunting, say—even if language acquisition was not an issue. Fishing expeditions that defied that predictable geography of information-clustering were prohibitively expensive. We looked for information in books we knew would have it, or in newspapers we knew would have it, or in archives we knew would have it.

Source-anchoring reinforced the nation-state bias that was built into our discipline from the start. The founders of nineteenth-century national states built archives in part to facilitate the immortalization of what in Latin America is called *historia patria*, affirmative history of the nation. We hewed to the geography those founders had traced, or subsections of it (provinces, municipalities), whether we wanted to or not. What was the alternative? Even the quickest lateral glance across national bounds would require a trip to the library, a hunt through a card catalogue for publications about the newly targeted locale, perusal of footnotes to see what archives there might hold, a separate search for a mailing address for the archive, and a letter of inquiry as to which series, for which years, in what quantity might be available. Did I mention the postage stamp? And all of that constituted just the fishing expedition necessary to discover whether a fishing expedition might be desirable.

Just as governance is structured in nested geographic units, so too is the information generated by governing. Local, provincial, and regional archives housed documents, and scholarship was generated at each of these scales. But national and imperial states poured extra resources into capstone institutions—academies, archives, libraries, multi-volume histories—that covered their territories as a whole. This created economies of scale for nation- or empire-specific information: economies of scale that functioned as a distorting subsidy, making it much cheaper to trace processes within a polity's borders than to determine whether they ended at the polity's edge. Once you knew a lot about, say, modern Mexico, finding out one more thing about modern Mexico was easy. You owned some of the right books, you knew where others were, you knew which guides indexed scholarly publications for that topic—you might even already have a trip to Mexico City planned. Under these structural circumstances, it made perfect sense for those who studied the past to invest heavily in national and regional expertise. The marginal value of extraregional knowledge was slim. An extra day's reading on nineteenth-century Guadalajara could point toward a new filing cabinet in the Archivo General and a significant intellectual payoff. A single day's reading about Prussia got a Mexicanist no closer to Berlin.

Thus, we trained graduate students in national or at most regional historiographies; we looked in card catalogues under MEXICO—SOCIAL LIFE AND CUSTOMS for publications we might have missed. Investigating the history of places smaller than the nation was both possible and common. But when we were seeking to contextualize or compare those local or provincial findings, it was the national

frame that seemed most apt—most vital for debate, most open to collective advances in knowledge—because it really was.

Investigating the history of labor migration to and through Caribbean Costa Rica for my dissertation in the late 1990s, I read anthropological literature on present-day "transnational migrants," and noted the similarity to the turn-of-the-century lives my sources captured. But "my sources" meant the sources I could track down in person, which meant judicial cases from the Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica, newspapers held at the Biblioteca Nacional de Costa Rica, and the few travelers' accounts with descriptions of Limón Province that I managed to stumble across in other people's footnotes or on the shelves of my university's library.

It's like the joke about the drunken partygoer looking for his keys under a lamppost: "Didn't you lose them on the other side of the street?" "Yeah, but the light's better here." Economists tell the joke to encapsulate their dependence on questions for which statistical indicators can be found. But it is equally relevant to the qualitative research that the majority of historians rely on. Before the Internet, it was certainly possible to look for information beyond the lamppost of a given national archive's index files. Doing so, though, was the equivalent of arming yourself with a penlight and heading off to search for keys in the dark. The odds that you were going to stumble upon anything that would make the effort worthwhile were overwhelmingly slight.

So even though I was explicitly looking for evidence of connection *across* borders, borders circumscribed my research throughout. My best bet was to count on the anchoring of documentation to place. I pored over judicial cases from the port at the nexus of migration, since judicial testimonies occasionally mentioned where people had come from or left for. I sought out oral history transcripts from places I knew migrants had hailed from—like Jamaica—or where I knew some had stayed—like Limón, Costa Rica.[8]

This points to a broader truth. Obviously, historical research into transnational processes predates Google Books. Indeed, by the mid-2000s, commentators were already describing a "transnational turn" *accompli*, reflecting a rising wave of publications, each years in the making.[9] These had been conceived and conducted in a world of grounded information that made certain kinds, but only certain kinds, of transnational research possible. Historians of international relations had long explored links driven by diplomacy or war. Other projects followed the contours of a single institution that had assembled data from multiple sites. The British Empire at one's fingertips from the reading room at Kew is an iconic example, but important,

[8] Lara Putnam, *The Company They Kept: Migrants and the Politics of Gender in Caribbean Costa Rica, 1870–1960* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002), chap. 2.

[9] C. A. Bayly, Sven Beckert, Matthew Connelly, Isabel Hofmeyr, Wendy Kozol, and Patricia Seed, "On Transnational History," *AHR* Conversation, *American Historical Review* 111, no. 5 (December 2006): 1441–1464; Ian Tyrrell, "Reflections on the Transnational Turn in United States History: Theory and Practice," *Journal of Global History* 4, no. 3 (2009): 453–474. See the insightful historical overview offered by Pierre-Yves Saunier, "Learning by Doing: Notes about the Making of the *Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History*," *Journal of Modern European History* 6, no. 2 (2008): 159–180; and the usefully international histories of thinking across national boundaries in Saunier, *Transnational History* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, 2013), and Diego Olstein, *Thinking History Globally* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, 2015). A crucial and enduringly influential articulation of the methodological traps of reliance on nations as units of analysis is Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, "Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences," *Global Networks* 2, no. 4 (2002): 301–334.

too, were non-state institutions such as the Rockefeller Foundation, into whose archives historians were invited in the 1990s, producing a wealth of studies that illuminated the cross-border interactions that shaped the making of international public health.[10]

In another longstanding model for transnational research in an analog world, a single scholar might build expertise on a small number of sites whose density of connection remained visible, making in-depth knowledge acquisition a reasonable bet. Thus, in order to understand migrants' lives in turn-of-the-century Limón, it made sense to put time into learning about both Jamaica and Costa Rica. But Harlem or Grenada? New Orleans or Notting Hill? The barriers to adding research into tertiary locales were logistical rather than conceptual. That did not make them less real, but rather all the more so.

Densely knit transnational systems, in sum, could be studied pre-internets, and were. But peripheral vision was prohibitively expensive. Border-crossing movement of people, ideas, or goods that was low-intensity, diffuse, and extra-institutional tended toward invisibility, however recurrent or enduring. Those things were in motion far from the lamppost, and the penlight's beam was tiny.

Web-based digital search repriced this information landscape. Calls for transnational studies sounded in multiple disciplines by the start of the 1990s.[11] But transnational approaches among historians did not become commonplace until technology radically reduced the cost of discovering information about people, places, and processes outside the borders of one's prior knowledge. While the increasing availability of digitized primary sources is one piece of this transformation, near-instantaneous access to secondary sources has been critical, too. Be it Wikipedia or JSTOR or Google Books or HathiTrust or Amazon's "Look Inside" feature, digitized secondary and tertiary sources allow quick eyeballing of the bigger picture or of doings next door: a sideways glance that can uncover connections or commonalities worth exploring. Where were those exports going, anyway? What was going on there? Why was that place sending missionaries (or migrants, or movies) over here to begin with?

The impact of such side-glancing—formerly rare, as each glance would have demanded hours or days of effort with no likely return; now quotidian, requiring

[10] E.g., John Farley, *To Cast Out Disease: A History of the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation, 1913–1951* (New York, 2003); Steven Palmer, *Launching Global Health: The Caribbean Odyssey of the Rockefeller Foundation* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2010).

[11] E.g., Ian Tyrrell, "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History," *American Historical Review* 96, no. 4 (October 1991): 1031–1055; Sally Engle Merry, "Anthropology, Law, and Transnational Processes," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21 (1992): 357–379; Paul Giles, "Reconstructing American Studies: Transnational Paradoxes, Comparative Perspectives," *Journal of American Studies* 28, no. 3 (1994): 335–358; Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc, "From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration," *Anthropological Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (1995): 48–63. On parallel and intersecting discussions within European, especially German, academia, see Kiran Klaus Patel, "'Transnations' among 'Transnations'? The Debate on Transnational History in the United States and Germany," *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 54, no. 3 (2009): 451–472; Patricia Clavin, "Time, Manner, Place: Writing Modern European History in Global, Transnational and International Contexts," *European History Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (2010): 624–640.

nanoseconds to search and minutes to read—has been profound. It routinizes peripheral vision that opens us to the possibility of cross-border dynamics of manifold scales and kinds. It allows us to wonder about international connections far more varied than the institutions, investments, and invasions we already knew of. Just seeing matters, a lot. Eschewing formal modeling (for reasons good and bad), historians confidently believe that we know causation when we see it. We do not build in systematic checks against omitted variable bias. Instead we read primary sources with care, noting how things are related from the author's viewpoint or our own, and then build stories in which those things cause each other. Just *seeing* new things can transform historians' arguments more immediately than in a discipline whose evidentiary paradigm imposed a little more ballast.

Transnational history, proponents explain, is about seeing connections across borders and taking seriously both the connections and the borders. "It does not have a unique methodology," Patricia Clavin suggests, "but is motivated by the desire to highlight the importance of connections and transfers across boundaries at the sub- or suprastate level, the composition of categories, and the character and exploitation of boundaries."[12] Bernhard Struck, Kate Ferris, and Jacques Revel likewise describe transnational history as a congeries of approaches that "share the conviction that historical and social processes cannot be apprehended and understood exclusively within customary, delineated spaces or containers, might they be states, nations, empire or regions. Consequently, all of these tools or perspectives stress the importance of the interaction and circulation of ideas, peoples, institutions or technologies across state or national boundaries and thus the entanglement and mutual influence of states, societies or cultures."[13]

Note that it is not just that which circulates that one needs to see in order to describe transnational connection, but also that which is getting connected: regions, societies, economies, cultures. Side glances that reveal where goods/people/ideas were coming from or going to, and what was going on there at the time, generate hypotheses of entanglement that we could not generate without the glancing. When glancing becomes faster by many orders of magnitude, and national boundaries no longer constrict our range of vision, the number of transnational hypotheses shaping our collective mission is necessarily going to rise.[14]

[12] Clavin, "Time, Manner, Place," 625.

[13] Bernhard Struck, Kate Ferris, and Jacques Revel, "Introduction: Space and Scale in Transnational History," *Size Matters: Scales and Spaces in Transnational and Comparative History*, Special Issue, *International History Review* 33, no. 4 (2011): 573–584, quote from 573–574. Similarly, Pierre-Yves Saunier's definition focuses on the researcher's openness to finding explanations across boundaries: "Going transnational is not moving to a different field of study, shifting allegiances and references. Rather, it is something that many historians can do to find a way to respond [to] questions that lay unanswered on their working desks since a while. Maybe, after all[,] one does not decide to do 'transnational history,' but it is rather the research one is developing that calls for the development of a transnational angle. To explain briefly what it means, I would accept the simple definition that the transnational angle cares for movements and forces that cut across national boundaries. It means goods, it means people, it means ideas, words, capital, might, and institutions. It may be useful to have a more sophisticated definition later, but that will do for now." Saunier, "Going Transnational? News from Down Under," *H-Soz-Kult*, January 13, 2006, http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/forum/id=877&type=diskussionen.

[14] Timothy Burke offers a brilliant breakdown of the rapid-cycle informed judgments and return-on-investment estimates that go into what I call here side-glancing. Burke, "How I Talk about Searching, Discovery and Research in Courses," *Easily Distracted* (blog), May 9, 2011, http://blogs.swarthmore.edu/burke/blog/2011/05/09/how-i-talk-about-searching-discovery-and-research-in-courses/. In contrast, what

The effects become even greater as full-text searchability becomes the new norm. Granularity matters, a lot.[15] When discovery of primary and secondary sources relied on someone's indexing, people and places in secondary roles could be tracked only if you knew beforehand where to look. Bit players who never got star billing were invisible, no matter how many plays they were in. That threshold meant that not just specific examples, but whole categories of connection were unrecoverable via analog sleuthing. Here again, that which the speed, range, and granularity of digital search make possible resonates precisely with what transnational history announces as its particular contribution.

Although in some summations transnational history is grouped with global and world history as privileging the study of the big, those who have theorized it most carefully instead argue that what distinguishes it is its attention to multiple scales of observation and geographic scopes: scales and scopes determined empirically, in accordance with the dimensions of the historical processes under study, rather than *a priori* by political boundaries.[16] Pierre-Yves Saunier suggests that "the transnational" should be understood not as "another scale located near the top of the nested scales, but rather a foray that cut through levels and partly shattered their conception as distinct social entities."[17]

The distinction between geographic scope and scale of observation is crucial here, for as certain scholars have underlined, very large processes—large in geographic extension or impact—can be driven by dynamics that function at a small scale of interaction, which are visible only when we reduce our observation to that level.[18]

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that process required even just five years before, in the midst of the information transition, is captured in John W. East, "Information Literacy for the Humanities Researcher: A Syllabus Based on Information Habits Research," *Journal of Academic Librarianship* 31, no. 2 (2005): 134–142; Andy Barrett, "The Information-Seeking Habits of Graduate Student Researchers in the Humanities," *Journal of Academic Librarianship* 31, no. 4 (2005): 324–331.

[15] For a discussion penned in the infancy of Google Books, see Gregory Crane, "What Do You Do with a Million Books?," *D-Lib Magazine* 12, no. 3 (2006), http://www.dlib.org/dlib/march06/crane/03crane.html; and more recently Solberg, "Googling the Archive"; Underwood, "Theorizing Research Practices We Forgot to Theorize Twenty Years Ago." Solberg underlines the fallacy of imagining "the speed associated with those time-saving tools" as "function[ing] along a single vector, such that the speeding up could occur without meaningfully altering the aim or outcome of the research project, or by extension reshaping the larger scholarly, disciplinary enterprise of which that project is a part"; "Googling the Archive," 68.

[16] On the distinction between scale and scope, see Christian G. De Vito, "Micro Spatial-History of Labour" (vision paper for panels on "Translocal- and Micro-Histories of Global Labour," European Social Science History Conference, Vienna, Austria, April 23–26, 2014).

[17] Saunier, "Learning by Doing," 19–20, further developed in Saunier, *Transnational History*. Struck, Ferris, and Revel argue similarly in "Introduction: Space and Scale in Transnational History," 573–584. The intellectual utility of multi-scalar analysis is likewise highlighted by Sebouh David Aslanian, Joyce E. Chaplin, Ann McGrath, and Kristin Mann, "How Size Matters: The Question of Scale in History," *AHR* Conversation, *American Historical Review* 118, no. 5 (2013): 1431–1472, although these authors do not tie this intellectual move to the term "transnational" in particular.

[18] See Rebecca J. Scott, "Small-Scale Dynamics of Large-Scale Processes," *American Historical Review* 105, no. 2 (2000): 472–479; Lara Putnam, "To Study the Fragments/Whole: Microhistory and the Atlantic World," *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 3 (2006): 615–630; Filippo de Vivo, "Prospect or Refuge? Microhistory, History on the Large Scale," *Cultural and Social History* 7, no. 3 (2010): 387–397. I am grateful to Laura Edwards for illuminating discussions of the local-scale dynamics of national governance and international trade. Note that this understanding of the function of microhistorical investigation runs counter to the typology offered by David Armitage and Jo Guldi, whose usage of "microhistory" and "*longue durée*" frequently conflates scale of observation, topic of inquiry, and temporal scope. Armitage and Guldi, *The History Manifesto* (Cambridge, 2014), http://historymanifesto.cam

Finding ways to operationalize this insight has been a hallmark of recent work in Indian Ocean history, so much so that some suggest it can be understood as an "Indian Ocean World method" ripe for export.[19]

The relevance of mass digitization to these analytic aims should be obvious. Text-searchable sources make it possible to trace individual people (or songs, or pamphlets, or phrases), allowing us to observe at the micro level the processes that generate, in the aggregate, macro-level flows and connections. As repositories digitize and upload ever more quotidian sources, the possibilities of using online term-searching for what historians used to call nominal record linkage expand and expand. Ancestry.com offers a single portal to a wide range of government documents, including census sheets, port records, and draft cards, alongside an expanding array of non-governmental texts: obituaries, city directories, and more. Demand from amateur genealogists is driving Ancestry to digitize ever more countries' nominal records—900 million new records from 27 new countries in 2014 alone—with the potential for fruitful poaching by historians expanding apace.[20]

Let me give one example of how digitization makes possible the use of micro-level data to reconstruct the diffuse dynamics shaping cultural exchange. The *Limón Searchlight* was a weekly newspaper published by British West Indians in Costa Rica in the late 1920s. I consulted it on microfilm in the Biblioteca Nacional in San José in 2008, seeking information about music, dance, and youth culture in Limón. One 1931 editorial, calling for racial pride among local youth, compared the homegrown Central American Black Stars Combination Company to "Benbow's Follies."[21]

Three years later, when I was turning my notes into a chapter about the racial politics of music and dance in the circum-Caribbean, it occurred to me to wonder who exactly these "Benbow's Follies" were. Google Books allowed me—in the space of three minutes at my desk, rather than a day at the library—to find out enough about African American showman William Benbow to know that I wanted to know more. The brief mentions I found showed me his New Orleans origins and his ties, via the black-owned "chitlin circuit" of vaudeville theaters, to key figures in 1920s jazz. Figuring out what the "chitlin circuit" was and where it fit into the entertainment ecology of Jim Crow–era black America required more side glances, into scholarship outside my discipline as well as my region. But how had they heard of Benbow in Limón? I turned to the (digitized) *Kingston Daily Gleaner* and *Pittsburgh Courier* and discovered scores of articles and ads documenting decades of circum-Caribbean

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bridge.org/read/. For an important earlier call for historians to engage with urgent public questions, on the scale appropriate to each question, see Barbara Weinstein, "History without a Cause? Grand Narratives, World History, and the Postcolonial Dilemma," *International Review of Social History* 50, no. 1 (2005): 71–93.

[19] See Antoinette Burton, Madhavi Kale, Isabel Hofmeyr, Clare Anderson, Christopher J. Lee, and Nile Green, "Sea Tracks and Trails: Indian Ocean Worlds as Method," *History Compass* 11, no. 7 (2013): 497–502, and the essays that follow, in particular Clare Anderson, "Subaltern Lives: History, Identity and Memory in the Indian Ocean World," 503–507.

[20] See mentions in Clare Anderson, "Subaltern Lives," and Lisa A. Lindsay, "The Appeal of Transnational History," *Perspectives on History*, December 2012, https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/december-2012/the-future-of-the-discipline/the-appeal-of-transnational-history.

[21] "Another Function by the Star Combination Company," *Limón Searchlight*, January 10, 1931, 1.

tours by Benbow's troupes, something that none of the U.S. music histories had mentioned.

Reconstructing the story of Benbow's travels from this suddenly copious mass took much longer. (One thing you can count on with showmen seeking sales is that they know how to make the papers.) But since I knew from the first term-fishing expedition that there was much material to work with, I could make a rational guess that it was worth investing my time, and it was.

The serendipitous discovery of Benbow's Caribbean tours could not in itself sustain strong claims about impacts or trends, but it could reinforce patterns that other sources revealed. Most importantly, it offered a window onto the micro-level dynamics of how dance and music from afar came to be part of debates over racial belonging in disparate locales. Together with similar findings, it pushed me to argue that circulation and exchange between different sub-spaces of the African diaspora in the early twentieth century forged new notions of black commonality and, indeed, helped create the very idea of an "African diaspora."[22]

The particular intersection of my research trajectory with the chronology of technological shifts makes me hyper-aware of the shifts' impact. I first read the *Limón Searchlight* at the Biblioteca Nacional in the late 1990s, when Larry Page and Sergey Brin were first meeting at Stanford. I went back to that library to reread and transcribe in the mid-2000s. And I revisited my transcriptions in 2011, reading them on a laptop with instant access to the now-text-searchable *Courier* and *Gleaner*. The *Limón Searchlight* was the same source in the same analog format it had always been, but I was reading it differently because web-based full-text search had transformed which questions about items within it were efficiently answerable, and therefore worth asking.

This underlines the synergy between term-searching and side-glancing. Web access to digitized and text-searchable primary sources can make possible microhistorical reconstruction to answer questions answerable only at the micro scale. But key historical questions are rarely *generated* from the micro alone. They come from observing trends across space over decades or more: shifts in musical taste or rhetorics of race, labor systems or economic growth. Our discipline's core irony—and methodological fuel—is that large-scale patterns are often invisible in precisely those local sources that can reveal the micro-level dynamics that drove them. Online access to digitized secondary and primary sources lets us move fluidly between scoping large patterns to generate questions and using microhistorical reconstruction to answer them—all with no *de facto* presumption that causes and results sat within the same territorial boundaries.[23]

[22] Lara Putnam, *Radical Moves: Caribbean Migrants and the Politics of Race in the Jazz Age* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2012), Conclusion.

[23] Building on Katy Börner's conceptualization of the "macroscope" in Börner, "Plug-and-Play Macroscopes," *Communications of the ACM* 54, no. 3 (2011): 60–69, Tim Hitchcock argues that the ability to shift smoothly between different scales is digital history's greatest potential. Hitchcock, "Big Data, Small Data and Meaning," November 9, 2014, http://historyonics.blogspot.com/2014/11/big-data-small-data-and-meaning_9.html; see likewise Shawn Graham, Ian Milligan, and Scott Weingart, companion website for *Exploring Big Historical Data: The Historian's Macroscope* (London, 2016), http://www.themacroscope.org/2.0/; and, earlier, Seth Denbo and Neil Fraistat, "Diggable Data, Scalable Reading and New Humanities Scholarship," in *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Culture and Computing* (Los Alamitos, Calif., 2011), 169–170. See also Hitchcock, "Digital Searching and the Reformulation of

How widespread are the digitized research practices described above? If a text-mining historian offers N-grams as evidence, it's as plain as the graph in front of your face. But to what extent have the books and articles you have recently read relied on digital side-glancing or term-searching? I have given examples from my own work because in regard to others, I simply don't know. Such practices fall into the realm of invisible method, the black box where by consensus we leave so much of our discipline's heavy lifting. The extensive discussion of digitization underway in information science journals stands in sharp contrast to the silence on this theme in mainstream historians' publications.[24] Are librarians and database vendors wrong about their target clients? Am I the only historian hitting search?

Surely not. In 2010, a survey sponsored by the American Historical Association found three-fourths of historians to be "power users" or "active users" of new technology; of them, nearly 100 percent reported using library-supported databases (JSTOR and kin), more than 95 percent used online search engines in their research, and more than 90 percent used primary sources accessed online.[25] In a jaw-dropping study of the impact on Canadian historical research of the digitization of two newspaper runs—the *Toronto Star* and the *Globe and Mail*—Ian Milligan found that citations of these two newspapers in history dissertations increased *tenfold* in the wake of digitization, while citations of their undigitized contemporaries remained steady or fell. Meanwhile, in articles in the *Canadian Historical Review*, "the *Globe and Mail* went from being rarely cited between 1997 and 2002 to being by far the most cited newspaper between 2005 and 2011."[26] This profound aggregate shift came with essentially zero acknowledgment from authors that anything other than physical papers had been consulted via any means other than a page-by-page survey. (As Milligan wryly notes, "given the high use of online databases, perhaps one needs to be explicit about consulting the analogue version instead.")[27]

In a 2013 essay that should be on syllabi everywhere, Tim Hitchcock demands both collective interrogation and individual acknowledgment of this shift. "The vast majority of both journal articles and early modern and nineteenth-century printed sources are now accessed online and cherry-picked for relevant content via keyword searching. Yet references to these materials are still made to a hard copy on a library shelf, implying a process of immersive reading."[28] If we refuse to discuss whether

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Historical Knowledge"; Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker, "Making History Online," Royal Historical Society/Gresham College 2014 Colin Matthew Memorial Lecture, http://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/making-history-online.

[24] But see Hitchcock, "Confronting the Digital"; Michael O'Malley, "Evidence and Scarcity," *The Aporetic* (blog), October 2, 2010, http://theaporetic.com/?p=176; and Sean Takats, "Evidence and Abundance," *The Quintessence of Ham* (blog), October 18, 2010, http://quintessenceofham.org/2010/10/18/evidence-and-abundance/. Fred Gibbs and Trevor Owens call for historians to "foreground methodological transparency" regarding digitized sources' new role in the hermeneutic process; Gibbs and Owens, "The Hermeneutics of Data and Historical Writing," in Kristen Nawrotzki and Jack Dougherty, eds., *Writing History in the Digital Age* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2013), http://quod.lib.umich.edu/d/dh/12230987.0001.001.

[25] Townsend, "How Is New Media Reshaping the Work of Historians?"; similarly, Alexandra Chassanoff, "Historians and the Use of Primary Source Materials in the Digital Age," *American Archivist* 76, no. 2 (2013): 458–480.

[26] Ian Milligan, "Illusionary Order: Online Databases, Optical Character Recognition, and Canadian History, 1997–2010," *Canadian Historical Review* 94, no. 4 (2013): 540–569, quote from 542.

[27] Ibid., 566.

[28] Hitchcock, "Confronting the Digital," 12.

best practice has changed and yet decline to acknowledge when we do otherwise, we are deceiving ourselves and each other.

A 2013 report by Ithaka S+R, based on in-depth interviews with three dozen historians, captured a remarkably consistent digitally pervaded methodological eclecticism—remarkable because each individual reported rarely discussing practices of discovery with advisors, advisees, or colleagues. "Everything in my field is out of copyright and digitized. It's all there. I feel like I'm cheating half the time."[29] The report's authors classify all this under "research practice," which they differentiate from "digital research methods." As should be clear by now, I disagree.

THE WORLD LIES WITHIN REACH as never before. The radically reduced time cost, geographic un-anchoring, and heightened granularity of digital discovery have transformed the structural conditions shaping the generation of historical knowledge. The information-market protectionism imposed by brick-and-mortar archives and libraries has collapsed—at least for scholars with the subscription price of admittance (on which more below). The web-accessible "infinite archive" dissolves the economies of scale that made polity-specific research distortingly cheap and made side knowledge a bad investment. The time-cost disparities created by those *de facto* tariffs have disappeared. This has greatly increased the likelihood that historians will formulate hypotheses about causes or impacts outside the national or regional scope of our initial expertise. And it has enabled new forms of old methods, microhistory among them, that we can use to test those hypotheses.

Yet the digitized revolution is not inherently egalitarian, open, or cost-free. To the extent that digital search has become the unacknowledged partner of the transnational turn, the transnational turn now carries more baggage and follows paths more rutted than we have yet to admit. Of course, not everyone wrote national history before the digitized turn, and not everyone is writing transnational history now. The radical repricing of the information landscape does not dictate the choices any given researcher will make. But it exerts a strong underlying pull on historians' production in the aggregate. As a result, the systematic blind spots, the disparities of access, and the particular shortcuts that digitized sources afford will add up to real trends—and real losses, unless we work actively against it.

Most obviously, the universe of digitized text is anything but representative of the temporal and geographic contours of human life in the past. The nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Anglophone world has been ground zero of digitization. In part, that reflects disproportions in the historical generation of easily digitizable sources. Production of typescript material exploded with the massification of printing and literacy. That massification happened in some places and not others, driving deep geographic disparities in digitizable source generation then and in digitized source availability now.

This pattern from the past is exacerbated by disparities in the present. Digitization projects centered initially in English, secondarily in other Western languages.

[29] Schonfeld and Rutner, "Supporting the Changing Research Practices of Historians," 19. Ithaka S+R is part of the non-profit that includes JSTOR.

This imbalance, though, is changing rapidly, from Oslo to Buenos Aires to Shanghai.[30] One can point to initiatives from the small—efforts to digitize Harvard College Library holdings in Amharic, Berber, Mandinka, Oromo, Somali, Swahili, Tigrigna, and Wolof—to the unimaginably large. Digitization of the copious Chinese print production of the last thousand-odd years is underway. More than 1.5 million documents have been digitized and linked to a centralized database already as part of the Qing History Project, with the goal of eventually encompassing the roughly 20 million files from the Qing Dynasty held in repositories in mainland China.[31] If language acquisition among researchers worldwide shifts in rational ways, this will be the most productive frontier of historical research for the next generation.

The fact that Anglophone overrepresentation in the digitized world is changing so rapidly is what leads me to assert that a sea change is underway for our discipline as a whole, rather than just for English speakers studying English speakers' pasts. As regional and language disparities lessen—as more and more of the world's textual heritage comes online—the range of histories and historians facing dilemmas other than regional and language-based disparities will grow.

A half-century ago, E. H. Carr wrote about historians and fish. "The facts are really not at all like fish on the fishmonger's slab," he warned those who claimed a simple empiricism. "They are like fish swimming about in a vast and sometimes inaccessible ocean; and what the historian catches will depend, partly on chance, but mainly on what part of the ocean he chooses to fish in and what tackle he chooses to use—these two factors being, of course, determined by the kind of fish he wants to catch. By and large, the historian will get the kind of facts he wants. History means interpretation."[32] A text-searchable world offers Carr's descendants space-defying superworms. Toss your line in, and if the fact is out there anywhere, it will be on your hook in a nanosecond. Yet history still means interpretation. We are still choosing our bait and our tackle. And when we fish in digitized text, we are fishing in a very particular sea.

Gazing at the past through the lens of the digitizable makes certain phenomena prominent and others less so, renders certain people vividly visible and others vanishingly less so. First, pages of the periodical press make up a major portion of the raw material now accessible to digital search. This means that topics foregrounded in newspaper debate are disproportionately visible, and the readers, intellectuals, and activists who debated there are enticingly within reach. As noted above, historians tend to attribute causality to what we see, without formal modeling to act as a brake on our tendency to do so. If suddenly it is much easier for us to see circulating prints, globetrotting activists, and globe-circling debates, we are likely to start attributing

[30] See the breathtaking panorama captured by papers presented at the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions' Newspapers Section meetings from 2003 to 2005, collected in Hartmut Walravens, ed., *International Newspaper Librarianship for the 21st Century* (Munich, 2006).

[31] As of this writing, access to the database is restricted, and it is not yet text-searchable. Liping Mao and Zhao Ma, "'Writing History in the Digital Age': The New Qing History Project and the Digitization of Qing Archives," *History Compass* 10, no. 5 (2012): 367–374.

[32] E. H. Carr, *What Is History?*, 2nd ed. (London, 1987), 23.

causal impact to those prints, those activists, and those debates. We are going to have to remember not to mistake the window for the why.[33]

Meanwhile, we are going to have to work actively so those systematically less present in printed sources do not fall out of view. Size up the absence. Who wasn't publishing papers or pamphlets, or wasn't reading them, or was far from the people who did? Rural people, illiterate people, people who stayed put: all stand in the shadows that digitized sources cast. "Without serious intent and political will," warns Tim Hitchcock, without "a determination to digitise the more difficult forms of the non-canonical, the non-Western, the non-elite and the quotidian—the materials that capture the lives and thoughts of the least powerful in society—we will have inadvertently turned a major area of scholarship [into] a fossilised irrelevance."[34]

In some ways this problem is not new. Social historians in the 1970s and 1980s spent long hours compiling data by hand: aggregating state-generated sources to track demographic shifts, labor patterns, and market trends and show us the masses *en masse*, at least. I wish I could believe that a dissertation proposal to spend multiple years reconstructing basic sociodemographic patterns in a single locale would still be funded, because such basic research remains urgently lacking for much of the world, and the utter idiosyncrasy of manuscript forms in which relevant data is preserved means that no digital magic wand is in the offing.

To be sure, in the 1990s postcolonial scholars developed techniques for reading "against the grain" of official documents of the kinds now digitally plenteous—discerning popular logic and moral economies through the lens of outsiders' complaints or condemnation. But the systematic underrepresentation of whole strata of people in our now-massive digitized source base is not likely to be countered by such techniques, in part because their absence is accompanied by a fantastic new presence. Possibilities beckon. Intellectual histories can be written about tranches of society (from suffragist women to non-metropolitan jazz hounds) whose ideas were once only painstakingly accessible and impossible to follow across national boundaries. The bit players can finally seize center stage, and it turns out that they have so much to say! The optic of the digitizable world captures history made not from the top down but from the bottom of the top and the top of the bottom.[35]

Social history and Marxian debate wrested our profession away from the conviction that great men made history. The twinned digitized and transnational turns push new models, as a result of source availability and scholars' excitement more than systematic evaluation. Did middling and mobile men and women make history, albeit never as they pleased? What about people who didn't cross borders? What about land access and labor process? One notes with some trepidation the burgeoning genre of "transnational lives"—not because the stories told are not valuable and

[33] Having published a book in which traveling activists and the periodical press play a sizable role, I am especially alive to this tension. I find my evidence persuasive—yet recognize the systematic bias of the evidentiary base I rely on. See Putnam, *Radical Moves*, chap. 4.

[34] Tim Hitchcock, "A Five Minute Rant for the Consortium of European Research Libraries," October 29, 2012, http://historyonics.blogspot.com/2012/10/a-five-minute-rant-for-consortium-of.html. See also discussion of what a small portion of past documentation is in fact available online in Robert Darnton, "The Good Way to Do History," review of *The Allure of the Archive* by Arlette Farge, trans. Thomas Scott-Railton, *New York Review of Books*, January 9, 2014, 52–55.

[35] George M. Fredrickson writes of history made "from the top of the bottom" in *Black Liberation: A Comparative History of Black Ideologies in the United States and South Africa* (New York, 1995), 7.

true, but because an aggregate account of the past in which these stories crowd out others will be as distorted in its own way as *historia patria* before us. Again, distinguishing the window from the why will be crucial.[36]

Disintermediated search is vast and fast. It also risks undercutting our discipline's core strengths. I noted above that for historians before the digital age, peripheral vision was prohibitively expensive. But ironically, the same source-based constraints that made geographic peripheral vision expensive made topical peripheral vision artificially cheap. Working with tax data or police correspondence in a national archive forced you to read through a lot of evidence of political struggle and state formation even when what you really wanted to get at was grain prices or prostitution—and vice versa. Analog exploration of written sources—the longtime bread and butter of our craft—built in multidimensional awareness. As a result (again, because if we see it, we think it matters), our disciplinary practice favored multi-causal explanation. There is a structural reason, in other words, for the caricature that social scientists throw around: that historians are the scholars who answer any yes-or-no question with "It's more complicated than that."

Digital search makes possible radically more decontextualized research.[37] Discovery via algorithm offers instant reward. In doing so, it deprives you of experiential awareness of just how rare mentions of your term were, of how other issues crowded your topic out in debates of the day. It erases the kind of *sitzfleisch*-based test of statistical significance on which our discipline has implicitly relied. As Ted Underwood notes, "In a database containing millions of sentences, full-text search can turn up twenty examples of anything."[38] Paging through a newspaper in print, in contrast, makes the competing concerns of that place and time inescapable, from popular culture to crises of labor, theology, or high politics. Digitized sources do not preclude contextual browsing—quite the contrary.[39] But they make it possible to bypass it, and life is short, and time-to-degree ticking past.

[36] See, for instance—with no wish to impugn these particular authors—the essays in "Transnational Lives in the Twentieth Century," *AHR* Forum, *American Historical Review* 118, no. 1 (February 2013): 45–139. A crucial elaboration of the methodological issues such projects sometimes duck is Francesca Trivellato, "Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?," *California Italian Studies* 2, no. 1 (2011), http://escholarship.org/uc/item/0z94n9hq. The epistemological limitations parallel those affecting the "telling example" as discussed in Putnam, "To Study the Fragments/Whole."

[37] As Underwood notes, not only can "full-text search . . . confirm almost any thesis you bring to it," it "also tends to filter out all the alternative theses you didn't bring"; "Theorizing Research Practices We Forgot to Theorize Twenty Years Ago," 66. Similarly, Milligan, "Illusionary Order," 560; and Hitchcock's discussion of the "deracination of knowledge" that keyword searching brings: "Confronting the Digital," 14–15. On the separate problems arising from the alternating drought and overabundance generated by full-text searches, see Charles Upchurch, "Full-Text Databases and Historical Research: Cautionary Results from a Ten-Year Study," *Journal of Social History* 46, no. 1 (2012): 89–105. Mussell, "Doing and Making," Hitchcock, "Confronting the Digital," and others emphasize as well the problem of "lossy" OCR. Still, historians have never enjoyed complete access to source sets as originally created. Problems of preservation uncorrelated with content (whether bookworms or OCR failure rates) are limiting, of course, but they are not systematically distorting.

[38] Underwood, "Theorizing Research Practices We Forgot to Theorize Twenty Years Ago," 66.

[39] The serious play of browsing is illuminated by Stephen Ramsay, "The Hermeneutics of Screwing Around; or What You Do with a Million Books," in Kevin Kee, ed., *Pastplay: Teaching and Learning History with Technology* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2014), http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/dh.12544152.0001.001.

We need a full accounting of the hidden benefits of the unsheddable contextualization that makes work with analog sources so inefficient. For me, the dynamic is most vivid in transcribed oral historical sources, such as the "Autobiografías campesinas" project that generated hundreds of submissions of life histories in Costa Rica in the late 1970s, now archived at the Universidad Nacional in Heredia, or the oral history project led by Erna Brodber at the University of the West Indies in the same era, which generated hundreds of transcripts preserved at the Sir Arthur Lewis Library of UWI, Mona.[40] Such sources capture, in a varying and not always knowable mix, the priorities of those who organized the project and the priorities of those who recounted their lives. Either has the possibility to be a useful corrective to the researcher's own convictions.

Analog reading of such sources forces you through an awful lot of information about topics that people other than you found important. Is that a bug or a feature? Certainly it demands a greater investment of time than current doctoral expectations make feasible—especially if there is a perceived need to cover more than one country to produce a dissertation with a chance of landing you a job. But being forced to pay attention to other people's priorities has been a crucial moral motor for our discipline. To take just one example, scholars working with life stories are commonly confronted with subjects' insistence on talking about domestic violence even when the questions posed do not include it. Intrafamilial violence is routinely undercounted in official statistics, in part due to hard choices made by those subjected to it. But that violence is routinely foregrounded by some of these same subjects when, absent threat of outside intervention, they are asked about what shaped their lives.

"I had to beat her so she would leave me."[41] "When de baby born, de baby was dark, and it should be brown . . . well that was the breaking up of dat. She go away and go to Panama."[42] "I turned 17 on a Saturday and the mistress gave me the beating of the century . . . I begged the Virgin from my heart to protect me and that I would leave before dawn."[43] "I always thought of my children. How he treated me I wouldn't treat even an animal, but there I was, bearing his insults and jealousy, but one day I couldn't bear any more anguish, and I decided that when he returned from his drinking spree, already 15 days, I would no longer be there."[44]

The records of human social life now captured in the digitized world tell us so much about so much that we might forget to remember the systematic absences within them. If our accounts of the movement of people, ideas, and things echo the

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Meanwhile, microfilm reels defy browsing in either the analog or the digital sense: battling motion sickness, you tend to read only what you know in advance that you have to.

[40] "Autobiografías campesinas" (mimeograph, 1977), Biblioteca Central, Universidad Nacional Autónoma, Heredia, Costa Rica [hereafter AC]; "Life in Jamaica in the Early Twentieth Century: A Presentation of 90 Oral Accounts" (Institute of Social and Economic Research Documentation Centre, University of the West Indies at Mona, Kingston, Jamaica, 1980). See discussion in Erna Brodber, "Oral Sources and the Creation of a Social History in the Caribbean," *Jamaica Journal* 16, no. 4 (November 1983): 2–11, accessed via Digital Library of the Caribbean, http://dloc.com/UF00090030/00041/3; Brodber, *The Second Generation of Freemen in Jamaica, 1907–1944* (Gainesville, Fla., 2004).

[41] "Autobiografía de M.G.L.," AC, vol. 26, pt. 1, 163. Here and below, my translation.

[42] "Life in Jamaica in the Early Twentieth Century," Vol. Portland, 31PFa, "A Father's Daughter," April 1975.

[43] "Autobiografía de O.C.C.," AC, vol. 23, 322.

[44] "Autobiografía de A.C.C. de G.," ibid., 84.

patterned silences of the sources most available to us, certain drivers of those flows and certain constraints on mobility and voice will be absent—not because no one thought them important, but because no one said so in print.

A final aspect of decontextualization is the flip side of the fact that an apprenticeship in place-specific historiography is no longer a prerequisite to accessing primary sources. Now you glance, you fish, you feast. But how much do you really know about the sources you find: about where they're coming from, literally, politically, culturally? Students often begin courses in history confident that primary sources are "better" than secondary because they are "firsthand" and thus "more true." At which point the instructor explains: It's more complicated than that. The multiple stages of analog search used to be where we built the contextual knowledge needed to turn the partiality of primary sources into insight rather than misinformation.

In this context, it is worth noting that until recently, works of transnational history tended to be written toward the ends of long careers, reflecting the painstaking accumulation of expertise as well as evidence amassed over decades.[45] The current boom in transnational dissertations is thus a particularly radical shift. That such projects seem feasible reflects our implicit accounting for technologies that reduce the time cost of information-gathering. But can deep familiarity with multiple place-specific historiographies be gained as quickly as the profession now seems to demand of its young? And if not, is sending ABDs off to collect a globe-trotting plethora of primary sources that they can at best read with a tin ear really the best use of their energies?

The textual remnants of the world's past are increasingly available from the comfort of your own home—if your home is wired and you have access to the right databases. It is ever more possible, for some people in some places, to do history largely as a desk discipline. What will be the collective result? The geographic emplacement of physical information bears the imprint of past structures of power. But unhinging data from place does not erase global disparities. On the contrary, it may break down barriers that worked against disparities in important ways.

There are real reasons one might want to tie data to place. The marble-lined national archives built by nation-states-in-the-making sought to facilitate *historia patria*, and did. Oral historical initiatives in multiple sites in the 1970s reflected a related project: the desire to capture the experiences of those whom *historia patria* had pushed to the margins. In these and many other cases, such material sits on the shelves of university collections. Of course, the tomes could be digitized and uploaded. Increasingly, they will be. But—even setting aside the questions of who pays and who guarantees subsequent access—their conservators have every right to be wary. Why make it possible for scholars from afar to access even more of the raw materials of scholarly knowledge with even less obligation to do some processing locally, with the externalities that local processing implies?[46]

[45] For instance, Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York, 1985).

[46] See discussion in Allen F. Isaacman, Premesh Lalu, and Thomas I. Nygren, "Digitization, History, and the Making of a Postcolonial Archive of Southern African Liberation Struggles: The Aluka Project,"

Some of those externalities benefit in-country institutions. It helps to be able to point to physical visitors when defending an archival budget. But many others benefit sojourning researchers and the histories they write, whether they realize it or not. To assess those benefits and their aggregate consequences, it is necessary to recognize the outsized weight in our discipline of scholars based in the Global North, who enjoy a disproportionate share of research support and have a disproportionate impact on publication and debate.[47] They have no monopoly, however, on historical knowledge.

Things happen in archives and libraries and on the way to them. This experiential friction, the very thing that made international historical research in an analog world inefficient, tends to teach border-crossing researchers things they need to know, whether they know it or not.[48] When foreign researchers slog away in archives day after day next to in-country intellectuals, they can be forced to confront the value of locally produced expertise. Such intellectuals may have no publishing profile in the venues that graduate students at northern institutions routinely survey. But many have extraordinary erudition, only partly captured, given resource constraints, in locally printed booklets, theses, and low-circulation journals. Lucky visitors will find themselves schooled by in-country experts and should count themselves lucky whether that "schooling" comes in the form of generous instruction or an intellectual whupping. Being forced to acknowledge one's ignorance early and often is the gift offered by academic exchange, whether across borders or within them.

Digitization and uploading make it increasingly possible to do history as a desk discipline, at least for scholars who are linked to well-funded institutions in the Global North. The last clause is crucial. It would be great if the unanchoring of historical texts from sites of preservation brought a compensatory shift, in which researchers based in Panama or Paraguay would now find themselves technologically empowered to write transnational histories from the South responding to questions deemed urgent in their particular contexts, perhaps topics such as "How much profit did that U.S. company actually extract from investments here?" or "Which politicians from here went north to drum up support for that invasion?" Technology, of course, is not the problem. Digitized document or newspaper collections belong to someone and don't come cheap. Scholars in resource-poor institutions in the Global North confront this same barrier, and work around it as best they can. Some efforts have

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African Electronic Publishing, Special Issue, *Africa Today* 52, no. 2 (2005): 55–77; and Premesh Lalu, "The Virtual Stampede for Africa: Digitisation, Postcoloniality and Archives of the Liberation Struggles in Southern Africa," *Innovation: Journal of Appropriate Librarianship and Information Work in Southern Africa* 34 (2007): 28–44.

[47] See discussion of "the geopolitics of history at world scale," especially the gravitational pull of U.S.-based resources, in Saunier, "Going Transnational?" A similar question is raised, and then sidestepped, by Matthew Pratt Guterl, "Comment: The Futures of Transnational History," *American Historical Review* 118, no. 1 (February 2013): 130–139, here 138–139. On disparities within northern academe, in particular the dominant position of English as the *lingua franca* for global/transnational histories, see Bartolomé Yun-Casalilla, "'Localism,' Global History and Transnational History: A Reflection from the Historian of Early Modern Europe," *Historisk Tidskrift* 127, no. 4 (2007): 659–678, especially 675.

[48] Here my conclusions differ from the insightful discussion by Sean Takats, who sees less substantive intellectual loss in the compression of field time than I do (or maybe is graciously trying not to whine about spending less time in Paris than he used to): "The End of (French) History," April 8, 2011, http://quintessenceofham.org/2011/04/08/the-end-of-french-history/; and "Time Shifting and Historical Research," April 20, 2011, http://quintessenceofham.org/2011/04/20/time-shifting-and-historical-research.

been made to address issues of international access.[49] But at least for the moment, global disparities in access to sources for international or transnational history are profound.

Digital photography (and to a certain extent, photocopying before it), by making it possible to gather large amounts of data quickly without processing it on-site—"processing" being a technical term meaning, in qualitative research, *reading and thinking about it*—tends in this same direction. When historians research far from home but don't stay around long enough to be inconvenienced, insulted, or instructed, the quality of their analysis suffers. Again, the forced contextualization that made traditional historical research inefficient looks, on reflection, like a significant contributor to knowledge production in our discipline. One need not be a self-deluding Luddite ("It's just not the same as back when I had to travel five days by mule train to get to the archive . . .") to argue that something is at risk when the broader world becomes simultaneously more present in North-based scholars' narratives and less present in their working lives.[50]

Literary critic Shalini Puri articulates the value of fieldwork in the humanities, underlining the multifaceted impact of presence. Fieldwork not only "invites us to achieve a textured and embodied knowledge of place," but offers the irreplaceable contribution of "render[ing] the researcher vulnerable to history. When a researcher reads in a library, nobody is reading her back. When one reads in the field, one is constantly being scripted, being made the object of a countergaze, and is thereby forced to confront not only one's geographical but also one's historical location."[51] Classic fieldwork has not been the custom of document-based historians. But for those seeking international knowledge, international *presence*, until now, has been. So even as Puri calls for the humanities to recognize the moral and intellectual value of fieldwork, technological shifts suggest that the practice of history, especially global, international, and transnational history, may trend in the opposite direction. Substantial data collection—the collection of enough data to generate publishable findings—is increasingly possible without venturing into "the field" even in the limited sense of visiting a capital city for its archive.[52]

Those cities have stories to tell. They are palimpsests that bear marks of colonial rule, postcolonial dreams, intraregional migration, aggressive free trade treaties, and more.[53] And they don't only have stories to tell in some metaphorical sense. They are

[49] The British Library's Endangered Archives Programme, http://eap.bl.uk/, carefully builds attention to such issues into digitization projects where local resources cannot fund urgent preservation. The Digital Library of the Caribbean, http://www.dloc.com/, is another effort to harness the potential of digitization in a project led by in-country scholars and promotes international exchange within the Greater Caribbean first and foremost.

[50] I owe Paul Eiss for the mule train.

[51] Shalini Puri, "Finding the Field: Notes on Caribbean Cultural Criticism, Area Studies, and the Forms of Engagement," *Small Axe* 17, no. 2 (2013): 58–73, quotes from 69 and 70. See also Shalini Puri and Debra Castillo, "Theorizing Fieldwork in the Humanities" (vision paper for a colloquium at the University of Pittsburgh, March 28–29, 2014).

[52] For an important discussion of the real-world factors, including family needs, that can keep researchers at home, see Barbara Weinstein, "Historians and the Mobility Question," *AHA Perspectives*, February 2007, http://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/february-2007/historians-and-the-mobility-question.

[53] I compiled the list thinking of cities in the former colonies, but of course each item holds true, albeit in different ways, for former metropoles as well.

full of people who insist on talking, asking questions and offering answers of their own. The historian more often finds herself forced to listen to other people's concerns when queuing for a crowded bus than when scrolling from the comfort of home. The cacophony of contemporary reality, especially in the developing world, confronts historical researchers with the real-world stakes of past processes of global connection—a kind of moral peripheral vision parallel to the topical peripheral vision detailed above.

A grimmer reading of the coinciding digitized and transnational turns, then, would conclude that over the course of the past decade, it has become much easier for North-based historians to publish about places they have never been and may know very little about. At a 2013 American Historical Association session on the possible costs of the transnational turn, Melanie Newton pointed to the growing number of histories of France, empire, or modernity that include a half-chapter on the Haitian Revolution, yet decline to engage in any significant way with Haiti's established historiography and its debates, much less with its current realities or scholars' efforts to address them. The pages on Haiti, Newton suggested, can seem more concerned with signaling transnational cachet or non-Eurocentric bona fides than with any effort to build collective understanding of the past.[54]

How common is this kind of gesture, what we might label "drive-by transnationalism," today? How common will it be tomorrow? Pierre-Yves Saunier suggested almost a decade ago that we should be relieved that "going transnational is not as easy as it sounds."[55] In a world of massified web access to texts of and about the past, it is getting easier every day. Ensuring that the transnational tales thus enabled are full and fair renderings of our interconnected past will require more self-conscious attention to evidentiary paradigms than our discipline has so far embraced. The challenge is to take advantage of the optics and methods that digitization enables while remembering those who stand in the shadows, making time for contextualization, and spurring the dialogue that counteracts the ignorance of the privileged.

Building deep place-based knowledge, then, is no longer the path of least resistance within our discipline—yet it may remain the path to greatest insight, even or especially for those pursuing the transnational angle. Will transnational history come to define itself as requiring place-based learning, both in the sense of learning about

[54] Melanie J. Newton, "'We Are All Haitians Now'? The Caribbean, Transnational Histories, and Empire" (paper presented at AHA Session 96, "Are There Costs to 'Internationalizing' History? Part 1: The Intellectual and Geo-Politics of Research Agendas," American Historical Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, January 4, 2013). Similarly, see Matthew J. Smith, "Footprints on the Sea: Finding Haiti in Caribbean Historiography," *Small Axe* 17, no. 1 (2014): 55–71, especially 68. On legitimate reasons for remaining invested in national historiographies, including the persistent importance of national states as a framework for rights claims within an unequal global system, see Louis A. Pérez Jr., "We Are the World: Internationalizing the National, Nationalizing the International," review of *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, ed. Thomas Bender, *Journal of American History* 89, no. 2 (2002): 558–566; Ann Curthoys, "We've Just Started Making National Histories, and You Want Us to Stop Already?," in Antoinette Burton, ed., *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation* (Durham, N.C., 2003), 70–89.

[55] Saunier, "Going Transnational?"

particular places and in the sense of learning from physical presence within them? It could, if enough practitioners see the need.

Transnational studies emerged with a self-imposed mandate to fight the tyranny of area studies. As Sanjay Subrahmanyam argued two decades ago, "Area studies can very rapidly become parochialism," with "an insistence, taken to the limits of the absurd, concerning the unity of 'Southeast Asia,' 'South Asia' or whatever one happens to study . . . [T]hese conventional geographical units of analysis, fortuitously defined as givens for the intellectually slothful, and the result of complex (even murky) processes of academic and non-academic engagement, somehow become real and overwhelming"—"Frankenstein's monsters."[56] Brief years later, area studies is no dragon to be slayed. Grant cachet and federal funding, once plentiful for area studies in U.S. academia, are scarce. In many social sciences, support for graduate language study and region-specific interdisciplinary training is shriveling. Historians, recognizing an underserved niche, could double down on place-based expertise.[57]

In some subfields, cyberinfrastructure is being deployed in ways that can foster precisely this direction. Geoparsing and georeferencing tools, rapidly advanced by public funding for biological Big Data and corporate pursuit of social network monetization, have been put to good use by pioneering scholars.[58] Visualizations of geotagged data can free us from reliance on predetermined spatial units to summarize data—which most often meant administrative political units, national or sub-national—and recognize other spatial patterns instead.[59] Collective projects have emerged that make available tools for geocoding and linking large source sets, and offer online interfaces that aggregate sources by location. Shelley Fisher Fishkin and others have conceived these as a new genre, "deep maps": collaboratively curated open-access cartographic interfaces for investigation and scholarly exchange.[60] Large-scale, large-scope

[56] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997): 735–762, quote from 742.

[57] See Sidney W. Mintz, "The Localization of Anthropological Practice: From Area Studies to Transnationalism," *Critique of Anthropology* 18, no. 2 (1998): 117–133, especially 132; Sidney Ali Mirsepassi, Amrita Basu, and Frederick Weaver, eds., *Localizing Knowledge in a Globalizing World: Recasting the Area Studies Debate* (Syracuse, N.Y., 2003); Puri, "Finding the Field," 64–65. Andrew Zimmerman's call for a "multi-sited" transnational history is very relevant—and underlines parallels with an earlier set of debates in anthropology. See Zimmerman, "Africa in Imperial and Transnational History: Multi-Sited Historiography and the Necessity of Theory," *Journal of African History* 54, no. 3 (2013): 331–340; George E. Marcus, "Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 95–117, especially 100; and elaborations such as those collected in Mark-Anthony Falzon, ed., *Multi-Sited Ethnography: Theory, Praxis and Locality in Contemporary Research* (Farnham, 2009); Simon Coleman and Pauline von Hellermann, eds., *Multi-Sited Ethnography: Problems and Possibilities in the Translocation of Research Methods* (New York, 2011).

[58] Geoparsing automates the location and identification within text of place names; georeferencing or geocoding tags items or mentions within them by geographic coordinates. For a broad overview of developments in critical geography, on the one hand, and GIS, on the other, see David J. Bodenhamer, "The Spatial Humanities: Space, Time, and Place in the New Digital Age," in Weller, *History in the Digital Age*, 23–38.

[59] See the inspiring blueprint offered by Timothy R. Tangherlini, "The Folklore Macroscope: Challenges for a Computational Folkloristics," 2012 Archer Taylor Memorial Lecture, *Western Folklore* 72, no. 1 (2013): 7–27, http://tango.bol.ucla.edu/publications/A99.pdf.

[60] Shelley Fisher Fishkin, "'Deep Maps': A Brief for Digital Palimpsest Mapping Projects (DPMPs, or 'Deep Maps')," *Journal of Transnational American Studies* 3, no. 2 (2011): 1–31, http://escholarship.org/uc/item/92v100t0; David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris, eds., *Deep Maps and Spatial Narratives* (Bloomington, Ind., 2015). See also the earlier, similar vision in Tom Elliott and Sean Gillies, "Digital Geography and Classics," *Changing the Center of Gravity: Transforming Classical Studies*

undertakings such as *Pleiades*, the Pelagios collective, the Global Middle Ages Project, and the Electronic Cultural Atlas Initiative (ECAI) all offer variations on this theme.[61] Similar in linking data to place, although covering a far smaller geographic scope, are projects such as *Locating London's Past* and *Digital Harlem: Everyday Life, 1915–1930*.[62]

Multiple elements of such projects are exciting. They offer new structures for linking scholars to data, but also new venues for linking scholars to each other, and new ways to bring students and non-specialists in to explore. Local, provincial, and national archives aggregate a jumbled variety of traces of the past based on geographic origin. Local, provincial, and national newspapers, read page by page, do likewise. Collaborative portals to georeferenced sources do the same, at a much finer degree of granularity, if one wishes, and with unprecedented possibilities for aggregation and visualization. Such virtual crossroads might even serve the international sharing/ignorance-baring function that archival small talk once provided. That ECAI workshops have been held, over recent years, in Macau, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Vietnam, Japan, Malaysia, and Singapore bespeaks significant multilateral scholarly engagement.

The risk, in sum, is that digitally enabled transnational history can let us think we are speaking of the world and to the world while actually insulating us from it. Digital search can permit us to string anecdotes into compelling tales without really seeing the terrain they span. Analog search both requires and provides crucial learning along the way to discovery. Digital search requires almost no learning: that's what happens when you piggyback on commercial technology honed to connect people to purchases as easily as possible. Of course, it can provide it—if we push ourselves to seek out information on OCR loss rates, proprietary databases, built-in algorithms, and better alternatives.[63] But, however crucial, that learning is not coterminous with the content- and context-specific learning that analog search required. It cannot substitute for it. And the more automated and efficient our systems of digital discovery become, the harder it can be to look away from the flood of data before us.

Computational tools can discipline our term-searching if we ask them to. By measuring proximity and comparing frequencies, topic modeling can balance easy hits with evidence of other topics more prevalent in those sources. But the last phrase is key: in those sources. This brings us back to what is really new about this millennium's

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through Cyberinfrastructure, Special Issue, *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 3, no. 1 (2009), http://www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/3/1/000031/000031.html.

[61] http://pleiades.stoa.org/; http://pelagios-project.blogspot.com/p/about-pelagios.html; http://www.laits.utexas.edu/gma/gmap/; http://ecai.org/.

[62] See http://www.locatinglondon.org/ and discussion in Hitchcock, "Digital Searching and the Reformulation of Historical Knowledge"; and http://digitalharlem.org/ and Stephen Robertson, "Putting Harlem on the Map," in Dougherty and Nawrotzki, *Writing History in the Digital Age*, http://quod.lib.umich.edu/d/dh/12230987.0001.001/1:8/–writing-history-in-the-digital-age?g=dculture;rgn=div1;view=fulltext;xc=1#8.2.

[63] See Caleb McDaniel, "The Digital Early Republic," *Offprints* (blog), April 7, 2011, http://mcdaniel.blogs.rice.edu/?p=150; and the project conceived in response, now co-directed by Steve Brier and Eileen Clancy at the CUNY Graduate Center, Beyond Citation: Critical Thinking about Digital Research, http://www.beyondcitation.org/.

iteration of the digital age. After all, historians' ability to compute is nothing new. The surge of social history in the 1970s and 1980s was partly driven by the newfound ease of applying computing power to historical documents that could, through manual processing, be turned into data sets. We took the enduring remains of state and church recordkeeping—censuses, parish records, tax rolls—and coded and calculated. What is new now is not computation per se but digitization and OCR, which make *words* above all available, whether for web-based discovery or for automated analysis. This mass data-fication of words is just one subsection of "the digital" impacting academe, but it is a huge one. Not only is it the shift that has remade the information landscape for search, but it is also the driver for those tech-engaged historians experimenting with topic modeling, sentiment analysis, and other text-mining computational approaches.[64]

One might then note that the digitized turn has multiplied the methods for working with the same source base—official, elite, and middling discursive texts—most intensely mined by history's "cultural turn" in the preceding decade. Even if you, like me, deeply appreciate the insights that the cultural turn brought us, this should perhaps give you pause. There is a real world out there. The totality of sentences that have ended up in print in no way corresponds to the proportions of past human life. Who stands in the digital shadows? What friction in our digital workflow will push scholars—just some; it need not be all—to step outside into the still-existing world of non-digitized sources, to explore the unique things they have to tell us about other places, other problems, other lives?

The transnational angle, in this context, can push our gaze in useful directions. Efforts to trace the overlapping systems that have shaped human communities over time can and should encompass topics from climate change to capital flows, and bring attention to the optimal sources to track them—which include many things other than text. Illuminating the contours and consequences of such linkages is exactly the kind of multi-scalar, geographically capacious research that a digital era enables.[65]

If we are committed to the transnational angle, however, we must be committed to the health of a disciplinary ecosystem that supports local, regional, and national research *as well as* larger-scoped approaches. Historians are notoriously disinclined to collaborate, but in part that is because diffuse asynchronous collaboration (which is to say, reading other people's work and building on it) functions remarkably well for us. Artisanal history has a long half-life. Descriptive inference built on immersive engagement with disparate sources, guided by contextual knowledge of the processes that shaped them, turns out to be pretty enduring. And those descriptions—of land tenure patterns, political participation, gendered labor within households, capital flows, and so much more—are key building blocks for scholars arriving at a transnational angle from afar. Can we ramp up the prestige, and support, given to place-

[64] See William G. Thomas III, "Computing and the Historical Imagination," in Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens, and John Unsworth, eds., *A Companion to Digital Humanities* (Malden, Mass., 2004), 56–68.

[65] Thus, while skeptical of Armitage and Guldi's claims for the revolutionary potential of *longue durée* analysis powered by the text-mining tools collected in Paper Machines, I am very sympathetic to their calls for historians to reengage with non-textual data, matching our skills of source critique with a reintroduction of quantitative analysis. *History Manifesto*, 97–103.

based expertise? Otherwise, a transnational history that aspires to place-based contextualization is going to be a free rider on the underfunded labor of others.

Meanwhile, historians pursuing the transnational angle should consider the value of practices that ground their work, not just those that speed and expand it. We need to complement side-glancing with settling in: taking time to learn about the fullness of what was going on in particular times and places, not just the fragments surfaced among search results. Language study matters, not only for the nuance that Google Translate lacks, but for the ancillary learning that comes with efforts to speak someone else's language, badly. Local debates about a locality's past—and national debates about a nation's past—matter, not because you need to care about those questions, but because understanding why others do will illuminate the partiality of your own interests. The labor conditions of scholars in the places you are studying matter—not just for ethical reasons (although that would be enough), but because their particular knowledge of sources and prior debates is irreplaceable. And if you care about their knowledge, you should care about their getting published, and read. The disintermediation and reduced transmission costs of the digital age can match researchers from across the globe and speed dialogue among them, but the enabling conditions of that dialogue include employment and institutional stability as well as platform specifications and bandwidth.

All of this takes time. Among other things, we are deluding ourselves if we pretend that this kind of engagement can be built for multiple places within the time frame of dissertation research. You should not have to use archives in five countries to get a job. And if you do use archives in five countries, as readers we must presume that you did not get to know all five especially well.

Technology is not destiny. As researchers, advisors, peer reviewers, and panel members, we have choices to make. The digital revolution has made finding things out about distant places and the people, goods, and ideas that moved between them cheaper than ever before. The potential is real. But nothing guarantees that the growth of knowledge brought by fallen barriers, broader vision, and multi-scalar research will not be canceled out by increased superficiality and new blind spots. If globe-spanning shine is perceived as the currency with which fellowships, article acceptances, and jobs are acquired, we will encourage scholars to invest in the most far-flung circuit plausible. Is this the best use of our hard-pressed humanities dime? Or should we take the digital dividend and invest it in building friction back in: expecting and rewarding engaged fieldwork, deep learning, and international collaboration designed and guided from South as well as North?

Ultimately, there is nothing inherently equalizing about the conjoined digitized and transnational turns. But one can hope. The changes in the information landscape that have lowered the barriers to international research by scholars from the Global North may increase their interest in the kinds of scholarly connection that can diffuse resources in new directions. Deep maps could provide new venues for international encounter and exchange. Virtual communication could lead to sustained collaboration. There could even be plane tickets. Putting scholars into new places for extended stays—including but not only from the Global South into the Global North and vice versa—has a great track record of building depth, contextualization, and geopolitical

awareness. Digital research that carries us deeper into real-world connection may indeed create the border-crossing wisdom that our border-riven world needs.

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Sugar Machines: Picturing Industrialized Slavery

JOHN E. CROWLEY

> As negroes, cattle, mules, and horses are the *nerves* of a sugar plantation, it is expedient to treat the subject with some accuracy; for, the success of the whole consists chiefly in this, as in a well constructed machine, upon the energy, and right disposition of the main springs, or primary parts.
>
> Samuel Martin[1]

We historians are interested in sugar because slaves made it, and we hate slavery. Sugar fascinated many early modern Europeans because machines made it, and they loved machines. Historians link sugar and slavery inextricably: there are more than three dozen modern historical works with both "Sugar" and "Slave/Slaves/Slavery" in their titles. Conversely, none of the three dozen or so books about the technology of sugar published before 1888—when legal slavery ended in the Americas—referred to slavery in their titles. Early modern visual representations of sugar plantations privileged machinery over people. This privileging largely took the work of slaves for granted and, intentionally or not, deflected attention from slavery. When the threat of abolition loomed, anti-abolitionist patrons supported artists who naturalized the plantation regime by representing sugar's technology and its enslaved peoples in picturesque style.[2]

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[1] Samuel Martin, *An Essay upon Plantership, Humbly Inscrib'd to All the Planters of the British Sugar-Colonies in America*, 2nd ed. (London, 1750), quote from 9; see also 30: "a plantation ought to be considered as a well constructed machine, compounded of various wheels, turning different ways, and yet all contributing to the great end proposed." With its springs and counter-turning wheels, the metaphor of the machine referenced both clocks, with their regularity, and the three-roller mill, which processed the sugar cane.

[2] For images of the sugar-slavery nexus, see Jerome S. Handler and Michael L. Tuite Jr., comps., *The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas: A Visual Record*, http://slaveryimages.org/ (search "sugar"). Regarding historians' hatred and repudiation of slavery, consider such titles as James Pope-Hennessy, *Sins of the Fathers: The Atlantic Slave Traders, 1441–1807* (London, 1967); Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); Robert Edgar Conrad, comp., *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil* (Princeton, N.J., 1983); Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830* (Madison, Wis., 1988); Robert L. Paquette, *Sugar Is Made with Blood: The Conspiracy of La Escalera and the Conflict between Empires over Slavery in Cuba* (Middletown, Conn., 1988); David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (Oxford, 2006). Regarding early modern Europeans' love of technology, consider that the word "machine(s)" appears in more than 26,000 of the 136,000 publications catalogued in *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (Gage). "God" appears in fewer than half as many, about 11,000.

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Yet a major historiographic debate—whether the dependence on slave labor made the production of sugar economically regressive—has simply ignored the abundant visual evidence on the issue. In Anglo-American historiography, the question of whether the sugar-slavery nexus was susceptible to economic modernization is oriented to commercial cost-benefit analyses of Britain's abolition of the transatlantic African slave trade in 1807.[3] Broader comparisons of sugar regions throughout the Americas and later into the nineteenth century tend to polarize between neoclassical and Marxist interpretations of the industrial potential of sugar plantations as a means of production.[4] Whatever the econometric resolution of this issue, throughout the early modern period and into the period of industrialization, European artists presented the production of sugar as technologically progressive, regardless of its investment in slavery. Commodified sugar derived from an agricultural raw material, sugarcane, but European viewing and reading publics were primarily interested in the machinery that made sugar, not the agricultural processes of enslaved labor.[5] Sugar production was an industrial enterprise: "In view of the labour, discipline, and organisation of work, the interchangeability of labour units, time-consciousness owing to the crop's rapid perishability, the separation of production from consumption and [of] the slaves from their tools [not to mention the maximum expropriation of the surplus of labor], sugar manufacture was the most industrialised form of human enterprise" during the early modern period.[6]

On Europeans' admiration for machines, see Andrea Barghini, Pier Luigi Bassignana, Ferruccio Gambaruto, and Vittorio Marchis, *La cultura delle macchine dal Medioevo alla rivoluzione industriale nei documenti dell'Archivio storico Amma* (Turin, 1989); Vittorio Marchis, *Storia della macchine: Tre millenni di cultura tecnologica* (Rome, 2005); Alan Q. Morton, "Concepts of Power: Natural Philosophy and the Uses of Machines in Mid-Eighteenth-Century London," *British Journal for the History of Science* 28, no. 1 (1995): 63–78; Larry Stewart, "A Meaning for Machines: Modernity, Utility, and the Eighteenth-Century British Public," *Journal of Modern History* 70, no. 2 (1998): 259–294; Thomas Brandstetter, "'The Most Wonderful Piece of Machinery the World Can Boast of': The Water-works at Marly, 1680–1830," *History and Technology* 21, no. 2 (2005): 205–220.

[3] Eric Eustace Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1944); David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York, 1987); Seymour Drescher, "*Capitalism and Slavery* after Fifty Years," *Slavery and Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies* 18, no. 3 (1997): 212–227; Heather Cateau and S. H. H. Carrington, eds., *"Capitalism and Slavery" Fifty Years Later: Eric Eustace Williams—A Reassessment of the Man and His Work* (New York, 2000); David Beck Ryden, *West Indian Slavery and British Abolition, 1783–1807* (Cambridge, 2009); Seymour Drescher, *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition*, 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2010), especially the new foreword by David Brion Davis and Drescher's new preface, xiii–xxx.

[4] Manuel Moreno Fraginals, *The Sugarmill: The Socioeconomic Complex of Sugar in Cuba, 1760–1860*, trans. Cedric Belfrage (New York, 1976; orig. Spanish ed. 1964); R. Keith Aufhauser, "Slavery and Technological Change," *Journal of Economic History* 34, no. 1 (1974): 36–50; H. A. Gemery and J. S. Hogendorn, "Technological Change, Slavery, and the Slave Trade," in Clive Dewey and A. G. Hopkins, eds., *The Imperial Impact: Studies in the Economic History of Africa and India* (London, 1978), 243–258; J. R. Ward, "The Amelioration of British West Indian Slavery, 1750–1834: Technical Change and the Plow," *New West Indian Guide / Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 63, no. 1/2 (1989): 41–58; Alex van Stipriaan, "The Suriname Rat Race: Labour and Technology on Sugar Plantations, 1750–1900," ibid., 94–117; Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York, 1986), 46–61. These themes are enjoying a revival in United States historiography; e.g., Edward E. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York, 2014); Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (London, 2013).

[5] Stuart Schwartz, "A 'Babilónia' colonial: A economia açucareira," in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti N. Chaudhuri, eds., *História da expansão portuguesa*, 5 vols. (Lisbon, 1997–1999), 2: 213–231, analyzes the agricultural as well as the industrial aspects of Brazilian sugar production.

[6] James S. Pritchard, *In Search of Empire: The French in the Americas, 1670–1730* (Cambridge, 2004), quote from 171; Richard B. Sheridan, "The Plantation Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, 1625–1775," *Caribbean Studies* 9, no. 3 (1969): 5–25.

Pride in the technological progress embodied in the sugar plantation, however, carried dire humanistic implications because it implicitly rationalized slavery and the Atlantic African slave trade as necessary factors of modernization.

From its origins in manorial sharecropping on Española, through the consolidation of the sugar-slavery nexus in Brazil, to its refinement in the form of the integrated slave plantation in Barbados, through the spread of that plantation type in the Caribbean, to the industrial climax of colonial sugar manufacturing in Cuba, the machinery of sugar production predominated among representations of colonial economies in European visual culture.[7] The mainstay of the plantation workforce—fieldworkers preparing the ground, planting, weeding, and harvesting the cane—received only token artistic attention. Accordingly, the Brazilian term for the sugar plantation was *engenho*; the Cuban term was its cognate, *ingenio*.[8] In both dialects, the colonial synecdoche of sugar mill for sugar plantation derived from the respective metropolitan words for both machines and ingenuity. The iconic sugar mill was overwhelmingly the most frequent illustration of sugar plantations—as it remains on book cover illustrations to this day. But these images of sugar technology have a history; it is ahistorical to take them for granted as convenient illustrations.

Besides its large fixed capital requirements and the intensity and elaboration of its work processes, illustrations of sugar's complex production technology made it stand out from other colonial staples—silver, tobacco, cotton, indigo, coffee, cacao, furs, rice, salt fish, and whale oil.[9] After sugar, silver mining was the most frequently illustrated primary industry in the American colonies; images of silver production emphasized instances of looting and the brutality of working conditions in the mines, not technology.[10] Tobacco was a metonym of America: it figured in dozens of images as an emblem of trade and empire, as an ethnographic prop, and as a native plant, but there were only a few images of its production as a staple, and those mostly

[7] Sugar had been produced in Europe for half a millennium before the expansion of sugar plantations into the Atlantic, but its technology had not been of much visual interest, perhaps because it was unspecialized and adapted mills used to produce wine and olive oil, and because the labor involved took familiar forms. William D. Phillips Jr., "Sugar in Iberia," in Stuart B. Schwartz, ed., *Tropical Babylons: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450–1680* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004), 27–41, here 30.

[8] Some historians refer to watermills as *engenhos* and to animal-powered mills as *trapiches*, but only *engenho/ingenio* applied to sugar plantations generically. Stuart B. Schwartz, "Introduction," ibid., 1–26, here 2–3. On sugar plantations as machines, see Justin Roberts, *Slavery and the Enlightenment in the British Atlantic, 1750–1807* (New York, 2013), 33–35, 68–78. Roberts argues that the most important innovations in eighteenth-century sugar production were managerial, not technological.

[9] For illustrations of tobacco use, production, and emblems, see the John Carter Brown Library Archive of Early American Images, http://www.brown.edu/academics/libraries/john-carter-brown/jcb-online/image-collections/archive-early-american-images [hereafter JCBL Archive], 04039, 03374-1, 08927, 01897-3, 09905-1, 06193-4, 29947-1, 29947-2. Coffee production figured in a half-dozen plans of coffee plantations and a couple of illustrations of its technology, e.g., JCBL Archive, 06944-74, 35315, 72-196-39, 72-196-40, 72-196-41, 72-196-42, 72-196-43; Simon David Smith, "Sugar's Poor Relation: Coffee Planting in the British West Indies, 1720–1833," *Slavery and Abolition* 19, no. 3 (1998): 68–89. Cotton was of visual interest mostly for its botany. The technology of rice production figured in only one image in the JCBL Archive: 06193-3. Fur trapping went nearly unpublished visually. The apparatus of the whale fishery drew illustrators' attention, but the far more important cod fishery stimulated only a few views, albeit classic ones; e.g., JCBL Archive, 02260, 09906-4, 09534-28.

[10] One-third of the illustrations of the silver industry showed looting. The most frequently depicted technologies were picks and ladders. For illustrations of colonial silver mining, see JCBL Archive, 09187-3, 35313-1, 34724-4, 04684-43. Indigenous artists created the only series of illustrations of the colonial silver industry; e.g., Bernardino da Sahagún, *Historia universal de las cosas de Nueva España: Codice Laurenziano Mediceo Palatino 218, 219, 220*, 3 vols. ([1575–1577]; facsimile, Florence, 1996), book 19, chap. 16.

FIGURE 1: Indigo production required complicated processing facilities, but not the high-tech machinery identified with sugar. "Indigoterie," engraving, from Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre, *Histoire genérale des Antilles habitées par les Français*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1667–1671), 2: following 106. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, Archive of Early American Images, 01897-5.

showed buildings. Among the other staples, images of indigo production most closely resembled those for sugar in their emphasis on fixed capital and intricate stages of manufacture, and they were the next most numerous colonial technological illustrations.[11] (See Figure 1.) The 7,000 or so images in the John Carter Brown Library's Archive of Early American Images provide a rough index of the two staples' relative importance for illustration: the collection includes about a dozen images of indigo production and more than one hundred images of sugar.

NOTHING SHOWED EARLY MODERN Europeans' love of mechanical devices better than the development of a new genre of printed technical illustration, the theater of machines—books devoted to illustrating machinery, organized into categories by their functions.[12] Jacques Besson, a mathematician and, though a former Huguenot pastor,

[11] More than half of the JCBL Archive's images of indigo technology derive from José Mariano da Conceição Velloso, "Tinturaria Indigo," in Velloso, *O fazendeiro do Brazil: Melhorado na economia rural dos generos já cultivados, e dos outros que se podem introduzir; e nas fabricas, que lhe são proprias, segundo o melhor, que se tem escrito a este assupto*, 5 vols. (Lisbon, 1798–1806), 2: pt. 1; e.g., JCBL Archive, 01897-5, 09534-1, 09320-5, 15101-2, 32114, 06193-3, 72-196-23, 72-196-24, 72-196-25, 72-196-26, 72-196-29, 72-196-30, 72-196-33, 72-196-34.

[12] Histories of medieval technical illustration rely heavily on the mid-thirteenth-century sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt, but only six of its sixty-five pages of drawings depict machines (a mechanical saw, a crossbow, a screw press, several automatons, a catapult, and a perpetual motion machine); of the others, twenty-one are architectural, and the rest figural. Theodore Bowie, ed., *The Sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt* (Bloomington, Ind., 1959), figs. 2, 59–62. Predecessors to the theaters of machines—

Charles IX's "master of the King's Engines," initiated the genre in 1571 with *Theatrum instrumentorum et machinarum*. Its sixty plates, engraved by Jacques du Cerceau, France's premier architectural illustrator (and another Huguenot), emphasized machines that used rotary motion to make things and to perform operations: devices for reciprocal sawing; windlasses for dredging and for moving large architectural stonework; screw-powered pile drivers; rotary-powered mortars; gearing for grain milling; pulleys to lift cannon; screw-geared derricks to lift heavy cargoes from barges; screw-driven belts for buckets to lift sand, gravel, or mortar for the construction of walls; screw-geared windlasses for baskets to lift ore from mine shafts. Many of Besson's machines relied on human energy but gave it mechanical advantages over direct human power in lifting, cutting, and hammering. The two hundred illustrations in Agostino Ramelli's 1588 *Le diverse et artificiose machine* went beyond Besson's images in their attention to water power and in their exploration of technical possibilities, not just best practice. (See Figure 2.) Similarly, Vittorio Zonca's 1607 *Novo teatro di machine et edificii per varie e sicure operationi, con le loro figure* consolidated the genre by putting the focus on productive machinery: over- and under-shot waterwheels; animal-powered mills; water- and hand-powered grinders; a water-powered cam-fitted fulling machine; a human-powered screw press for wine; a water-driven spinning jenny with dozens of bobs; a rolling press for printing; several machines for lifting water; and, most relevant to sugar production, water-driven edge rollers for oil extraction and for making gunpowder.[13] Giovanni Branca's *Le machine: Volume nuovo et di molto artificio da farre effetti marauigliosi tanto* (1629) showed a horizontal two-roller mill for drawing metal—a parallel application to those possibly used in sixteenth-century Spanish sugar domains, but which had not theretofore been deemed worthy of illustration.[14]

Most of the mechanical elements found in the theater of machines were derived from ancient, medieval, and Renaissance technology: levers, windlasses, pulleys, cams, crankshafts, cylinders and pistons, gears, bearings, chains, drive belts, and conical valves. Similarly, devices employing this technology were well known to engineers—pumps,

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amounting to exceptions to the rule about the lack of visual interest in medieval and Renaissance technology—would include the dozens of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century engineers' handbooks that have survived in manuscript; on the technological contexts of these handbooks, see Bertrand Gille, *Engineers of the Renaissance* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966; orig. French ed. 1964). Cf. Roberto Valturio, *De re militari* (Verona, 1472)—"the first printed book of mechanical technology" (Eugene S. Ferguson, *Engineering and the Mind's Eye* [Cambridge, Mass., 1992], 65); Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, *De architectura* (first illustrated edition, Venice, 1511); Georgius Agricola, *De re metallica* (Basel, 1556).

On the history of mechanical illustration, see M. Ceccarelli and M. Cigola, "Trends in the Drawing of Mechanisms since the Early Middle Ages," *Proceedings of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers, Part C: Journal of Mechanical Engineering Science* 215, no. 3 (2001): 269–289; Celina Fox, *The Arts of Industry in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven, Conn., 2009); Charles Kostelnick, "Visualizing Technology and Practical Knowledge in the *Encyclopédie*'s Plates: Rhetoric, Drawing Conventions, and Enlightenment Values," *History and Technology* 28, no. 4 (2012): 443–454. After fortifications, mining and metallurgy were the most heavily illustrated technologies in Europe; Pamela O. Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship: Technical Arts and the Culture of Knowledge from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 2001), 183–188, 201–208.

[13] Martha Teach Gnudi, trans., *The Various and Ingenious Machines of Agostino Ramelli*, annotations and pictorial glossary by Eugene S. Ferguson (Baltimore, 1976), original available online. Vittorio Zonca, *Novo teatro di machine et edificii per varie e sicure operationi, con le loro figure*, ed. Carlo Poni (1607; repr., Milan, 1985). For a compendium of Besson's, Ramelli's, and Zorca's illustrations, see A. G. Keller, *A Theatre of Machines* (London, 1964). The genre would be continued by Giovanni Branca, *Le machine: Volume nuovo et di molto artificio da fare effetti marauigliosi*, ed. Luigi Firpo (1629; repr., Turin, 1977); Georg Andreas Böckler, *Theatrum machinarum novum* (Nuremberg, 1661 [German], 1662 [Latin]).

[14] Branca, *Le machine*, 10, fig. 2.

FIGURE 2: Illustrations in theaters of machines explained mechanical technology while making it intriguing. Waterwheel to raise water, engraving, from Agostino Ramelli, *Le diverse et artificiose machine del Capitano Agostino Ramelli* (Paris, 1588), fig. 25, 38 recto. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Rosenwald Collection, TJ144.R3.

fountains, hoists and cranes, missile throwers, and clocks.[15] The crucial developments from the genre were in media for visual communication, not mechanical technology: linear perspective, which promised a duplicable visual experience of things represented; projective geometry, which provided accurate measurements of three-dimensional objects on flat paper; cutaway and exploded views, which highlighted intricate designs; copperplate engraving, which sharply defined technical elements; and printing, which provided numerous precise copies of the results. Together they "greatly enhanced the precision with which a vision in one person's mind might be conveyed by material means—drawings [and prints]—across space and time to another person's mind."[16]

For nearly its first two centuries, Atlantic sugar production took place in Iberian domains, but Spanish and Portuguese artists never represented sugar plantations. Iberian artists, especially in the colonies, concentrated on religious subjects, notably for church decoration. Spanish and Portuguese artistic traditions lacked secular genres for landscape and natural history; instead, Iberian patrons relied on Netherlandish artists to produce such works.[17] Hence, Flemish artists introduced Europeans visually to the *engenho/ingenio*, just as Flemish and then Dutch merchants carried sugar products to northern European markets and then used the proceeds to bring more enslaved Africans to the colonies to produce more sugar. These early illustrations of sugar farms and plantations compressed their landscapes into schemata linking the different stages of production: harvesting, transporting to a mill, milling, boiling for clarification, claying for crystallization, and packing for export.

As an offshoot of the nascent genre of the theater of machines, illustrations of sugar manufacturing figured among the twenty or so discoveries—*Nova Reperta*—that Johannes Stradanus (also known as Jan van de Straet) identified around 1590 as markers that Europeans were living in a new age—the modern—that separated them from antiquity and the Middle Ages.[18] (See Figure 3.) In the background of the print

[15] Thomas Combe, *Theater of Fine Devices*, ed. Mary V. Silcox (ca. 1593; repr., Aldershot, Hants, 1990), emblem 85.

[16] Ferguson, *Engineering and the Mind's Eye*, quote from 75; see also 82–83.

[17] Richard L. Kagan and Fernando Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493–1793* (New Haven, Conn., 2000); Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, "The Spanish Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde," in Richard L. Kagan, ed., *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 54–67. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Spanish creole artists developed genres particular to the colonies, notably city portraits and casta paintings; on city portraits, see Kagan and Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 129–205; Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven, Conn., 2004).

[18] Jan van der Straet, *Nova Reperta* (Amsterdam, ca. 1580), *ECHO: Cultural Heritage Online*, http://echo.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/ECHOdocuView?url=/permanent/einstein_exhibition/sources/PZ39PA1P/index.meta. The other discoveries illustrated in *Nova Reperta* are America, the lodestone/compass, gunpowder, printing with movable type, the mechanical clock, a medicine against venereal diseases (Guaicum), distillation, silk manufacturing, the stirrup, the watermill, the windmill, the olive oil press, oil painting, eyeglasses, the longitude and the declination of the poles, polished armor, Amerigo Vespucci's discovery of the Southern Cross with an astrolabe, and copperplate engraving. On Stradanus, see Alessandra Baroni Vannucci, *Jan Van Der Straet detto Giovanni Stradano: Flandrus pictor et inventor* (Milan, 1997), especially 397–400; for a catalogue of his work, see Marjolein Leesberg and Huigen Leeflang, eds., *The New Hollstein: Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, 1450–1700—Johannes Stradanus*, 3 vols. (Ouderkerk aan den Ijssel, 2008), especially 3: 5–25 on the *Nova Reperta*; Susan Dackerman, ed., *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (New Haven, Conn., 2011), 38–41. On sugar as a Baconian cliché of the modern era, see

FIGURE 3: Sugar production with Mediterranean technology at an unspecified locale. Madeira was the main sugar-producing place at this time. Philippe Galle after Jan van der Straet, "Saccharum," engraving, from van der Straet, *Nova Reperta* (Antwerp, ca. 1590), fig. 13. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, FP-XVI-C698.

titled "Saccharum," barely visible fieldworkers cut canes and load them onto mules for transport to the factory. In the cramped foreground, burly workers in European dress perform the processing tasks: cutting canes into manageable pieces for the water-powered millstone and the human-powered screw press to extract sugar sap; carrying the pressed juice in buckets to heated reducing vats; ladling the concentrated syrup into pots for cooling and crystallization; and packaging the finished product. The print emphasizes segmented manual labor, sequential stages of production, and the variety of processes involved—fieldwork, manual preparation of the raw material, mechanical power (both human and inorganic), heat, and chemical reaction. As a worksite, this sugar factory most closely resembled *Nova Reperta*'s illustration of a shop producing olive oil; it too used a screw-press mill (but also an edge roller, which was actually better suited to extracting sugar juice than the adapted gristmill in "Saccharum") to transform an agricultural raw material—olives instead of sugarcane—into a food product with a distinctive structure—oil instead of crystals. Late-sixteenth-century European sugar producers used generic Mediterranean milling and extraction technologies: chiefly edge rollers, screw presses, and waterwheel-driven horizontal two-roller mills derived from

Eric Otremba, "Inventing Ingenios: Experimental Philosophy and the Secret Sugar-Makers of the Seventeenth-Century Atlantic," *History and Technology* 28, no. 2 (2012): 119–147.

FIGURE 4: Sugar production on Española, still with Mediterranean technology, but now by African workers ("Nigritæ") in non-European dress. Girolamo Benzoni, "Nigritæ exhaustis venis metallicis consciendo saccharo operam dare debent," engraving, from Theodor de Bry, ed., *Americæ pars quinta nobilis & admiration plena Hieronymi Bezoni* (Frankfurt am Main, 1595), pt. 5, fig. 2. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, Archive of Early American Images, 34724-3.

cotton gins (though "Saccharum" only alludes to this last possibility, since it shows sugarcane being loaded into a grain hopper, to which it was unsuited).

This unspecialized Mediterranean technology characterized the first illustration of sugar production in the Americas. (See Figure 4.) It depicts semi-nude workers, presumably enslaved Africans (identified as *nigritæ* in the caption and as *mori* in the text), harvesting the cane and carrying it to the trough of a human-powered edge roller, from which juice is scooped and emptied into cauldrons, out of which syrup is ladled into large jars, which are carried to a curing rack. The emphasis is as much on heavy physical labor and the linkages between divisions of labor as on mechanical technology. Indeed, the actual function of the waterwheel in the background is unclear, and the wedge press making a second pressing is obscured behind the edge runner. This image was used as an illustration in Theodor de Bry's 1595 publication of Girolamo Benzoni's *Historia del mondo nuovo* (originally published in Venice in 1565).[19] Benzoni, a

[19] Theodor de Bry, ed., *Americæ pars quinta nobilis & admiration plena Hieronymi Bezoni* (Frankfurt a.M., 1595). On Benzoni, see Benjamin Schmidt, "'O Fortunate Land!': Karel van Mander, a *West Indies Landscape*, and the Dutch Discovery of America," *New West Indian Guide / Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 69, no. 1/2 (1995): 5–44.

FIGURE 5: Images of sugar plantations focused on their mechanical and processing technology, while Flemish and Italian scenes of rural labor featured people working with hand tools. Pieter van der Heyden after Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Summer*, engraving (Antwerp, 1570). Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926.

Hispano-phobic Milanese who spent the 1540s and 1550s roaming Spanish America, expressed no interest in the technology of sugar production. For him, sugar marked the failure of gold and silver mining on Española and the Spaniards' subsequent reallocation of enslaved Africans to produce sugar as an alternative source of wealth.

Both Stradanus's and de Bry's illustrations of the *engenho/ingenio* resemble contemporaneous European genres schematizing rural labor, as epitomized in Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Summer*. (See Figure 5.) But the comparison highlights the peculiarity of representations of sugar production, which present it as fundamentally industrial, not agricultural. Conversely, in a collection of more than thirteen hundred medieval and early modern images of rural labor, the overwhelming majority feature hand tools: axes, billhooks, flails, scythes, shears, and sickles. Some show animal-drawn equipment—harrows, plows, and wagons—but the screw winepress is the only mechanical technology illustrated. Besides ovens, the only processing equipment shown is grape vats and wine barrels. None of the images portray how mills worked, though they were ubiquitous.[20]

[20] For the database of images of rural labor, see *Cicli dei mesi—Labours of the Months*, http://www.flicker.com/groups/949209@N23/pool. Liana Vardi, "Imagining the Harvest in Early Modern Europe," *American Historical Review* 101, no. 5 (December 1996): 1357–1397; Professor Vardi suggested the link. See also Terry S. Reynolds, *Stronger Than a Hundred Men: A History of the Vertical Water Wheel* (Baltimore, 1983).

FIRSTHAND REPRESENTATION OF sugar plantations began when artists accompanied Dutch West India Company forces on their short-lived invasion of Bahia in 1624 and on their successful occupation of Pernambuco and the northeastern Brazilian captaincies in the 1630s and 1640s.[21] The first invasion was too fleeting to allow artists much opportunity to record Brazil firsthand, and it resulted in only one image of Brazilian sugar works, which apparently borrowed heavily from the one in de Bry's 1595 edition of Benzoni's *Mondo nuovo*, though by the 1620s edge-runner mills were archaic in Brazil.[22] The three-roller mill, probably introduced to Brazil from Peru in the early 1600s, was coming to predominate at Brazilian *engenhos*. Animal, wind, or water power turned the vertical axle of the mill's central cylinder and its two counter-turning rollers. Such mills required fewer workers than edge rollers to feed and to tend them: cane could be fed from opposite sides in a continuous process. The rollers' superstructure supported the application of more force than was possible with the high friction and inertia of edge rollers. And they extracted more of the cane's juice because their tolerances could be adjusted. Sugar output per worker increased by 150–200 percent.[23]

The most notable of the artists during the second phase of Dutch Brazil, Frans Post, drew careful studies of both ox- and waterwheel-driven three-roller mills of the distinctive Brazilian type, using a numbered key to explain the stages of production—the first on-the-spot recordings of sugar technology. These were work scenes rather than mechanical drawings: they showed enslaved African Brazilians unloading sugarcane from oxcarts, carrying the cane to the mill, feeding the cane through the rollers, and discarding the crushed cane. (See Figure 6.) But they also functioned as technical drawings, with wide-angle views of well-illuminated and carefully articulated interiors that gave a clear idea of the mills' construction and gearing.

Post was among the more than three dozen scientists, engineers, and artists who had accompanied Johan Maurits, the count of Nassau-Siegen and governor general of Nieuwe Hollande, as a member of the future imperial prince's 1637–1644 cultural expedition. On his return to the Netherlands, Post contributed illustrations for Caspar van Baerle's *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia*, which celebrated Maurits's wishfully benign and tolerant rule of Dutch Brazil.[24] The book's map of Pernambuco featured a frequently reproduced sugar-works scene as a visual metonym of Dutch Brazil. To enliven the technical aspects of his earlier drawing of a sugar mill, Post added a party of Europeans and their attendants arriving at the house of a *senhor do engenho*, while a boisterous group of enslaved people gathered in the yard.

Back in Amsterdam, Post spent the rest of his life painting landscapes of Brazil,

[21] C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil, 1624–1654* (Oxford, 1957); Wim Klooster, *The Dutch in the Americas, 1600–1800* (Providence, R.I., 1997), 20–39.

[22] [Nicolas van Geelkercken], *Reys-boeck van het rijcke Brasilien, Rio de la Plata ende Magallanes* ([Dordrecht?], 1624), JCBL Archive, 07667-1.

[23] John Daniels and Christian Daniels, "The Origin of the Sugarcane Roller Mill," *Technology and Culture* 29, no. 3 (1988): 493–535; J. H. Galloway, *The Sugar Cane Industry: An Historical Geography from Its Origins to 1914* (Cambridge, 1989), 73–77; Schwartz, "A 'Babilónia' colonial," table 3; Lizette Cabrera Salcedo, *De los bueyes al vapor: Caminos de la tecnología del azúcar en Puerto Rico y el Caribe* (San Juan, P.R., 2010), 33–54.

[24] Caspar van Baerle, *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia et alibi nuper gestarum, sub præfectura illustrissimi Comitis I. Mauritii Nassaviæ &c. comitis, historia nunc Vesaliæ gubernatoris & equitatus fœderatorum Belgii ordd. sub Auriaco ductoris, historia* (Amsterdam, 1647); van Baerle, *The History of Brazil under the Governorship of Count Johan Maurits of Nassau, 1636–1644*, ed. and trans. Blanche T. van Berckel-Ebeling Koning (Gainesville, Fla., 2011).

FIGURE 6: The earliest known on-the-spot drawing of the recently invented vertical three-roller sugar mill, worked, presumably, by enslaved Africans. Frans Post, *Pressoir à sucre au Brésil* (ca. 1640). © Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels, Inv. 4060 / 2888. Photo: Grafisch Buro Lefevre, Heule.

usually with the mills and settlements of sugar plantations as the setting for a wide range of rural and manufacturing activities.[25] Since the 1560s, Dutch artists had been creating landscapes that were topographically specific to their country and populated with peasants going about their everyday lives. Post drew on these traditions for his paintings of Dutch Brazil, and accordingly he made their scenes and settings distinctively Brazilian.[26] (See Figure 7.) The social spectrum went from African Brazilians in plantation and European dress to Europeans on horses and palanquins. The built environment corresponded to the social and economic peculiarities of the Brazilian countryside, with sugar mills belonging to monasteries as well as to *senhors de engenhos*, along with the houses of landholding and sharecropping *lavradores*, who owned slaves but lacked the capital to build mills and therefore had to deliver their cane to nearby manorial mills.[27]

Post's paintings and engravings had a strong genre quality and took sugar technology for granted, rather than isolating it. They naturalized the sugar plantation.

[25] On Dutch visual interest in Brazil, see R. Joppien, "The Dutch Vision of Brazil: Johan Maurits and His Artists," in E. van den Boogaart, H. R. Hoetink, and P. J. P. Whitehead, eds., *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, 1604–1679: A Humanist Prince in Europe and Brazil—Essays on the Occasion of the Tercentenary of His Death* (The Hague, 1979), 297–376; P. J. P. Whitehead and M. Boeseman, *A Portrait of Dutch 17th Century Brazil: Animals, Plants, and People by the Artists of Johan Maurits of Nassau* (Amsterdam, 1989); Jean Michel Massing, "Albert Eckhout, Frans Post and the Imagery of Afro-Americans in Seventeenth-Century Brazil," in Messing, *Studies in Imagery*, vol. 2: *The World Discovered* (London, 2007), 141–171; Elizabeth Sutton, "Possessing Brazil in Print, 1630–54," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 5, no. 1 (2013), http://www.jhna.org/index.php/past-issues/volume-5-issue-1/181-possessing-brazil-in-print.

[26] On peasants as genre subjects, see Walter S. Gibson, "Festive Peasants before Bruegel: Three Case Studies and Their Implications," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 31, no. 4 (2004/2005): 292–309; Karolien De Clippel and Michael Hoyle, "Two Sides of the Same Coin? Genre Painting in the North and South during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Simiolus* 32, no. 1 (2006): 17–34; Stephanie Porras, "Producing the Vernacular: Antwerp, Cultural Archaeology and the Bruegelian Peasant," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 3, no. 1 (2011), http://www.jhna.org/index.php/past-issues/vol-3-1/134-producing-the-vernacular.

[27] On *lavradores*, see Schwartz, "A 'Babilónia' colonial," 226–228.

FIGURE 7: *Real* (royal) referred to the mill's waterwheel, the most technologically advanced form of power, but *engenho* embraced the entire plantation landscape. Frans Post, *Vue d'engenho real au Brésil* (n.d.), painting. Musée du Louvre, Inv. 1724. Photo René-Gabriel Ojéda. © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.

Dutch landscapes from Brazil in the 1630s and 1640s show that European visual culture had the resources to represent the people and spaces of sugar plantations comprehensively, but through the middle of the eighteenth century, artists largely ignored them in favor of technical illustrations. There were exceptions—Zacarias Wagener's watercolor (ca. 1640) of the fields and mills of a plantation in Dutch Brazil, Dirk van Valkenburg's painting (ca. 1707) of festive slaves on a Suriname plantation, and a painting (ca. 1742) of the governor of Barbados riding past workers in cane fields—but they were too episodic to constitute a genre.[28]

DUTCH BRAZIL WAS SHORT-LIVED, but its decline and fall provided opportunities and a catalyst for intensified sugar production in the Caribbean—in the transfer of technology, capital, commercial connections, and access to labor—first in Barbados, then in

[28] Zacharias Wagener, *Ingenho Masçiappe*, watercolor, reproduced in Dante Martins Teixeira, ed., *The "Thierbuch" and "Autobiography" of Zacharias Wagener* (Rio de Janeiro, 1997), 186–187, fig. 102; Dirk van Valkenburg, ["Black People Making Merry in Surinam"], reproduced in Hugh Honour, *The European Vision of America: A Special Exhibition to Honour the Bicentennial of the United States* (Cleveland, 1975), fig. 84; Anonymous, *Governor Robinson Going to Church*, reproduced in John E. Crowley, *Imperial Landscapes: Britain's Global Visual Culture, 1745–1820* (New Haven, Conn., 2011), 112, fig. 154.

Suriname and the Lesser Antilles, and eventually in Jamaica and Saint-Domingue.[29] This expansion involved the development of the classic sugar plantation, with cane-growing and sugar production integrated in a single enterprise, in contrast to the preceding differentiation of the two processes in Brazil, where *senhors de engenhos* typically relied on *lavradores* for half or more of the cane they processed.

Most of the classic illustrations of sugar works appeared in books that discussed the integrated slave plantation. These books typically discussed the labor and living conditions of enslaved Africans at length, but the only aspect of the plantation that required illustration was the sugar works—mill, boiling house, curing house, and distillery. For example, take depictions of early sugar production on Barbados, the most important Caribbean sugar colony from the middle of the seventeenth century through the early eighteenth century. Richard Ligon, a Royalist refugee, arrived in Barbados in 1647 as the integrated sugar enterprise was coming to the fore. He stayed three years, becoming a plantation manager, and on his return to England he wrote a history of the island. In the text he discussed the living conditions and labor of both indentured European servants and enslaved Africans, but his illustrations featured "the Ingenio that makes the Sugar." Ligon illustrated "the Ingenio it selfe, which is the *Primum Mobile* of the whole work, the Boyling-house, with the Coppers and Furnaces, the Filling room, the Still-house, and Curing-house," with large copperplate engravings based on highly accomplished mechanical drawings of sections and plans.[30] (See Figure 8.) Besides the three-roller mill, they showed the arrangement of the evaporating process in a continuous battery of pans, which had replaced the individually heated cauldrons used previously to concentrate the syrup for crystallization. Ligon's illustrations set a new standard for technical illustrations of sugar production.

For the remainder of the seventeenth century, however, and for much of the eighteenth as well, French artists predominated in illustrating colonial American sugar production.[31] During the reign of Louis XIV, encyclopedic works on the history, geography, and natural history of the Caribbean became a specialty among French publishers.[32] French technical graphics came to the fore with Jean-Baptiste du Tertre's *Histoire générale des Antilles habitées par les Français* (1667–1671), which

[29] For revisionist cautions against exaggerating the direct role of the Dutch in the expansion of sugar into the Caribbean, see John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, "The Sugar Industry in the Seventeenth Century: A New Perspective on the Barbadian 'Sugar Revolution,'" in Schwartz, *Tropical Babylons*, 288–330, here 297–301; Wim Klooster, "The Geopolitical Impact of Dutch Brazil on the Western Hemisphere," in Michiel van Groesen, ed., *The Legacy of Dutch Brazil* (Cambridge, 2014), 25–40; Stuart B. Schwartz, "Looking for a New Brazil: Crisis and Rebirth in the Atlantic World after the Fall of Pernambuco," ibid., 41–58.

[30] Richard Ligon, *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbados* (London, 1657), quote from 55–56; see also Susan Scott Parrish, "Richard Ligon and the Atlantic Science of Commonwealths," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 67, no. 2 (2010): 209–248. On the development of the integrated sugar plantation, see Philip D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History* (Cambridge, 1990); Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624–1713* (New York, 1972), chaps. 2–3; B. W. Higman, "The Sugar Revolution," *Economic History Review*, new series, 53, no. 2 (2000): 213–236; Russell R. Menard, *Sweet Negotiations: Sugar, Slavery, and Plantation Agriculture in Early Barbados* (Charlottesville, Va., 2006).

[31] Ligon's plans were reproduced in a 1674 Parisian collection of accounts of Atlantic voyages: Henri Justel, ed., *Recueil de divers voyages faits en Afrique et en l'Amerique, qui n'ont point esté encore publiez; contenant l'origine, les moeurs, les coûtumes & le commerce des habitans de ces deux parties du monde* (Paris, 1674), JCBL Archive, 01903-8, 01903-9, 01903-10.

[32] Philip P. Boucher, *Les Nouvelles Frances: France in America, 1500–1815—An Imperial Perspective* (Providence, R.I., 1989), 45–54, 63–64.

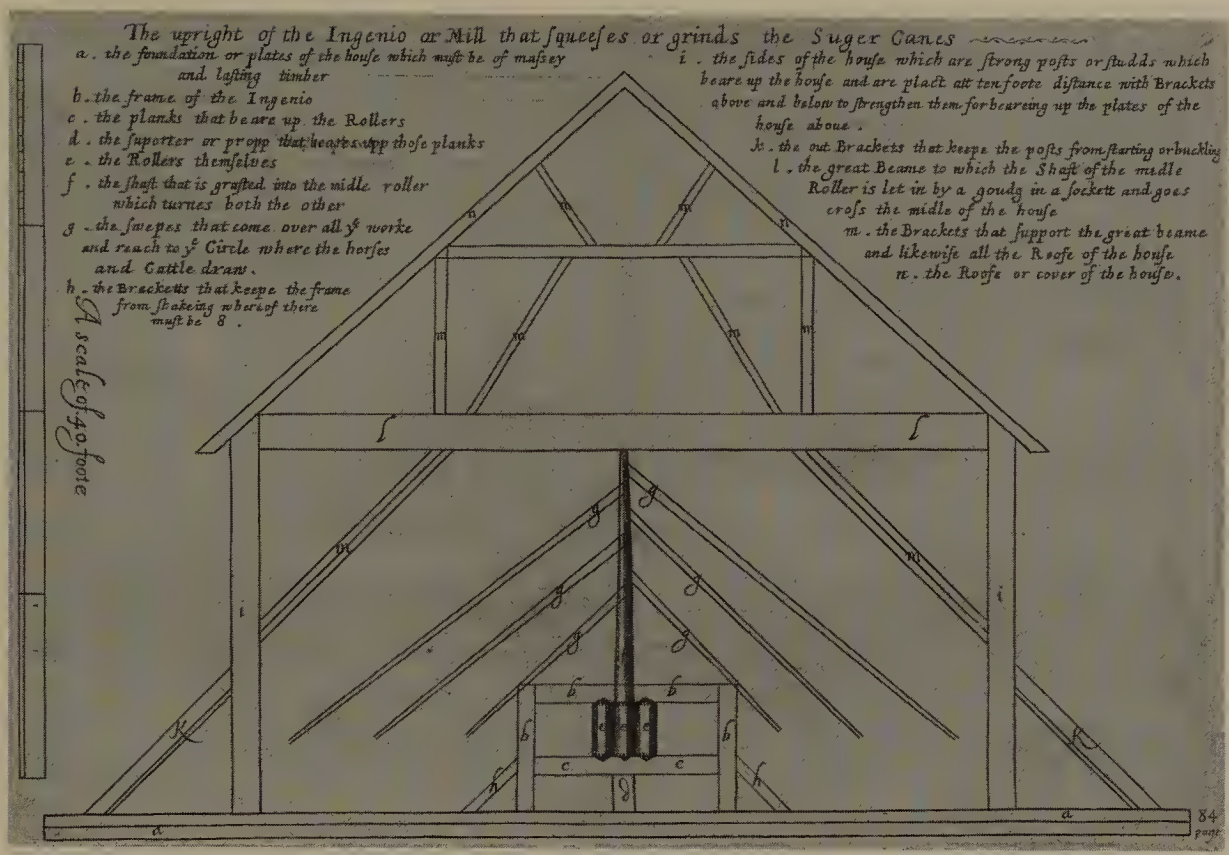

FIGURE 8: The key and scale made this print a construction blueprint for a vertical three-roller sugar mill, which is labeled with the Latin/Iberian term. Richard Ligon, "[Vertical section of] The Upright of the Ingenio or Mill That Squeeses or Grinds the Sugar Canes," engraving, from Ligon, *A True & Exact History of the Island of Barbados* (London, 1657), following 84. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, Archive of Early American Images, 03547-008.

illustrated sugar works with an engraving by Sébastien Le Clerc. Le Clerc did not observe his subject firsthand, which made it all the easier for him to design an informative schematization of a sugar works. (See Figure 9.) He framed the works itself with a sugarcane field, a mansion house, slave housing ("cases de Negres"), and a half-dozen illustrations of indigenous plants that nearly take over the picture. In effect, he synthesized Post's landscape naturalism with Ligon's graphic analysis. Each of the stages of production received its separate space, and realistic detail was minimized in order to maintain focus on the technical processes. Just three people are depicted carrying cane from the field to the mill. The three-roller mill is shown in silhouette to clarify its construction. Single figures feed cane from opposing sides of the counter-turning rollers, with a minimal amount of debris at their feet. A solitary driver manages a single pair of oxen turning the mill's sweeps. A pipe carries the pressed juice from a trough beneath the mill to a settling tank, which then feeds a series of heated evaporating coppers that progressively concentrate the syrup, which is ladled into clay forms to cool for crystallization. At the bottom of the hill, a still makes rum from the molasses byproduct. A light-skinned figure in a loose shirt, culottes, and a hat directs eight half-clothed dark-skinned workers.

Le Clerc was a protégé of Charles Le Brun, Louis XIV's favorite artist, who held an appointment at the Gobelins tapestry works thanks to Jean-Baptiste Colbert.

FIGURE 9: The print's key gave priority to the mill, rather than to the raw material of the sugarcane (number 5), and identified the slaves' housing (number 10) as an afterthought to the plants. Sébastien Le Clerc, "Sucrerie," engraving, from Jean-Baptiste du Tertre, *Histoire genérale des Antilles habitées par les Français*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1667–1671), 2: facing 112. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, Archive of Early American Images, 01897-2.

Eventually he became professor of geometry and perspective at the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture.[33] It made perfect sense that he, one of France's foremost graphic artists, should contribute illustrations to a publication promoting French colonial staples. In 1663 Colbert arranged a royal charter for the Académie, granting it a monopoly of artistic instruction and institutionalizing its capacity to synergize French art and commerce through "a state-sponsored system with salaries, honors, and an official status for its artists."[34] In 1664 he also sponsored a series of edicts encouraging the French sugar industry: protective tariffs against foreign refined sugar, preferential duties for raw sugar imported from French colonies, and drawbacks on those duties when French-refined sugar was exported. He intended these measures to establish a French sugar-refining industry and thereby undercut the Dutch near-monopoly in shipping and refining sugar produced in the French Antilles. He also encouraged, and in some cases subsidized, the development of French refineries, which numbered more than two dozen by 1683. Meanwhile, sugar production in Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Saint Christopher doubled, and France developed its own African slave trade to maintain it. A March 1685 "Edit du roi touchant la police

[33] W. McAllister Johnson, *French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture Engraved Reception Pieces, 1672–1789: An Historical Publication Based on the Collections of the Département des estampes et de la photographie de la Bibliothèque National, Paris* (Kingston, Ont., 1982), 57.

[34] Paul Duro, *The Academy and the Limits of Painting in Seventeenth-Century France* (Cambridge, 1997), 59–60.

des îles de l'Amérique Françoise"—soon known as the Code Noir—defined the legal, social, economic, and religious implications of racially based slavery.[35]

The most profusely illustrated account of France's Caribbean colonies was Jean-Baptiste Labat's *Nouveau voyage aux isles de l'Amérique* (1722). Labat arrived in Martinique in 1694 as a Dominican missionary, but his mathematical training led to his employment by the colonial government as a civil and military engineer. This work involved travel throughout the Caribbean, including visits to English and Dutch colonies. He also managed a sugar plantation on Martinique as a sort of model farm to test technical and managerial improvements in sugar production. When he returned to Europe in 1706 and wrote up his experiences, he devoted more than three hundred pages to the labor, technology, and economics of sugar production. He broke down the work regimes of the plantation by hours and by division of tasks, devoting nearly fifty pages to an elaborate description of the work of planting and harvesting. He appreciated that the deadliest work on the plantation was using hoes in the fields to prepare the ground and to weed plantings, rather than in the more frequently illustrated and more dramatic stages of harvesting, milling, and processing. He warned that plantation managers were pushing their enslaved workers to their limits: "from what I have said above, it is clear how difficult it is for the Negro slaves, who are usually malnourished, to work in the sugar mill without perishing."[36] Accordingly, he explained how to reduce industrial accidents at the mill by weekly alternations of gangs' work between eighteen-hour days at the sugar works and six-hour days at the purging house.

But Labat's humanity nearly disappeared in his illustrations of sugar technology. Only one of his images of sugar mills shows the workers who ran them. The prints that he designed depict several types of mills in geometrical elevation (including a Portuguese wind vane and another one with horizontal rollers), plans of a boiling room and a purging house, and several hand tools for sugar-processing—none with human figures using them. (See Figure 10.) Labat's skillful natural history drawings show that he had the ability to represent figures on a sugar plantation, and his analyses of plantation work indicate an appreciation of its skills and stresses, but his visual representations of the sugar-slave complex do not include the enslaved people.

Denis Diderot and Jean d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* could have been the perfect vehicle to bridge this gap between the moral and the technical. It contained Louis de Jaucourt's ringing condemnation of slavery ("slavery is a humiliating state not only for the people who suffer it, but also for humanity itself, which is degraded by it"), and it affirmed the dignity of artisans and their mechanical arts: "We need a man to rise up in the academies and go down to the workshops and gather material about the arts to be set out in a book that will persuade artisans to read, philosophers to think along useful lines, and the great to make at least some worthwhile use of their

[35] For the code's text, see http://yekrik.yekrak.pagesperso-orange.fr/codenoirtxt.pdf.

[36] Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Nouveau voyage aux isles de l'Amérique: Contenant l'histoire naturelle de ces pays, l'origine, les moeurs, la religion & le gouvernement des habitans anciens & modernes. Les guerres & les evenemens singuliers qui y sont arrivez pendant le long séjour que l'auteur y a fait. Le commerce & les manufactures qui y sont établies, & les moyens de les augmenter. Avec une description exacte & curieuse de toutes ces isles. Ouvrage enrichi de plus de cent cartes, plans & figures en taille-douce*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1722), quote from 3: 216 ("on voit par ce que j'ai dit ci-dessus, ce que c'est le travail d'une sucrerie, & combien il est difficile que des Negres le plus souvent mal nourris puissent le supporter, sans y succomber").

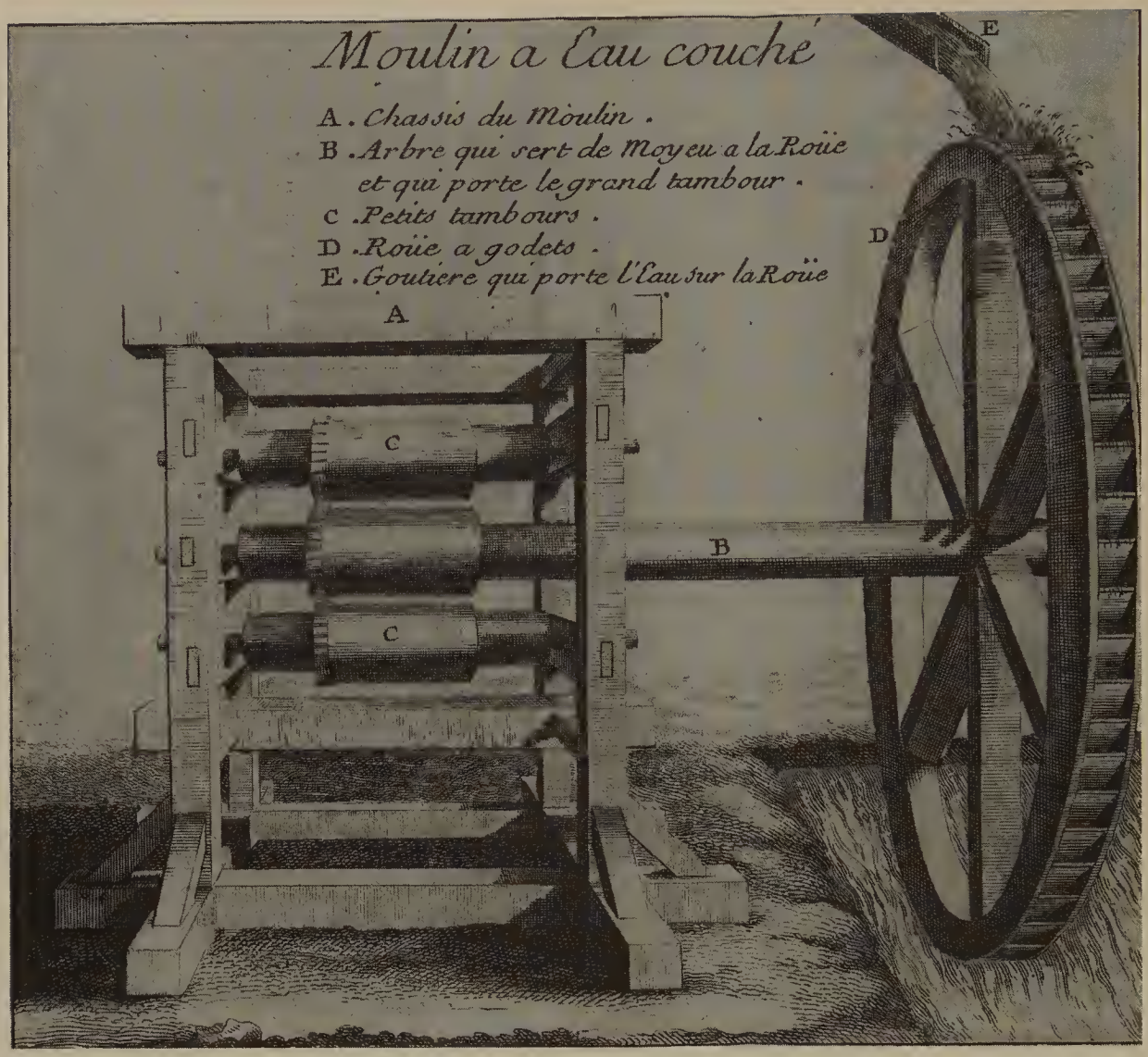

FIGURE 10: Jean-Baptiste Labat's graphics lavishly explored alternatives to the standard vertical three-roller mill, while ignoring the plantation workforce. "Moulin a eau couché," engraving, from Labat, *Nouveau voyage aux isles de l'Amérique*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1742), 3: following 436. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, Archive of Early American Images, 35892-54.

authority and their wealth."[37] Diderot answered his own call with the *Encyclopédie*'s eleven volumes of technical and scientific illustrations in 2,569 plates. Sugar manu-

[37] Le Chevalier Louis de Jaucourt, "Esclavage," in Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, eds., *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raissonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, 17 vols. (Paris, 1751–1765), 5: 934–939, quote from 938 ("l'esclavage n'est pas seulement un état humiliant pour celui qui le subit, mais pour l'humanité même qui est dégradée"). Jaucourt wrote more than 17,000 of the *Encyclopédie*'s articles, roughly one-quarter of its content; Frank A. Kafker and Serena L. Kafker, *The Encyclopedists as Individuals: A Biographical Dictionary of the Authors of the "Encyclopédie"* (Oxford, 1988), 175–180. The *Encyclopédie* is available online through the ARTFL Encyclopédie Project, http://encyclopedie.uchicago.edu. [Denis Diderot], excerpt from "Art," in Charles Coulston Gillispie, ed., *A Diderot Pictorial Encyclopedia of Trades and Industry: Manufacturing and the Technical Arts in Plates Selected from "L'Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire Raissonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers" of Denis Diderot*, 2 vols. (New York, 1959), 1: epigraph, quote from ix ("Les artisans se son crus méprisables, parce qu'on les a méprisés; apprenons-leur à mieux penser d'eux-mêmems: c'est le seul moyen d'en obtenir des productions plus parfaits. Qu'il sorte de sein des academies quelqu'homme qui descende dans les ateliers, qui y recueille les phénomenes des *Arts*, & qui nous les expose dans un ouvrage qui determine les artistes à lire, les philosophes à penser utilement, & les grands à faire enfin un usage utile de leur autorité & de leurs recompenses"; *Encyclopédie*, 1: 717).

facture appears in the section "Agriculture et economic rustique," the first plate in which shows a landscape of progressive but still low-tech grain agriculture, with wheeled plows and sowing machines in the foreground, but no machinery, such as flour mills. By contrast, the plates illustrating "Sucrerie" begin with a panoramic view that integrates a plantation's cane fields, mill, refinery, mansion house, and slaves' cabins. This print's naturalizing of plantation landscapes harks back to Frans Post. But the *Encyclopédie*'s other illustrations strip the sugar works down to sections of water- and animal-powered mills and to the array of evaporating cauldrons. (See Figure 11.) Token workers appear in each plate, but their efforts hardly distract the viewer from the apparatus itself. The most careful drawings are of the refining stages, in which the human presence is practically eliminated.[38]

In defiance of Jaucourt's thoroughgoing repudiation of slavery, Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Le Romain's entry on "Negres, considérés comme esclaves dans les colonies de l'Amérique" benignly tied racial slavery to Europe's American colonies: "America's lands occupied by Europeans would still be uncultivated but for the labor of Negroes who have been brought there from all parts of Guinea."[39] Considerations of humanity did not compromise this economic necessity; enslaved Africans, Le Romain asserted, lived more happily in America than in their native lands, and both humanity and self-interest required planters to attend to their slaves' well-being. Le Romain had direct knowledge of plantation conditions, having been an engineer in the French Antilles in the 1730s and 1740s. His article viewed plantation slavery from the perspective of the planter: how did differences among slaves depend on their home cultures in Africa, and how could they best be organized for plantation labor, particularly at the sugar works?

In the 1770s, British artists began broadening representations of sugar plantation regimes to include picturesque landscapes and genre scenes of everyday life.[40] This broadening was part of a still larger process: since the 1750s, British artists had been visiting colonial territories to create firsthand images of their people and landscapes for

[38] "Plan et élévation d'une nouvelle sucrerie sans pots ni charois de liquids jusqu'a la parfaite consommation des sirops, ecumes etc." and "Coupe relative au plan et élévation d'une nouvelle sucrerie éxécutée à Cayenne," in Jean Antoine Brûletout de Préfontaine, *Maison rustique, à l'usage des habitants . . . de Cayenne* (Paris, 1763), figs. 4 and 5, JCBL Archive 06290-4, 06290-5; Robert Louis Stein, *The French Sugar Business in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge, La., 1988).

[39] Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Le Romain, "Negres, considérés comme esclaves dans les colonies de l'Amérique," in Diderot and d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie*, 11: 80–83, quote from 80 ("les terres de l'Amérique, occupées par les Européens, seraient encore incultes, sans le secours des *negres* que l'on y a fait passer de presque toutes les parties de la Guinée"). On Le Romain as the *Encyclopédie*'s main authority on the West Indies, see Kafker and Kafker, *The Encyclopedists as Individuals*, 211–212. The immediately preceding entry on the Atlantic African slave trade, "Negres (Commerce)," is condemnatory; *Encyclopédie*, 11: 79–80.

[40] Susanne Seymour, Stephen Daniels, and Charles Watkins, "Picturesque Views of the British 'West Indies,'" *The Picturesque* 10 (1995): 22–28; Jean Michel Massing, "From Dutch Brazil to the West Indies: The Paper Image of the Ideal Sugar Plantation," in Barry Bergdoll and Werner Oechslin, eds., *Fragments: Architecture and the Unfinished—Essays Presented to Robin Middleton* (London, 2006), 275–288; Geoff Quilley, "Pastoral Plantations: The Slave Trade and the Representation of British Colonial Landscape in the Late Eighteenth Century," in Geoff Quilley and Kay Dian Kriz, eds., *An Economy of Colour: Visual Culture and the Atlantic World, 1660–1830* (Manchester, 2003), 106–128; Tim Barringer, "Picturesque Prospects and the Labor of the Enslaved," in Tim Barringer, Gillian Forrester, and Barbaro Martinez-Ruiz, eds., *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica: Isaac Mendes Belisario and His Worlds* (New Haven, Conn., 2007), 41–63.

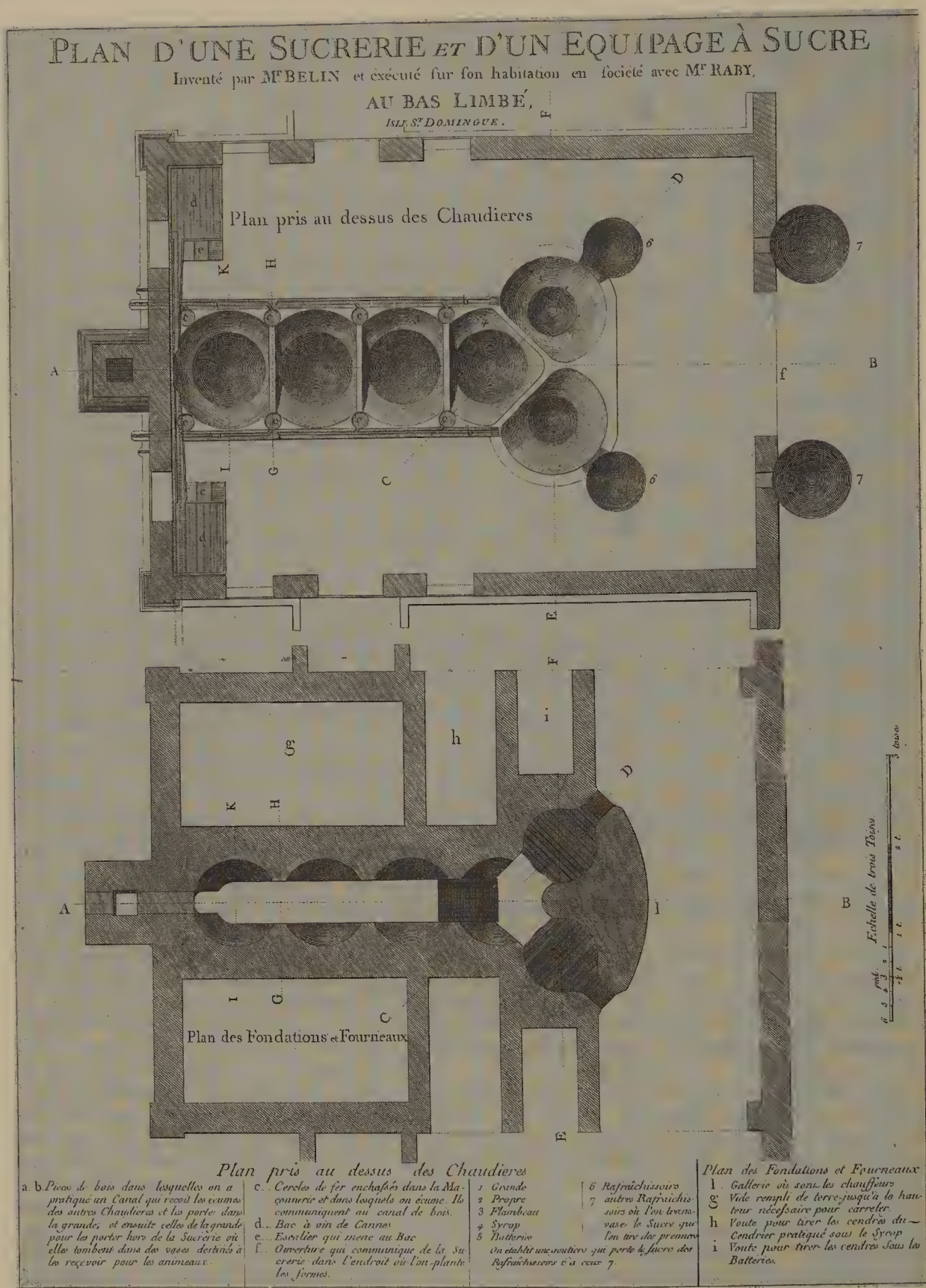

FIGURE 11: As Saint-Domingue came to preeminence among sugar colonies, graphic artists monumentalized its sugar refineries. Nicolas Ponce, "Plan d'une sucrerie et d'un equipage à sucre inventé par Mr. Belin et éxécuté sur son habitation en société avec Mr. Raby, au Bas Limbé, Isle St. Domingue," engraving, from Ponce, *Recueil de vues des lieux principaux de la colonie françoise de Saint-Domingue* (Paris, 1791). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, Archive of Early American Images, 03794-3.

metropolitan visual culture.[41] Thomas Hearne, eventually his generation's foremost topographic landscape artist, began his career in Antigua, where he arrived in 1771 as a draftsman for Sir Ralph Payne, the new governor-in-chief of the Leeward Islands. Payne, who owned plantations with more than four hundred slaves, commissioned Hearne to paint landscapes of Antigua, among them an idyllic view titled *Parham Hill House and Sugar Plantation* (ca. 1779). In the foreground a free African Caribbean militiaman strolls with his family, while in the middle ground a gang of slaves cut cane and load it onto a cart for transport to a distant windmill-powered sugar mill and its smoky sugar works.[42] Similarly, in 1774 William Beckford brought the Grand Tour painter George Robertson to Jamaica with a commission to portray his plantations, valued at more than £100,000. Robertson's *A View in the Island of Jamaica, of Roaring River Estate, Belonging to William Beckford Esqr.: Near Savannah la Marr* (1778) centers on a plantation house with a verandah, a mill and boiling house, and a sugar-curing plant. (See Figure 12.) In the foreground a woman with a rake chats with a dismounted rider on a country road, while another woman carrying a basket on her head walks with a child at her side. Robertson presented Beckford's plantations as models of large-scale, progressive agriculture based on a contented, well-organized workforce. Hearne's and Robertson's contemporary Agostino Brunias, a client of Antigua-born Sir William Young, president of the Commission for the Sale of Lands in the Ceded Islands (Grenada, Tobago, Dominica, and Saint Vincent), reversed this emphasis and made African Caribbeans the focus of his interest, as "West Indians," "Free West Indians," "Negroes," "Mulatresses," and "Free Natives," but, curiously, not as "Slaves." They danced, wrestled, bathed, peddled flowers, and bought fruit, but never worked on plantations.[43] Yet Brunias sometimes included sugar works as backgrounds to these genre scenes, and thereby subtly reinforced Hearne's and Robertson's image of the sugar mill as an icon of a humane plantation regime.[44]

This visual humanizing of the plantation landscape and its people—and silence on their enslavement—cannot have been just coincidental with the beginnings of an anti-slavery movement in Anglo-American culture and politics. An "empire without slaves" began to be considered positively for the first time by British pamphleteers in the early 1770s.[45] In *Somerset v. Stewart* at the Court of King's Bench in 1772, Lord Mansfield had ruled against the forceful removal of slaves from Britain for the purpose of sale: "The state of slavery is of such a nature, that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons, moral or political; but only positive law . . . It's so odious, that nothing can be suffered to support it, but positive law. Whatever inconveniences,

[41] Crowley, *Imperial Landscapes*.

[42] Thomas Hearne, *Parham Hill House and Sugar Plantation, Antigua* (1779), http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=749282&partId=1.

[43] On Brunias, see Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century Painting* (Durham, N.C., 1999), chap. 5; Kay Dian Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement: Picturing the British West Indies, 1700–1840* (New Haven, Conn., 2008), chap. 2. On Isaac Belisario, a later genre artist of the West Indies, see Kriz, ibid., chap. 4.

[44] E.g., Agostino Brunias, *Dancing Scene in the West Indies* (n.d.), painting (Tate Britain, inv. T13869; http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/brunias-dancing-scene-in-the-west-indies-t13869), whose background shows a hilltop sugar works separated from the African Caribbean scene in the foreground.

[45] On early abolitionism, see Christopher L. Brown, "Empire without Slaves: British Concepts of Emancipation in the Age of the American Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 56, no. 2 (1999): 273–306. On the preceding "antislavery without abolitionism," see Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006), chap. 1.

FIGURE 12: A picturesque plantation landscape without cane fields and their gangs. Thomas Vivares after George Robertson, *A View in the Island of Jamaica, of Roaring River Estate, Belonging to William Beckford Esqr.: Near Savannah la Marr*, engraving (London, 1778). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, Archive of Early American Images, 32878.

therefore, may follow from a decision, I cannot say this case is allowed or approved by the law of England; and therefore the black must be discharged."[46] Not surprisingly, Mansfield's decision was understood at the time as being abolitionist, though historians have shown that was not his original intent.[47]

The anti-slavery uptake on *Somerset* pained slaveholders and aroused a previously unnecessary *anti*-abolitionist movement.[48] For example, Samuel Martin's standard how-to manual, *An Essay upon Plantership*, added a new preface in 1773: "Upon the Slavery of Negroes, in the British Colonies. Shewing, that they are much happier than in their Native Country, much happier than the Subjects of Arbitrary Governments, and at least as happy as the Labourers of Britain." Martin could

[46] Mansfield's decision as reported by Capel Lofft, the only law recorder present, quoted in William R. Cotter, "The Somerset Case and the Abolition of Slavery in England," *History* 79, no. 255 (1994): 31–56, here 35.

[47] Yet "in limiting the rights of slaveholders in England, the counsel for Somerset seemed to acknowledge the rights of slaveholders in British America"; Brown, *Moral Capital*, 100. See also James Oldham, "New Light on Mansfield and Slavery," *Journal of British Studies* 27, no. 1 (1988): 45–68; Steven M. Wise, *Though the Heavens May Fall: The Landmark Trial That Led to the End of Human Slavery* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005).

[48] On West Indian colonists' previous lack of defensiveness regarding their slaveholding, see Jack P. Greene, "Liberty, Slavery, and the Transformation of British Identity in the Eighteenth-Century West Indies," *Slavery and Abolition* 21, no. 1 (2000): 1–31, here 8–10 and 14–16.

hardly have made his apologetic intent more explicit; he wanted "to put an end to the many publications upon The Freedom of Negroes in the Colonies." Abolitionists, he asserted, were intellectually lazy. Were they to inform themselves about Africa, they would learn that "all [people in] the kingdoms of Africa are slaves, from the highest to the lowest, to the arbitrary power of lawless tyrants, who have the lives and properties of their subjects absolutely at their disposal," a power they exercised by selling even their wives and children "to the traders of all nations upon the sea coasts." As well, "advocates for the liberty of the Negroes in our colonies" should "look into Ireland, among the common people, where there are no parish taxes, nor any support for the sick and maimed, but by private charities, and importunate beggary," while "the Negroes in our colonies are not only regularly fed by their owners throughout the year, at a very great expence, but have cloathing, warm houses, and spots of land, in which they produce fruits, roots, pulse, and vegetables, which they sell or apply to their own uses, as they please; besides, they enjoy the liberty of raising hogs, and feathered stock, which they sell or eat at their pleasure." He further urged that English readers "enquire into the state of our labourers in husbandry, even in this our opulent free country. Are they not slaves to necessity? the most cruel of all Egyptian task masters . . . What is their great boast of liberty, but that of changing their employer? But that can neither mitigate their labours, nor increase their wages; and therefore cannot add any comfort to their existence."[49] Martin's readers must have wondered whether people were thronging Bristol, Liverpool, Nantes, and La Rochelle, hoping for transportation to the West Indies as slaves.

Images of slave ships during early abolitionism might have discouraged such hopes. They showed hundreds of people confined below decks in spaces that did not allow them to stand up or to move when lying down.[50] Once arrived in the colonies, enslaved Africans inevitably faced sale. Abolitionist art dealt with these realities by emphasizing slavery's physical coercion, violation of family ties, and dehumanizing humiliation—conditions characterized in the title of George Morland's celebrated painting *Execrable Human Traffick* (1789).[51] Besides the sale of slaves, abolitionist art chiefly featured their torture.[52] Here William Blake created the most devastating images, with his gruesome illustrations for John Stedman's *Narrative of a Five Years'*

[49] Britannicus, "A Preface upon the Slavery of Negroes, in the British Colonies," in Samuel Martin, *An Essay upon Plantership, Humbly Inscribed to His Excellency George Thomas, Esq; Chief Governor of All the Leeward Islands*, 5th ed. (London, 1773), i–xv, quotes from iii, vii, viii, and dedication. On enslavement as a means of social relief, see Michael J. Rozbicki, "To Save Them from Themselves: Proposals to Enslave the British Poor, 1698–1755," *Slavery and Abolition* 22, no. 2 (2001): 29–50.

[50] Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, London Committee, *Description of a Slave Ship*, engraving (London, 1789). On depictions of the slave ship *Brookes*, see Marcus Wood, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 1780–1865* (New York, 2000), 16–36, figs. 2.2 and 2.3. On abolitionist art more generally, see Hugh Honour, ed., *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, vol. 4: *From the American Revolution to World War I*, pt. 1: *Slaves and Liberators*, 50–104, 146–155, 162–173; J. R. Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery: The Mobilisation of Public Opinion against the Slave Trade, 1787–1807* (Manchester, 1995), chap. 6; Maurie D. McInnis, *Slaves Waiting for Sale: Abolitionist Art and the American Slave Trade* (Chicago, 2011).

[51] The original of George Morland's painting *Execrable Human Traffick, or The Affectionate Slaves* (1789) is lost, but the Menil Collection in Houston, Texas, holds a copy (83-110DJ): https://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/228/. For a 1791 print by John Raphael Smith after Morland's painting, but retitled *The Slave Trade*, see http://www.centerforbritishart.org/slavery-and-portraiture/284/the-slave-trade.

[52] A third iconographic theme in abolitionist art was triumphal beneficence; Marcus Wood, *The Horrible Gift of Freedom: Atlantic Slavery and the Representation of Emancipation* (Athens, Ga., 2010).

Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam (1795), which hardly needed their redundant captions: "A Negro Hung Alive by the Ribs to a Gallows," "The Execution of Breaking on the Rack," "A Female Negro Slave, with a Weight Chained to Her Ancle," "Flagellation of a Female Samboe Slave."[53] Abolitionist art emphasized outrageous violations of enslaved bodies.

For purposes of the present discussion, however, it is the *absence* of a potential visual subject for abolitionists, namely killing labor, specifically on sugar plantations, that is most striking: "By destabilizing the idea that slavery was natural and focusing on the treatment of slaves rather than on the plantation machine as a unit in need of improvement, antislavery and abolition activists helped to transform the ameliorative discussion into one concerned far more with people than with land and cattle. Humanitarian sensibilities were increasingly privileged after the 1780s as the principal justifications for amelioration, signaling the transformation of the ameliorative project."[54] For the most part, abolitionists portrayed slaves independently of their labor; apologists of the slave regime readily portrayed plantation workers in relation to sugar technology, but without explicit acknowledgment of their enslavement. Abolitionists' avoidance of the workings of slave plantations gave anti-abolitionists opportunities to portray the sugar-slave complex as socially and economically natural, after all. And they did.

Simultaneous with Parliament's abolition of the transatlantic African slave trade, British artists in the Caribbean increased their representations of sugar plantations as landed estates, comparable to English manors with their varied terrain, understated work regime, and prosperous tenants and laborers, but different from them in their intensive technology. As studies for a book on "Costume of Jamaica," William Berryman worked from 1808 to 1815 making watercolor sketches that for the first time visually recorded the everyday labors of enslaved Jamaicans: digging cane holes, forming field gangs to plant sugarcane, stripping cane, planting corn, and pounding cassava.[55] (See Figure 13.) William Clark's 1823 *Ten Views in the Island of Antigua* illustrated sugar production with unprecedented close-up attention to work that slaves in the West Indies had been doing for almost two centuries.[56] Clark knew plantations firsthand; he had worked for planters as both an attorney and an overseer. His prints systematically explained the stages of sugar production by presenting scenes from specific plantations. Drivers recruited from the enslaved directly supervised work gangs, with whips as mere symbols of their authority. "Digging, or Rather Hoeing, the Cane-Holes" shows a driver directing the layout of squares, while a line of male and female workers use hoes to dig beds for planting corn as a ground-breaking crop; the cattle penned

[53] Wood, *Blind Memory*, figs. 2.17, 5.15, 5.16. On themes of torture in representations of slavery, see ibid., chap. 5. On Blake's engravings, see David Erdman, "Blake's Vision of Slavery," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 15, no. 3/4 (1952): 242–252. On the relation of abolitionist propaganda to "sadistic pornography," see Wood, *Blind Memory*, 261; Marcus Wood, *Slavery, Empathy, and Pornography* (Oxford, 2002), chap. 2; Karen Halttunen, "Humanitarianism and the Pornography of Pain in Anglo-American Culture," *American Historical Review* 100, no. 2 (April 1995): 303–334.

[54] Roberts, *Slavery and the Enlightenment in the British Atlantic*, quote from 52. See also Ryden, *West Indian Slavery and British Abolition*, chap. 7. Two encyclopedic works on the illustration of slavery and race lack focus on slave plantations: Wood, *Blind Memory*, and Honour, *Slaves and Liberators*.

[55] Berryman died shortly after his return to England, so he was unable to complete his project. For his draft title page, see http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3g13407/?co=cph. On Berryman, see Barringer, Forrester, and Martinez-Ruiz, *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica*, 52–54, 326–331.

[56] For reproductions of Clark's prints, see ibid., 318–321.

FIGURE 13: Everyday sugar work: drovers in the foreground, cane cutters in the background. William Berryman, *Sugar Estate—Negroes Cutting Cane*, watercolor (ca. 1808–1815). Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, DRWG 1–Berryman, no. 5.

nearby would provide manure subsequently. (See Figure 14.) "Planting the Sugar-Cane" features two drivers, one directing children to place cuttings in the holes, the other standing over a gang of men and women as they cover the plantings. Every scene shows workers well clothed in a variety of materials and styles. "Cutting the Sugar-Cane" shows a driver at the head of a long line of vigorous cutters attacking the face of the cane field, while behind them bundlers gather the cane and bring it to a wagon where a mounted overseer is speaking to a driver who has deferentially removed his hat. For the remainder of the processing, managers' roles become more apparent in coordinating a highly efficient division of labor. In "The Mill-Yard," a driver directs a crew of women to carry the cane from the wagon to the mill, and afterward to lay out the crushed cane ("trash") to dry for fuel. In "The Boiling-House," workers use long-handled scoops to skim the steaming vats and move the progressively concentrated syrup toward cooling pans, which Europeans in frock coats stir to crystallize the sugar. A nighttime view, "Exterior of the Boiling-House," emphasizes how the mill and its laborers worked around the clock to keep the fires going. "Exterior of Curing-House and Stills" and "Interior of the Distillery" mark European managers' intensified supervision of the plantation's two final products, sugar and rum, as they gauged their degrees of refinement. The final scene, "Carting and Putting Sugar-Hogsheads on

FIGURE 14: The first visual study of gang labor in the production of sugar. William A. V. Clark, "Digging, or Rather Hoeing, the Cane-Holes," aquatint, from Clark, *Ten Views of the Island of Antigua: In Which Are Represented the Process of Sugar Making, and the Employment of the Negroes, in the Field, Boiling-House and Distillery* (London, 1823), fig. 2. Courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Folio A 2010 10.

Board," brings the industrial narrative to a close, with a winsome, palm-shaded beach scene in which a manager is certifying a gigantic barrel of sugar before plantation hands roll it onto a skiff. Clark's prints reassured investors and plantation owners, and anyone else of an anti-abolitionist disposition, that the sugar regime was working well, despite the end of the transatlantic African slave trade.

Meanwhile, British landscape artists illustrated sugar plantations as manorial estates. In 1824 James Hakewill, whose previous work included *A Picturesque Tour of Italy*, published a series of aquatints, *A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica, from Drawings Made in the Years 1820 and 1821*, dedicated "To the Noblemen and Gentlemen, Proprietors of Estates in the West Indies; to the Resident Gentlemen . . . and to the Merchants of the United Kingdom, Connected with Those Valuable Colonies." Hakewill presented plantations as village-like manors, with their inhabitants angling beside streams and ambling along paths amidst barracks for "book-keepers and other white people attached to the estate," the "boiling-house" and "still-house," and the "change-of-air house." While "desirous of being understood as by no means advocating slavery in principle," Hakewill found abundant "evidence of the personal comfort of the negro population."[57] He reinforced his images

[57] James Hakewill, *A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica, from Drawings Made in the Years 1820 and 1821* (London, 1825), quotes from 3–5; for reproductions of Hakewill's prints, see Barringer, Forrester, and Martinez-Ruiz, *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica*, figs. 3.14–15, cat. 42–43, 70–75, 79.

FIGURE 15: Progressive agriculture: workers with hoes over their shoulders returning from a day's work, a pastoral landscape in the foreground, and an impressively engineered aqueduct supplying the mill's waterwheel. Sutherland after James Hakewill, "Trinity Estate, St. Mary's," aquatint, from Hakewill, *A Picturesque Tour of the Island of Jamaica, from Drawings Made in the Years 1820 and 1821* (London, 1824–1825). Courtesy of the Yale Center for British Art, Rare Books and Manuscripts, T 683.

of slaves' physical well-being by portraying them in the context of plantation technology, a token of economic progress. (See Figure 15.)

In explicit reaction to the threat of abolition, representations of sugar plantations in the British West Indies naturalized slavery by masking it with a picturesque aesthetic, albeit one that accommodated industrial technology.[58] This use of picturesque

[58] This strategy of social representation parallels contemporaneous landscape art in metropolitan Britain, where "the art of rural life was adapted over the century so that it became able to express ['a ruthlessly prudent management of their estates'] . . . *and* could satisfy the rich and the leisured in their capacity also as the large minded and benevolent patrons of England's agricultural, mercantile, and industrial progress"; John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730–1840* (Cambridge, 1980), quotes from 11 and 12, emphasis added. See also Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986); Christiana Payne, *Toil and Plenty: Images of the Agricultural Landscape in England, 1780–1890* (New Haven, Conn., 1993). Nineteenth-century representations of agricultural scenes often played progressive technology against archaic fieldwork; e.g., Tim Barringer, *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain* (New Haven, Conn., 2005), chap. 2. On nineteenth-century European artists' attention to the compatibility possible between picturesque landscapes and industrial technology (particularly the railroad), see Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (1964; repr., New York, 2000), 159–160, 220–221, 251, 271 n.; and T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of*

landscape art to apologize for the plantation regime in the British West Indies continued into the period of apprenticeship (1834–1838). The most impressive series of Caribbean landscape prints, the fifty lithographs in Joseph Bartholomew Kidd's *West Indian Scenery: Illustrations of Jamaica* (1837–1840), appeared simultaneously with abolition. Kidd had painted estates in Trelawney Parish for two years, readily accommodating intensive plantation technology to picturesque views of estates and their "peasantry" by almost invariably placing sugar mills at the center of his compositions. Then he returned to London to give the West Indies the aesthetic publicity they deserved: "The object of this undertaking is to fill a vacant niche in the Gallery of Pictorial Works, and to give publicity to a series of views, illustrative of a West Indian Clime. The Annuals, Portfolios, Exhibitions, &c., abound in Illustrations of India, China, Canada, and, indeed, almost every other portion of the globe; but the superb and picturesque scenery of the West [Indies] is comparatively unknown in the land that peopled it."[59]

Kidd was being aesthetically parochial. Brazil and Suriname had become the cynosures of "superb and picturesque scenery" in the Americas. As part of a cultural expedition comparable to Johan Maurits's, the Austrian painter Thomas Ender, with Prince Klemens Wenzel von Metternich's patronage, accompanied the archduchess Maria Leopoldina of Austria to Brazil in 1817 for her marriage to Dom Pedro of Bragança, who in 1822 would become independent Brazil's first emperor. Over the course of his one year there, Ender created nearly eight hundred drawings and watercolors of Brazil's urban and rural scenery and architecture.[60] Following Ender's lead, the Augsburg artist Johann Moritz Rugendas went to Brazil in 1821, where he joined a Russian scientific expedition, toured the country for four years, and then published *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil* (1827–1835).[61] Its one hundred prints illustrate Brazil's extraordinary physical and human diversity: waterfalls, grottos, indigenous peoples' material culture and funerary customs, African Brazilian dancing and dress, European costumes in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, worksites in mining and ranching districts, diamond caravans, and scenes of planter families.[62] Meanwhile, Jean-Baptiste Debret was preparing *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil* (1834–1839), arguably the richest

Manet and His Followers, revised ed. (Princeton, N.J., 1999), 150–151, 158, 170–176, 186–190: "There is a rule to these paintings, and it might be stated roughly as follows: Industry can be recognized and represented, but not labour; the factories have to be kept still, as if that were the guarantee of their belonging to the landscape" (189).

[59] Joseph Bartholomew Kidd, *West Indian Scenery: Illustrations of Jamaica, in a Series of Views Comprising the Principal Towns, Public Buildings, Estates, and Most Picturesque Scenery of the Island* (London, 1837–1840), quote from prospectus. For Kidd's prints, see Barringer, Forrester, and Martinez-Ruiz, *Art and Emancipation in Jamaica*, fig. 3.17, cat. 95–103, 221–225, Kidd quote from 386. On Hakewill and Kidd, see Kriz, *Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement*, chap. 5.

[60] Gloria Kaiser, "Thomas Ender and the Impact of Austria on Brazil," in Gloria Kaiser and Robert Wagner, *Thomas Ender: Brasilien-Expedition 1817: Aquarelle aus dem Kupferstichkabinett der Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien* (Graz, 1994), 45–48.

[61] Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time* (New York, 1975), figs. xxiv (Rugendas), 172–173 (Ender); Honour, *Slaves and Liberators*, 137–147. For reproductions of Ender's watercolors, see Robert Wagner and Júlio Bandeira, eds., *Viagem ao Brasil: Nas aquarelas de Thomas Ender, 1817–1818*, 3 vols. (Petrópolis, 2000). See also Silvia Hunold Lara, "Customs and Costumes: Carlos Julião and the Image of Black Slaves in Late Eighteenth-Century Brazil," *Slavery and Abolition* 23, no. 2 (2002): 123–146.

[62] Pablo Diener and Maria de Fátima Gomes Costa, *A América de Rugendas: Obras e documentos* (São Paulo, 1999).

visualization of a European colony, with more than 150 lithographs.[63] Debret had arrived in 1816, to help establish an academy of arts in Rio de Janeiro, which had become the seat of the Portuguese Empire after Dom João VI fled Napoleon's invasion in 1807. While thriving as a court painter, Debret became fascinated with potential genre subjects in Brazil's streets and countryside, which he painted for fifteen years before returning to Paris to publish his *Voyage pittoresque*.[64] Both Rugendas and Debret forthrightly showed horrific conditions aboard slave ships and in slave markets, as well as scenes of excruciating public lashings, but overall they conveyed an acceptance of the slave regime, which was now synonymous with an entire society rather than primarily with sugar plantations.[65] Each of the three artists had only a single illustration of *engenhos* and their machinery: Ender added one as a tiny feature in a panoramic view of a valley; Rugendas portrayed a mill yard; and Debret showed a hand-operated mill for domestic production. (See Figure 16.)

HAD THE TECHNOLOGY OF SUGAR lost its compelling visual interest? No. As though delivered by Minerva's owl, the most impressive illustrations of the sugar-slave complex appeared at its end, in the form of Eduardo Laplante and Luis Marquier's twenty-eight lithographs in Justo Germán Cantero's *Los ingenios: Colección de vistas de los principales ingenios de azúcar de la isla de Cuba*.[66] They celebrated Cuba's rise to global dominance in the sugar industry: by the 1860s, Cuba supplied 40 percent of the world's cane sugar.[67] *Los ingenios* attributed this success to Cuban planters' adoption of industrial

[63] Jean-Baptiste Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, ou séjour d'un artiste français au Brésil, dupuis 1816 jusqu'en 1831 inclusivement, époques de l'avénement et de l'abdication de S. M. D. Pedro 1er, fondateur de l'Empire brésilien*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1834–1839), http://www.brasiliana.usp.br/search?filtertype=*&filter=Voyage+pittoresque+et+historique+au+Br%C3%A9sil&submit_search-filter-controls_add=Buscar.

[64] Kirsten Schultz, *Tropical Versailles: Empire, Monarchy, and the Portuguese Royal Court in Rio de Janeiro, 1808–1821* (New York, 2001), 104. P. J. Benoit, *Voyage à Surinam: Description des possessions néerlandaises dans la Guyane* (Brussels, 1839), http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL:8156578, with its one hundred lithographs of African Brazilians and colonists in a wide variety of activities and settings, bears comparison with Debret.

[65] Robert W. Slenes, "African Abrahams, Lucretias, and Men of Sorrows: Allegory and Allusion in the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Lithographs (1827–1835) of Johann Moritz Rugendas," *Slavery and Abolition* 23, no. 2 (2002): 147–168. In the first third of the nineteenth century, Brazil's sugar industry added mills and increased exports, but the proportion of enslaved people on sugar plantations became a minority in relation to the rest of the enslaved population, even in the sugar parishes, where half the enslaved people were owned in units of fewer than fifty; Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550–1835* (Cambridge, 1985), 422–434, tables 16–18.

[66] Justo G. Cantero, with illustrations by Eduardo Laplante and Luis Marquier, *Los ingenios: Colección de vistas de los principales ingenios de azúcar de la isla de Cuba*, ed. Luís Miguel García Mora and Antonio Santamaría García (facsimile of original 1857 edition with extensive notes, Madrid, 2005); Mora and García, "Introducción: Donde cristaliza la esperanza lectura de *Los ingenios*," ibid., 15–82.

[67] On the Cuban sugar industry, see Franklin W. Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba during the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, Wis., 1970); Knight, "Origins of Wealth and the Sugar Revolution in Cuba, 1750–1850," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 57, no. 2 (1977): 231–253; Fraginals, *The Sugarmill*; Luis Martínez-Fernández, "The Sweet and the Bitter: Cuban and Puerto Rican Responses to the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Sugar Challenge," *New West Indian Guide / Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 67, no. 1/2 (1993): 47–67; Rebecca J. Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860–1899* (Princeton, N.J., 1985), chap. 1; Dale W. Tomich, "The Invention of the Cuban Sugarmill: Space, Time, and Labor Management, 1820–1860," in Maria Dolores González-Ripoll and Izaskun Álvarez Cuartero, eds., *Francisco Arago y la invención de la Cuba azucarera* (Salamanca, 2010), 133–149. On the relation of technological innovation and slavery more broadly, see Peter Boomgaard and Gert J. Oostindie,

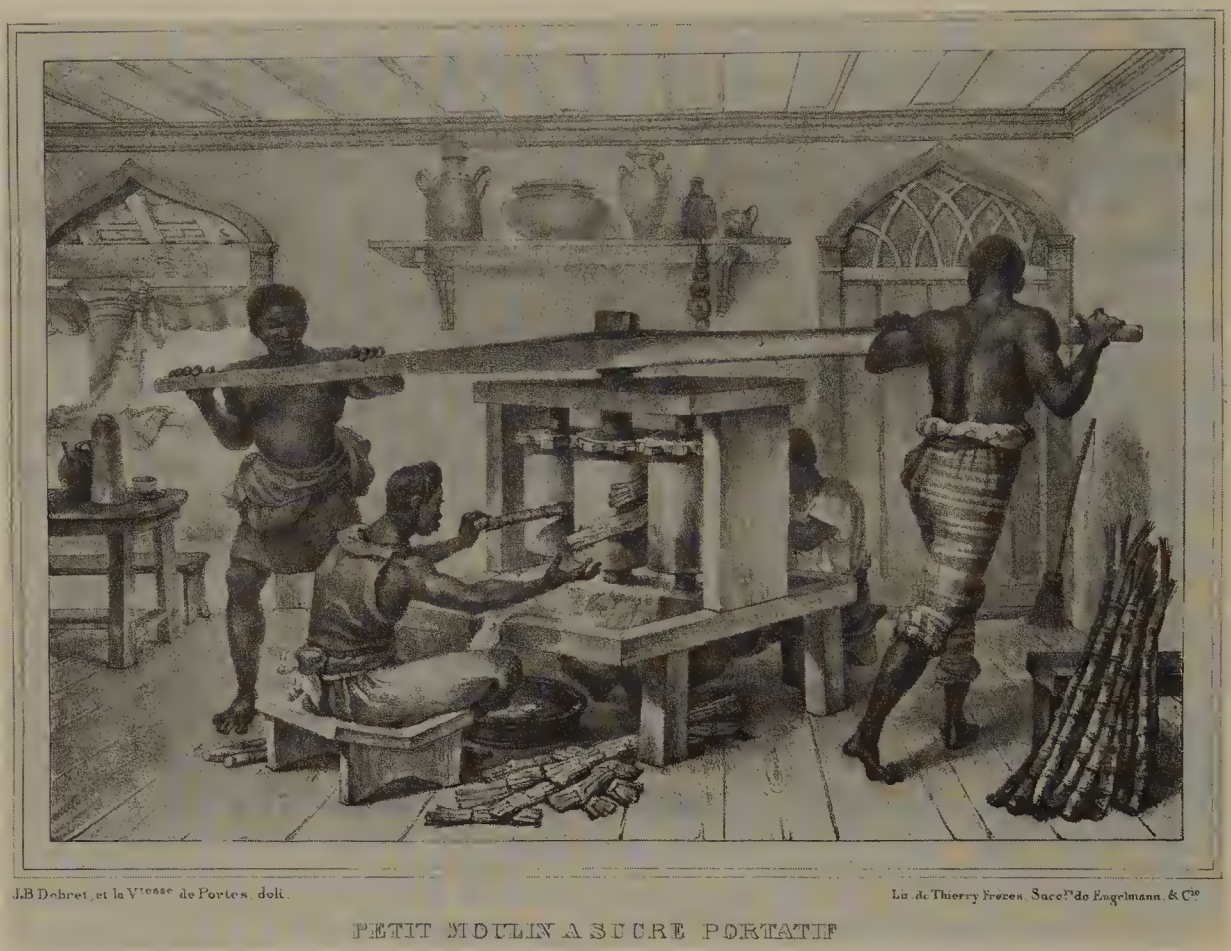

FIGURE 16: Sugar work became one of many occupations in Brazil. Thierry Frères after Jean-Baptiste Debret and la Vitesse de Portes, "Petit moulin à sucre portative," lithograph, from Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, ou séjour d'un artiste français au brésil, dupuis 1816 jusqu'en 1831 inclusivement, époques de l'avenement et de l'abdication de S. M. D. Pedro 1e Fondadateur de l'empire Brésilien*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1834–1839), 2: fig. 27, following 86. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, Archive of Early American Images, 07385-78.

technology; the book begins with a scene of Havana featuring a steam-driven crane and ends with a railroad engine crossing in front of a vast plantation complex, with a factory and its three smokestacks on one side and an immense quadrangle of workers' housing on the other.[68] (See Figure 17.)

"Changing Sugar Technology and the Labour Nexus: The Caribbean, 1750–1900," *New West Indian Guide / Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 63, no. 1/2 (1989): 3–22; and Richard B. Sheridan, "Changing Sugar Technology and the Labour Nexus in the British Caribbean, 1750–1900, with Special Reference to Barbados and Jamaica," ibid., 59–93l; Salcedo, *De los bueyes al vapor*, 115–122; Fraginals, *The Sugarmill*, chap. 4; Galloway, *The Sugar Cane Industry*, 134–141. For contemporary technical treatises on sugar production, see W. J. Evans, *The Sugar-Planter's Manual: Being a Treatise on the Art of Obtaining Sugar from the Sugar-Cane* (London, 1847); Charles Jay, *Observations on the Manufacture of Sugar, Sugar-Making Machinery, Central Works, and Government Restrictions, with Suggestions for the Improvement of Manufacturing Processes* (London, 1847); John A. Leon, *On Sugar Cultivation in Louisiana, Cuba, &c., and the British Possessions, by an European and Colonial Sugar Manufacturer* (London, 1848).

[68] Laplante may have had illustrations of the London 1851 Great Exhibition in mind when he designed *Los ingenios*. On the Great Exhibition and its visual fetishism of technology, see Joseph Nash, Louis Haghe, David Roberts, John Waldie, and Dickinson Brothers, *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851: From the Originals Painted for His Royal Highness Prince Albert* (London, 1852); Jeffrey A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven, Conn., 1999), especially 104–108; Hermione Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition: Art, Science*

FIGURE 17: Railroads opened Cuba's interior plains to sugar production, and in this print signified the compatibility of plantation slavery and industrialization. Luis Marquier after Eduardo Laplante, "Ingenio Ácana Propriedad del Señor D. José Eusebio Alfonso," lithograph, from Justo G. Cantero, *Los ingenios: Colección de vistas de los principales ingenios de azúcar de la Isla de Cuba* (Havana, 1857), fig. 28. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, TP378.C22 Folio.

Cuba led the world in the application of modern technology to the production of cane sugar.[69] Thanks to the six hundred kilometers of railways that had been built by 1860, the industry expanded from Havana's hinterlands to the rest of the island. Meanwhile, horizontal presses powered by steam engines replaced traditional three-roller mills driven by the natural forces of water, wind, and animals. By 1860, 70 percent (about 950) of Cuba's sugar mills used steam power, compared with only thirty of Barbados's five hundred plantations and even fewer in Brazil. (Recently developed Puerto Rico was the technological runner-up: in 1867 it had 161 steam mills and 239 animal-powered mills.)[70] Horizontal mills could take more power from a steam engine than was possible with the traditional wind- or water-driven vertical three-roller mills. They required only parallel gearing, and they could be set up in series to maximize extraction. Cuban manufacturers also borrowed more efficient processing technology from the nascent European sugar-beet industry. Vacuum pans lowered the

and Productive Industry—A History of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 (London, 2002); Barringer, *Men at Work*, 9–12.

[69] On the application of science to Cuban sugar production, see María M. Portuondo, "Plantation Factories: Science and Technology in Late-Eighteenth-Century Cuba," *Technology and Culture* 44, no. 2 (2003): 231–257.

[70] Salcedo, *De los bueyes al vapor*, table 15.4.

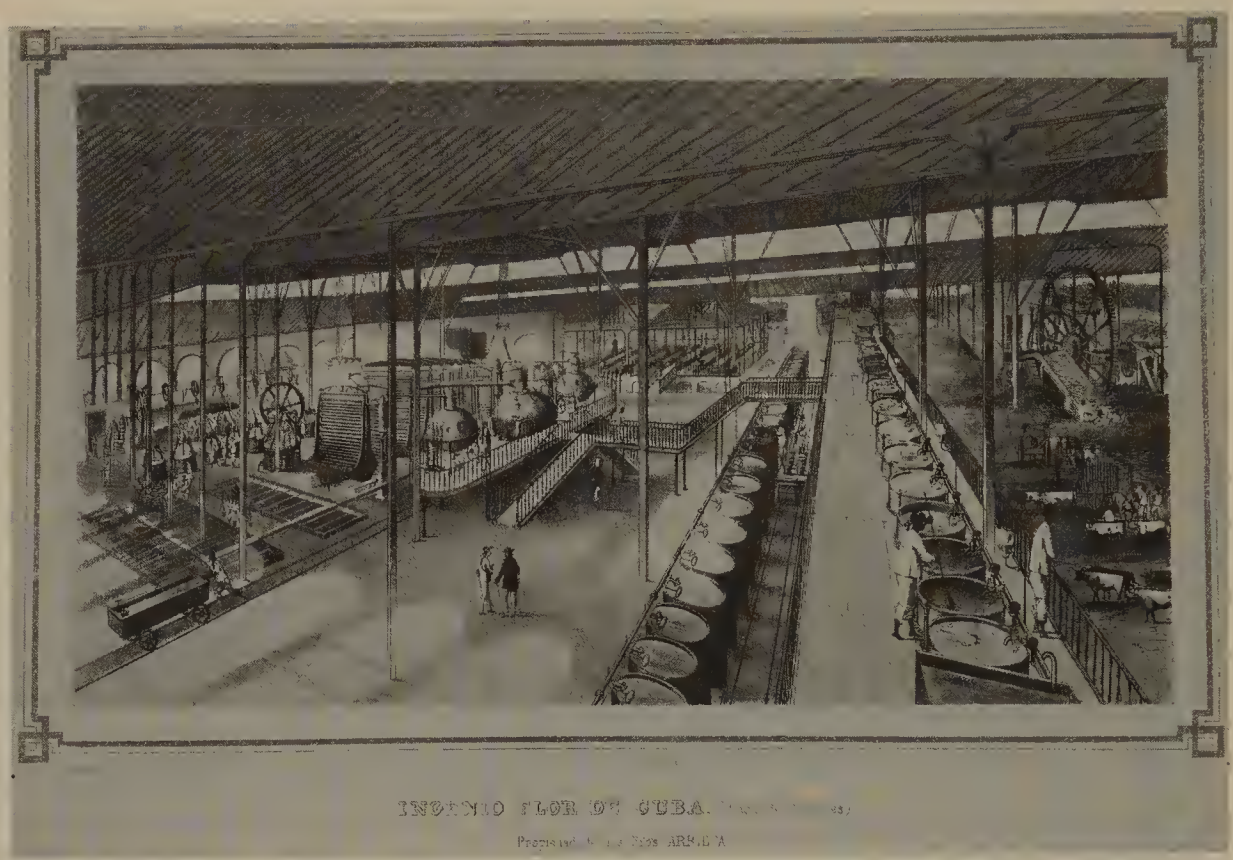

FIGURE 18: The raw and the cooked: a sharp divide separated the mill with its oxen and cane debris from the spotless interior for processing. Luis Marquier after Eduardo Laplante, "Ingenio Flor de Cuba (Casa de Calderas) Propriedad de los Señores Arrieta," lithograph, from Justo G. Cantero, *Los ingenios: Colección de vistas de los principales ingenios de azúcar de la Isla de Cuba* (Havana, 1857), fig. 22. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, TP378.C22 Folio.

boiling point of the syrup and hence increased its rate of evaporation, while requiring less energy and thereby economizing on fuel. Centrifuges replaced clay drainage pots for separating crystalline sugar from molasses, doing in hours what previously had taken weeks. (See Figure 18.) But *Los ingenios* skewed economic realities toward a technological triumphalism: nearly 80 percent of Cuba's sugar was produced by the nine hundred or so mills that used steam engines but lacked advanced processing equipment such as vacuum pans and centrifuges. Factories of the type shown in *Los ingenios*, with their cutting-edge technology in iconic factory settings, numbered only sixty or so and produced only 15 percent of the island's sugar.[71]

Cuba's rise to predominance in sugar manufacturing depended critically on *non*-technological factors. The Haitian Revolution provided new markets for Cuba's investors and planters by destroying Saint-Domingue's world-leading sugar industry. The second critical factor was Cuba's underdevelopment: it had extensive cultivable lands to grow sugarcane and large stands of forests to fuel processing. And Cuba had slavery. On the advice of the planter-economist Francisco de Arango y Parreño in a 1792 memo to King Charles IV on agricultural reform, Spain allowed foreigners into the island's slave trade, lowered duties on slaves, and abolished them on machinery. In 1818 it opened Cuba to free trade. With much of its capital and machinery coming from Britain, Spain agreed in 1817 to a treaty banning the transatlantic African slave trade.

[71] Fraginals, *The Sugarmill*, 84, table 3.

It was a dead letter; 400,000 enslaved Africans would be brought to Cuba over the next half-century.[72] The scale of Cuba's dependence on this slave trade was a grim measure of the growth of its sugar industry. In 1860, two-thirds of the island's population was free (roughly half creole European and one-sixth African Cuban); 300,000 enslaved Africans and their descendants made up the remaining third, and half of them lived on sugar plantations. In defiance of its putative abolition, the transatlantic African slave trade critically maintained this plantation labor force, which otherwise would have diminished owing to an excess of deaths over births among the enslaved workers.[73] Cuban slave imports in the five years before the publication of *Los ingenios* totaled 46,000 people, and in the next five years they would exceed 100,000.[74]

The "capitalistic, export-oriented sugar plantations" portrayed in *Los ingenios* have been likened to "prisons," and not just metaphorically. The "*barracón*, a prison-like barracks . . . segregating males and females" (and African Cubans from Chinese indentured laborers), was a proud fixture in *Los ingenios*'s images of industrialized estates: the spacious design of their living, sanitary, and central kitchen facilities marked a supersession of retrograde *bohíos* (huts).[75] Marginal scenes of workers in Laplante's prints—heading to fields with hoes, cutting cane, delivering cane to mills with oxcarts, feeding cane to mills' rollers, fueling furnaces with *bagasse* (dried sugarcane refuse), tending factories' vats, and packing sugar in barrels, not to mention the ubiquitous prison-like *barracóns*—reminded viewers, however subliminally, that the production of Cuban sugar depended on hundreds of thousands of forced laborers in the fields as well as in the factories (with enslaved Africans now augmented by Chinese indentured laborers). But the central feature of nearly every print was either machinery or a smokestack.[76]

Yet in retrospect *Los ingenios* marked the apogee of the sugar-slavery nexus, not its promising future. Spain would end the slave trade in its colonies in 1866; Cuba's

[72] Galloway, *The Sugar Cane Industry*, 163–165; Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba during the Nineteenth Century*, chap. 1. About 5 percent of enslaved Africans en route to Cuba were intercepted by British anti-slaving cruisers; ibid., 53, table 5.

[73] Here demographic history diverges from economic and social history, not to say human experience. Jack Ericson Eblen derived "intrinsic" and "natural" rates of increase among enslaved Cubans by constructing "a closed population with a stable age structure," i.e., by eliminating imported slaves from its population at risk; Eblen, "On the Natural Increase of Slave Populations: The Example of the Cuban Slave Population, 1775–1900," in Stanley L. Engerman and Eugene D. Genovese, eds., *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies* (Princeton, N.J., 1975), 211–247, quotes from 214, 218, 245.

[74] Official Spanish censuses recorded Cuba's enslaved population as 323,759 in 1846 and 368,550 in 1862; British commissioners in Havana estimated that 203,650 enslaved people were imported into Cuba in the meantime (1843–1862); Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba*, 7, 10, 12, 87, tables 1–3, 10.

[75] Ibid., quotes from 14 and 17; Evelyn Hu-Dehart, "Chinese Coolie Labour in Cuba in the Nineteenth Century: Free Labour or Neo-Slavery?," *Slavery and Abolition* 14, no. 1 (1993): 67–86. A typical description of a *barracón*: "Una de las construcciones que más nos han llamado la atención es el hermoso barracón, todo de mampostería y de capacidad suficiente para 300 negros, rodeado de colgadizos interiormente, con la cocina en el centro, además del lavadero y las necesarias dependencias. No sólo está bien edificado, sino que producen muy buen efecto las columnitas que lo circundan coronades de graciosas almenas. Las dimensiones son de 100 varas [a *vara* = roughly a meter] a cada viento. En uno de sus extremos está situada la enfermería atendida con grande esmero y en la cual reciben los pobres pacientes la asistencia que su estado reclama"; "Ingenio San Rafael," in Cantero, *Los ingenios*, 266–270, quote from 268. Immediately preceding the print with the railroad engine (fig. 17) was a contrasting view of old-fashioned technology—a crowded scene of oxcarts delivering cane.

[76] Even the series' two panoramic landscapes, "Ingenio Buena-Vista" (belonging to Cantero) and "Valle de la Magdalena," center on smokestacks.

Ten Years' War (1868–1878) would arouse abolitionist and racist strategies on both sides; Cuban slavery would be abolished in 1886; and industrial sugar production would concentrate in central factories, whose waged workers no longer lived on-site, as on plantations.

From start to finish, technology trumped humanity in visual representations of sugar plantations.[77] This privileging arose initially with graphic illustrations of the modern era as a time of technological progress over the ancients. As sugar production intensified with colonial plantations, specialized technology developed—vertical three-roller mills and trains of evaporative vats—and the sugar mill became a synecdoche of the most highly integrated and expansive industry in the early modern world. Sugar enjoyed elasticity in consumer demand: people always wanted more. Since sugar consumption increased faster than prices fell, there were always sugar frontiers to expand production. Throughout the early modern era, sugar production increased in conjunction with the transatlantic African slave trade. At least 60 percent of the nearly 13 million people caught up in that trade were destined for sugar plantations. Yet most illustrations of sugar technology minimized its crucial conjunction with slave labor; only the Dutch occupation of Brazil resulted in a visual appreciation that the sugar/slave plantation was at the heart of colonial American society and of the Atlantic economy.

As a humanitarian abolitionist movement mobilized in late-eighteenth-century Britain, it produced visual images that emphasized the abuse of slaves individually, while artistic clients of anti-abolitionist patrons responded with picturesque landscapes and genre scenes showing slave plantations as tranquil manorial communities with impressive technological endowments. And in defiance of abolitionism elsewhere, mid-nineteenth-century Cuba's sugar planters visually advertised their global economic predominance with hyper-technological images of factories requiring only minuscule inputs of enslaved labor. They titled their advertisement *Los ingenios*. This visual privileging of sugar technology manifested how easily Europeans could be distracted from concerns about the millions of enslaved people in their colonies. Apparently, most Europeans associated the production of sugar with the unquestioned good of economic development, despite its inextricable dependence on enslaved labor.

[77] This tendency is not unknown in modern historiography: the most comprehensive technological history of Caribbean sugar production, both chronologically and geographically, has little to say about enslaved and unfree workforces; Salcedo, *De los bueyes al vapor*, 311–315.

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Maidservants' Tales: Narrating Domestic and Global History in Eurasia, 1600–1900

AMY STANLEY

SOMEWHERE IN THE WORLD, sometime before the twentieth century, a single woman left her home in the countryside. She claimed that she was going to visit a brother who lived in a nearby town. Instead she met up with a young man of her acquaintance and set off for the capital, which was several days' journey away. Along the way, her traveling companion convinced her to pawn the extra clothes in her luggage to finance their trip. When the pair arrived in the city, she wrote her family a defiant letter expressing her desire to work as a maidservant in an urban mansion so that she could "learn the conduct and manners of the upper class." In their response they chastised her for her unfeminine conduct, quoting a famous line from a text she had memorized as a child. Meanwhile, her companion had pressured her into sex and then abandoned her, making off with the money he had received after pawning her clothes. Undeterred, she relied on connections from her home province to find work in domestic service. She spent her days hauling water, washing dishes, and sweeping rooms. But unsatisfied with the working conditions, she soon left for a series of short-term positions scattered around the city. She eventually married a fellow migrant and stayed in the capital for the rest of her life.

As it happens, this is a Japanese story. It belonged to a Buddhist priest's daughter named Tsuneno, who left her home province of Echigo for the shogun's capital of Edo in 1839. But she was not the only woman who lived out a version of this narrative during the centuries between 1600 and 1900. Leave out the details—that the language she spoke was Japanese, the clothes she traded were silk crepe and cotton kimono, the currency she received in return was *ryō*, and the quote in her brother's letter was from the *Classic of Filial Piety*—and she might be English, French, Swedish, or Italian. The story of the young woman who turned to the urban labor market to separate herself from an overbearing family, faced sexual exploitation and penury,

I wish to thank my colleagues in the Northwestern University History Department, too many to list by name, nearly all of whom read versions of this article and contributed ideas and citations. I am also grateful to Joel Mokyr, Beth Berry, Dani Botsman, Eugene Park, Murayama Kōtarō, Andrew Leong, Eleanor Hubbard, and Jooyeon Hahm; audiences at the University of California, Santa Barbara, the University of Michigan, and the Nicholas D. Chabraja Center for Historical Studies; the staff at the Niigata Prefectural Archives; and the readers for and editors of the *American Historical Review*. Finally, I want to extend my heartfelt appreciation and gratitude to Sarah Maza.

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and then married and stayed in the city would have been familiar to most European and Japanese audiences as both a plausible life story and a powerful cultural narrative. This was not the case at the center of the Eurasian continent, where girls did not often choose to work in urban domestic service, but rather were sold into that position as indentured laborers or slaves. But there, too, the broad outlines of Tsuneno's story were familiar. The life history of a country girl who served in a wealthy household in the capital and then married and settled in the city could have belonged to someone from China or Circassia.

For social historians, particularly those investigating the small rebellions of ordinary people, the details that locate Tsuneno precisely in time and space matter. As Walter Johnson has pointed out, scholars interested in power relations must attend to the specific context of their subjects' lives in order to avoid conflating acts of resistance with the expression of shared "humanity," a nebulous quality that is everywhere and always the same.[1] The methodological approach of microhistory addresses this problem of context. It requires the historian to imagine the world as seen by her subjects, to examine and reexamine the terrain on which they worked, traveled, fought, sued, and rebelled. Insisting on this human scale, microhistory reconstructs the dense social and cultural contexts in which people made decisions, revealing how power relations appear more complex, and social norms more amenable to negotiation, when they are viewed at the scale of the village or household rather than the nation or region.[2] Narrating Tsuneno's story as a microhistory, situated in the space between her village and the capital, would illuminate an exceptional case, one in which a woman defied her family and scandalized her neighbors. It would invite us to imagine how other Japanese women, whose lives were not recorded, might have done the same.

On the other hand, a broader perspective is necessary to investigate the other side of Tsuneno's "exceptional" experience: that it was also a relatively common story lived by and told to women across Eurasia over three hundred years. This large scale is the specialty of global historians, who employ various approaches to cover vast expanses of space and, often, long spans of time. Some emphasize flows and networks, explaining how trade, migration, ecological change, epidemics, intellectual ferment, and technological innovation connected far-flung areas of the world well before the twentieth century.[3] Others rely on assertions of comparability to capture diverse ter-

[1] Walter Johnson, "On Agency," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (2003): 113–124. Cornelia Hughes Dayton makes a similar point about early modern women's lives in "Rethinking Agency, Recovering Voices," *American Historical Review* 109, no. 3 (June 2004): 827–843, here 839. For another take on the same issue, focusing on the importance of the historian's manipulation of context, see Sean Hanretta, "Gender and Agency in the History of a West African Sufi Community: The Followers of Yacouba Sylla," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50, no. 2 (2008): 478–508.

[2] The ability to perceive individual agency, and particularly women's agency, on this small scale is one reason why women's/gender history shares an affinity with microhistory. Joan W. Scott, "Storytelling," *History and Theory* 50, no. 2 (2011): 203–209, here 208. Microhistory also rewards the feminist insight that political struggles play out in intimate relationships. See Sarah Maza, "Stories in History: Cultural Narratives in Recent Works in European History," *American Historical Review* 101, no. 5 (December 1996): 1493–1515. See also Natalie Zemon Davis, "Decentering History: Local Stories and Cultural Crossings in a Global World," *History and Theory* 50, no. 2 (2011): 188–202, here 190.

[3] Sanjay Subrahmanyam provides a clear statement of this approach, which has been especially influential in Indian Ocean history. See his pioneering article "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997): 735–762. In Pacific history, see Kären Wigen, Introduction to "*AHR* Forum: Oceans of History," *American Historical Review* 111, no.

ritories within a single analytical frame.[4] This comparative style of global history has been particularly popular among economic historians, who focus on quantifiable phenomena and thus have little trouble establishing common denominators that can work in different cultural spheres: calories, acres, tons, etc.[5]

These two methods—the microhistorical and the global—work on such different scales that they seem to be incompatible strategies of historical inquiry. As many scholars have noted, global historians' panoramic frame tends to render human agency invisible, and comparative economic histories, in particular, tend to lose sight of individuals entirely.[6] This is not only a problem of scale, but also a problem of sources. Since global histories often proceed from a survey rather than from an archival excavation, they are unlikely to uncover the social networks, imaginative worlds, and small acts of resistance of ordinary people, and more likely to foreground actors who are already prominent in histories written at the level of the nation-state. In other words, women such as Tsuneno, whose stories are found in local archival collections, rarely appear.

Nevertheless, several scholars have attempted to reconcile the two approaches.[7] The most common solution has been to make use of the paradigm that is concerned more with interconnection and long-distance flows than with large-scale comparisons. That usually entails focusing on a highly mobile individual or group of people who crossed regional and cultural boundaries.[8] This strategy has the advantage of

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3 (June 2006): 717–721; Matt K. Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds: A History of Seas, Peoples, and Cultures* (New York, 2012); David Armitage and Alison Bashford, eds., *Pacific Histories: Oceans, Land, and People* (New York, 2013); Ryan Tucker Jones, "Running into Whales: The History of the North Pacific from below the Waves," *American Historical Review* 118, no. 2 (April 2012): 349–377.

[4] Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, N.J., 2000); R. Bin Wong, *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997); Jean-Laurent Rosenthal and R. Bin Wong, *Before and Beyond Divergence: The Politics of Economic Change in China and Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 2011). Some work bridges both paradigms, drawing parallels and then looking for common causes. Prominent examples of the first approach in the early modern world include Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800–1830*, vol. 1: *Integration on the Mainland* (New York, 2003) and vol. 2: *Mainland Mirrors: Europe, Japan, China, South Asia, and the Islands* (New York, 2007); and Geoffrey Parker, *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 2013).

[5] Kenneth Pomeranz, "Social History and World History: From Daily Life to Patterns of Change," *Journal of World History* 18, no. 1 (2007): 69–98, here 69.

[6] For example, emphasizing the importance of geographical scale and political structure to economic development, Rosenthal and Wong argue that "economic change in China and Europe was not driven mainly by differences in individual intentions, abilities, or personal circumstances (however much these factors matter at the individual or local level)"; *Before and Beyond Divergence*, 8. Giancarlo Casale makes a similar point about the absence of humans in this literature. Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration* (New York, 2010), 10.

[7] On conflicts between the "micro" and "macro" scales and attempts to overcome them, see Sebouh David Aslanian, Joyce E. Chaplin, Ann McGrath, and Kristin Mann, "How Size Matters: The Question of Scale in History," *AHR* Conversation, *American Historical Review* 118, no. 5 (December 2013): 1431–1472; and Francesca Trivellato, "Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?," *California Italian Studies* 2, no. 1 (2011), http://escholarship.org/uc/item/0z94n9hq. Lynn Hunt discusses a similar, but not identical, problem of "top-down" versus "bottom-up" global history. Hunt, *Writing History in the Global Era* (New York, 2014), 62–77.

[8] I am borrowing Trivellato's taxonomy in "Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?" Examples of the former approach include Linda Colley, *The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh: A Woman in World History* (New York, 2007); Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim between Worlds* (New York, 2006); Jonathan D. Spence, *The Question of Hu* (New York, 1988); Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and*

bringing individual agency into focus, and in places where women traveled or were the linchpins of diasporic communities, it can bring female actors into a larger story that has often excluded them.[9] Yet this style of global microhistory has limitations. It is not a problem for the microhistorian if her subject is an unusual person or group; that is part of the approach. But it is a challenge for social history writ large when entire populations of more sedentary people, those who did not engage in international trade and travel, are left unaddressed. As Kenneth Pomeranz points out, "it would be absurd to claim that the vast majority of humans, who have lived and still live their lives within fairly narrow geographic bounds, do not count in world history."[10]

Tsuneno was one of those people. Like all of her countrywomen at the time, she never traveled beyond the shogun's realm. Even more problematic for those who would seek traces of global exchange in her everyday life, she never manufactured a product for export, conversed with a foreign person, or wore imported cloth.[11] She had almost no contact with foreign people and relatively little direct involvement with foreign markets.[12] This was a common story for East Asian women, and one that makes them particularly difficult to engage using the strategies of the new global microhistory. Because both free and enslaved women moved across the Mediterranean and Atlantic worlds, global histories with female protagonists tend to cluster in

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the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic (Boston, 2000). For the latter, see Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven, Conn., 2009); and Emma Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History* (Princeton, N.J., 2011).

[9] Otherwise, the relative absence of women in global history is a much-discussed problem. See Merry Wiesner-Hanks, "World History and the History of Women, Gender, and Sexuality," *Journal of World History* 18, no. 1 (2007): 53–67. Attempts to articulate a global gender (as opposed to women's) history have been most successful when applied to the modern era, when ideas and people circulated more easily, and Japan often figures in these accounts only after the 1870s. Recent surveys have attempted to address the problem of missing women in early modern global history. See, for example, Bonnie G. Smith, *Women's History in Global Perspective*, 3 vols. (Urbana, Ill., 2004); and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Gender in History: Global Perspectives*, 2nd ed. (Malden, Mass., 2011). These tend to treat early modern East Asian and European women as separate cultural groups, an approach that I challenge in this essay.

[10] Pomeranz, "Social History and World History," 72.

[11] Looking at markets, consumption, and fashion is one of the solutions proposed by Pomeranz, ibid. Other examples include Sarah Abrevaya Stein, *Plumes: Ostrich Feathers, Jews, and a Lost World of Global Commerce* (New Haven, Conn., 2008); and Giorgio Riello and Prasannan Parthasarathi, eds., *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200–1850* (New York, 2011). Tsuneno's family made many inventories of hundreds of items of her clothing. As far as I can tell, none used imported cloth. However, the tortoiseshell in her hair ornaments might have been imported from Ryūkyū, a theoretically independent kingdom dominated by a Japanese domain. See Martha Chaiklin, "Up in the Hair: Strands of Meaning in Women's Ornamental Hair Accessories in Early Modern Japan," in Marianne Hulsbosch, Elizabeth Bedford, and Martha Chaiklin, eds., *Asian Material Culture* (Amsterdam, 2009), 39–64, here 52–54.

[12] This is not to say that she had no contact with products that had been introduced to Japan from other areas of the world. As Mary Elizabeth Berry points out, one can easily imagine an early modern Japanese farmer who "grew cotton, raised her children on Confucian primers [of Chinese origin], and wore spectacles to refill her pipe," making use of commodities, ideas, and products that had originated elsewhere. But most of these items were of domestic manufacture. Mary Elizabeth Berry, "Was Early Modern Japan Culturally Integrated?," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997): 547–581, here 567. On the other hand, as Timon Screech notes, certain European trade goods, such as telescopes, were culturally prominent, but they were not "ordinary" things; rather, they were popular partly because they were considered exotic. Screech, *The Lens within the Heart: The Western Scientific Gaze and Popular Imagery* (New York, 1996), chap. 1.

these regions.[13] But East Asian women rarely moved across oceans, because large polities pursued policies of "maritime prohibition" (*kaikin* or *haijin*). Beginning in 1635, for example, the Japanese shogun forbade his subjects to travel beyond Ryūkyū to the south, Ezochi (now Hokkaidō) to the north, and Korea to the west. Even after such restrictions were relaxed, as they were in China after the mid-eighteenth century, men were far more likely than women to migrate permanently or to sojourn overseas.[14] It is difficult to see how East Asian women fit into global history at all, much less how they might be subjects of the new style of border-crossing microhistory.[15]

An alternative approach juxtaposes microhistorical and broadly comparative narratives to situate Tsuneno's story within both local and global frames. This entails both excavating, to understand the social and economic landscape within which she pursued her own interests, and surveying, to find similar patterns on a larger scale. Pursuing both of these strategies at once forces the traditional subject matter of women's history into a more expansive territory. It also provides a new perspective on the problem of the relationship between historical context and the abstract capacity of agency, not by zooming in on the particularities of a local situation, but by panning out to ponder the commonalities between the strategies employed by rural women in different parts of the continent who confronted growing urban labor markets that demanded their services. Seen through the eyes of these women, the "early modern" world looks more continuous—and lingers longer—than we might previously have imagined.

First, an excavation. Tsuneno was born in 1805 in a village called Ishigami in Echigo Province on the Japan Sea coast. Her corner of the province, Kubiki County, was known for heavy snows, sudden avalanches, and icicles the size and shape of the daikon radishes that people pickled and ate all winter. Even when it was nowhere in

[13] For example, Colley, *The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh*; Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World* (New York, 2011); and Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires*. For a discussion of the sex ratios among slave and free migrants to the Americas, see David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (New York, 1999), 90, 95–99. By the nineteenth century, almost half of European migrants to the Americas were women. Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington, Ind., 2003), 153.

[14] Melissa Macauley, "Entangled Encounters: The Transnational Repercussions of Rural Pacification in China, 1869–1873" (paper presented at the Chabraja Center for Historical Studies, Evanston, Ill., October 23, 2013). In the fourteenth century, traders reserved suites on their ships for wives and concubines (Stewart Gordon, *When Asia Was the World* [New York, 2008], 119), but they may have left primary wives at home. Later, the imbalance in Chinese overseas migration may have stemmed from practices of infanticide that created a shortage of women in the Chinese countryside. Large numbers of single men were free to migrate, while women universally married young. Leslie Page Moch, "Connecting Migration and World History: Demographic Patterns, Family Systems and Gender," *International Review of Social History* 52, no. 1 (2007): 97–104, here 102–103.

[15] Literature on East Asia and the northern Pacific before the late nineteenth century mentions very few women in the aggregate and takes little notice of individual women's lives. Matsuda's excellent *Pacific Worlds*, for example, concentrates primarily on male navigators, pirates, warlords, and rulers in the period before 1850. One notable exception, an account of an early modern Asian woman's transnational life story, is Leonard Blussé, *Bitter Bonds: A Colonial Divorce Drama of the Seventeenth Century*, trans. Diane Webb (Princeton, N.J., 2002). There is slightly more literature about women in the premodern South Pacific. See the discussion in Patricia O'Brien, "Gender," in Armitage and Bashford, *Pacific Histories*, 282–304.

sight, snow shaped the contours of everyday life in Kubiki. Summer and early autumn were spent in a frenzy of preparation. Peasants harvested as much rice as they could, and then they reinforced their houses, repaired their roofs, wrapped plants with straw mats, strengthened trees with wooden beams, built huts to cover their wells, and mended their straw boots and snow shoes and coats. And then they waited. Winter announced its arrival with a grumbling sound behind the mountains. By October, the first flakes began to fall, and by December, the streets of the snow country's castle towns were impassable. Thus began months of hardship for Echigo's residents, who huddled in dim rooms during the day and shoveled their overburdened roofs every night. Suzuki Bokushi, an avid chronicler of snow country life, wrote in 1837, "What enjoyment is there of snow for us in Echigo, where foot after foot falls year after year? We exhaust ourselves and our purses, undergo a thousand pains and discomforts, all because of the snow."[16]

Tsuneno, whose father was a Shin Buddhist priest, was not destined for the life of hard labor that awaited most girls born in rural Echigo. Her family was well-off, and since temples were centers of learning, her parents invested in her education. Female literacy in Tokugawa Japan varied widely according to geography and social status, and farming women in Kubiki were often kept far too busy to learn to read and write; in fact, a Kubiki peasant of Tsuneno's grandmother's generation was forced to apologize to her husband and in-laws for wasting time on the endeavor.[17] Even in well-educated families such as Tsuneno's, women's instruction tended to be more haphazard and circumstance-dependent than men's.[18] While Tsuneno's three brothers could formulate complex sentences strewn with Chinese characters, Tsuneno and her sister wrote plainly in the phonetic script, as was typical for women. A wealthy peasant's daughter in a more prosperous region might have laughed at Tsuneno's odd spelling (for example, she wrote "Ido" for "Edo," rendering the word as it sounded in her native dialect). But this was an adequate level of literacy for Echigo, and it did not diminish Tsuneno's family's prospects of settling her as a bride in a prosperous household in a nearby village.

That was precisely what happened. In 1833, when she was about twenty-eight, Tsuneno's older brother married her to a wealthy peasant who lived a few miles away. Her new in-laws lent her family fifteen *ryō*, a considerable sum, to offset the expense of her trousseau, which included a few large pieces of furniture and more than a hundred items of clothing.[19] Initially the marriage seemed to be going smoothly.

[16] Suzuki Bokushi, *Snow Country Tales: Life in the Other Japan*, trans. Jeffrey Hunter with Rose Lesser (New York, 1986), 9.

[17] Yoshikawa-chō, ed., *Yoshikawa chōshi*, cited in P. F. Kornicki, "Women, Education, and Literacy," in P. F. Kornicki, Mara Patessio, and G. G. Rowley, eds., *The Female as Subject: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Japan* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2010), 7–37, here 12.

[18] On "happenstance" in female literacy, see Anne Walthall, "Women and Literacy from Edo to Meiji," ibid., 215–235.

[19] "Tsuneno tadaima made shochi no mono aishirabe sōrō koto," n.d., Rinsenji monjo #1680, Niigata Prefectural Archives, Niigata-ken, Niigata-shi; "Tenpō yon idoshi shigatsu nijū-san nichi kichijitsu Tsuneno Ōshima Koide nyūka shitakuchō," Tenpō 4.4.23, Rinsenji monjo #1678, Niigata Prefectural Archives. The Rinsenji monjo is a collection of documents that originally belonged to the Izawa family, the hereditary priests at Rinsenji temple in Ishigami village (now Jōetsu City). The collection, which encompasses nearly three thousand items, was donated to Niigata Prefecture sometime after the temple closed in the 1920s. In addition to preserving letters that the temple received, Rinsenji also kept drafts of outgoing correspondence and collected letters that concerned the family from their friends and relatives.

Over the next four years, Tsuneno returned to Ishigami at regular intervals to socialize and receive spending money, and her family's records betray no hint of trouble. But in 1837, her husband surprised everyone by announcing their divorce. According to an apology he wrote to Tsuneno's older brother, nothing particularly bad had happened (*nan to mōsu ashiki koto mo kore naku*), but his family did not have an heir—and thus, by implication, a different, more fertile wife would be necessary.[20] Initially shocked by this turn of events, Tsuneno's family rebounded quickly. Within a year, they managed to marry her off yet again, in suitable style. But this marriage, to another wealthy peasant from the same region, collapsed within nine months, and Tsuneno returned home.[21]

About a year later, she disappeared. She told her older brother at the temple that she was going to visit her other brother, Kōtoku, in the castle town of Takada. But she never made it there. Instead, as she recalled in a later letter, she met up with an acquaintance who claimed to be affiliated with a nearby Shin temple. He convinced her that he was on his way to Edo and had relatives waiting there, so it would be no trouble at all if she accompanied him.[22] But Tsuneno needed money for the journey, so he accompanied her to a pawn shop, where she received three *ryō* in exchange for six lined and unlined kimono, three under-robes, a boxed set of tortoiseshell hair ornaments, some handkerchiefs, and a hand mirror.[23] Then, at the end of the ninth month, just ahead of the winter snowfall, they left for Edo.

Tsuneno soon realized that her traveling companion was not the man she had thought he was. As she later told her uncle in Edo, he began pestering her about getting married. She was reluctant, but he threatened to leave her alone on the road, so she had no choice but to go along (and, presumably, have sex with him).[24] This surprised her, she wrote, since she had been inclined to trust one of her countrymen, who was not, after all, "a strange person from a strange province." "He spoke so nicely," she later confided in Kōtoku, "as if he had no impure intentions, and I had no reason to think he was lying."[25] She was further disillusioned when the pair arrived in the city and his relatives proved less accommodating than expected: "He brought me to a three-mat [*sanjōshiki*] room. I didn't have any bedding, or even a pillow, and all the money from the things I had pawned had already been spent. When I said I needed spending money for Edo, he finally handed me one *bu*. Then he went to [the neighboring province of] Shimotsuke and left me all alone, and I struggled so much—I can't even tell you how much."[26]

About 130 documents in the collection, most of them letters, have to do with Tsuneno and her immediate family. For more on the collection, see http://www.archives.pref.niigata.jp/shozo-bunsho-annai/E9806.pdf. Twenty-eight was old for a first marriage, and inconclusive evidence suggests that Tsuneno may have been married before. Gotō Kazuo, *Komonjo de yomu Essa josei no Edo jidai* (Niigata, 2016), 397–398.

[20] Koide Yasōemon to Rinsenji, Tenpō 8.5.27, Rinsenji monjo #1686, Niigata Prefectural Archives.

[21] "Tenpō hachi teiyūsai jūni-gatsu Tsuneno Inada-chō Katō-shi e engumi manki," Tenpō 8, Rinsenji monjo #1673, Niigata Prefectural Archives.

[22] Tsuneno to Kōtoku, n.d., Rinsenji monjo #1716, Niigata Prefectural Archives.

[23] Tsuneno to Yamazaki Kyūhachirō, Tenpō 10.9.23, Rinsenji monjo #1700, Niigata Prefectural Archives.

[24] Bunshichi to Rinsenji, Tenpō 10.11.8, Rinsenji monjo #1697, Niigata Prefectural Archives.

[25] Tsuneno to Kōtoku, n.d., Rinsenji monjo #1716, Niigata Prefectural Archives.

[26] Ibid.

Still, she kept up a brave front. She managed to write to her brother in Ishigami to let him know that she had arrived safely in the city, explaining that she had pawned her wardrobe in Takada. She asked him to redeem those items, which she would need, and instructed him to make up the balance by pawning the heavy furniture she had left at the temple. This was a clear indication that she did not intend to go home. She added a note at the end of the letter: "When I get a chance, I'd like to go into service in a lord's household so that I can learn the conduct and manners of the upper class [*odaimyō hōkō itashi kamigami kata no gyōgi, sahō mo minaraitaki sōrō*]. In that case, I'll need to have a luggage trunk and all of my clothes sent here."[27]

If this was Tsuneno's fantasy of social mobility, her brother was not impressed. He responded angrily: "You've cast aside your parents and siblings, which is incredibly selfish, scandalous behavior for a woman. When I explained the situation to our relatives, they all said that if that's your true character, then we should tell you we're leaving you to fend for yourself. You should understand that you haven't just cut off this temple, but also your relatives and your hometown." He closed by quoting a famous passage from the *Classic of Filial Piety*: "Your entire body—from your hair to your toes—has been received from your parents, so you shouldn't dare damage it. This is the beginning of filial piety." "I will not speak further to someone who neglects this," he wrote.[28] True to his word, he did not contact Tsuneno for several months. But, realizing that his sister could not survive in Edo on her own, he sent a letter to one of his parishioners, who was in service there, asking if he could help her find a job.[29]

Meanwhile, Tsuneno was trying to call on her own connections in Edo. First she tried to find work at a Shin temple in the Tsukiji neighborhood but was turned away. Then she arrived on her aunt and uncle's doorstep, a bedraggled apparition in a tattered kimono, and explained her predicament. Her uncle was at a loss, especially since it was already the end of the tenth month, and it would be impossible to send Tsuneno home during an Echigo winter. He wrote to her brother in the provinces and explained that his wife, Tsuneno's aunt, was trying to find her a placement in domestic service.[30]

Tsuneno had hoped to serve a *daimyō*, one of the domainal lords required to maintain residences in Edo, but those positions were extraordinarily competitive because they were regarded as stepping-stones to a respectable career or an advantageous marriage.[31] Luckily, *daimyō* were not the only potential employers in the city.

[27] Tsuneno to older brother (oniisama), Tenpō 10.10.10, Rinsenji monjo #1708, Niigata Prefectural Archives.

[28] Rinsenji to Tsuneno, Tenpō 10.11.9, Rinsenji monjo #1726, Niigata Prefectural Archives.

[29] Rinsenji to Yasugorō, Tenpō 10.11.8, Rinsenji monjo #1704, Niigata Prefectural Archives.

[30] Bunshichi to Rinsenji, Tenpō 10.11.8, Rinsenji monjo #1687, Niigata Prefectural Archives. http://www.archives.pref.niigata.jp/internet-komonjo-koza/11to20/12/.

[31] On the fierce competition for a place in a *daimyō*'s inner quarters, see Gary P. Leupp, *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers in the Cities of Tokugawa Japan* (Princeton, N.J., 1992), 63–64; and Susanne Formanek, "The 'Spectacle' of Womanhood: New Types in Texts and Pictures on Pictorial Sugoroku Games of the Late Edo Period," in Susanne Formanek and Sipp Linhart eds., *Written Texts—Visual Texts: Woodblock-Printed Media in Early Modern Japan* (Amsterdam, 2005), 73–108, here 85. Women who hoped to work in the shogun's Great Interior, even in relatively lowly positions, had to rely on connections and submit (occasionally embellished) accounts of their origins. Hata Hisako, "Servants of the Inner Quarters: The Women of the Shogun's Great Interior," trans. Anne Walthall, in Walthall, ed.,

Throughout Japan, shogunal bannermen, ordinary samurai, wealthy townspeople, and even small businesses employed more and more maidservants (as opposed to manservants) over the course of the late Tokugawa era. The evidence for this shift is clearest in the city of Osaka, where the extant population registers provide the most detail on the composition of the labor force.[32] But Saitō Osamu's research on demographic and labor patterns in Edo suggests that similar dynamics may have been in play there. Over the second half of the Tokugawa period, the massive firms that had once dominated the city's labor market were eclipsed by an array of small and medium-sized outfits. While the large-scale wholesalers hired vast armies of male clerks and held them to long terms of service, smaller businesses preferred more flexible arrangements and sought help with the "inside" work of the household. Young women, who tended to be looking for short-term work rather than long-term apprenticeships, were ideal for this type of labor.[33]

Since Edo's sex ratio leveled off dramatically in the late eighteenth century, just as more firms were hiring casual, "inside" laborers through employment agencies that recruited from the provinces, it is tempting to assume that Tsuneno was among a large number of women who migrated to the city to work in service and then settled there permanently. Unfortunately, this is a difficult claim to substantiate. Short-term domestic workers were undercounted in ward population registers; householders regarded them as temporary visitors rather than household members, and the employment agencies did not submit counts of the transient people they had gathered under their auspices.[34] Hayami Akira points out that female migration from Mino to Osaka increased dramatically, both in absolute terms and as a proportion of total migration, between 1750 and 1850.[35] If, as Saitō argues, the shift to casual, short-term labor was more pronounced in Edo, studies of villages near the shogun's capital might reveal similar patterns. In 1842, three years after Tsuneno arrived in Edo, a report to the city magistrate observed that lodging houses for women (*onnayado*) had proliferated, and that they took in "large numbers of women with no relatives."[36] The following year, a count of women migrants (*hoka ni dekaseginin*) in Edo, as opposed to townspeople under the auspices of the city magistrate, totaled

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Servants of the Dynasty: Palace Women in World History (Berkeley, Calif., 2008), 172–190, here 178–179, 182–183.

[32] Leupp, *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers in the Cities of Tokugawa Japan*, 61–63.

[33] In fact, some evidence indicates that smaller households were more likely to employ women. Saitō Osamu, *Shōka no sekai, uradana no sekai: Edo to Ōsaka no hikaku toshishi* (Tokyo, 1989), 66–72. Demographic data from the castle town of Matsumoto, too, suggests that smaller households employed a greater proportion of female servants. Leupp, *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers in the Cities of Tokugawa Japan*, 61.

[34] Saitō, *Shōka no sekai, uradana no sekai*, 71–72. Moreover, population registers do not capture samurai households, which were more likely than townsman households to employ servants. There are similar problems in counting maidservants relative to male servants in preindustrial European cities. See Moch, *Moving Europeans*, 46–47.

[35] Cited in Leupp, *Servants, Shophands, and Laborers in the Cities of Tokugawa Japan*, 62. Comparative evidence from Kansai also suggests that the vast majority of women who migrated to Edo must have worked in domestic service. Mary Louise Nagata and Kiyoshi Hamano's analysis of population registers from mid-nineteenth-century Kyoto determines that 86 percent of the city's migrant women between the ages of 16 and 20 were employed as maidservants. Nagata and Hamano, "Marriage Market in Early Modern Kyoto, 1843–1868," *History of the Family* 14, no. 1 (2009): 36–51, here 41.

[36] "Hōkōnin hitoyado no bu" (1842), vol. 69 of *Tenpō sen'yō ruishū* (128 vols.), unpublished manuscript, National Diet Library Digital Collection, http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2589017/16.

more than eight thousand.[37] But this was likely an undercount, failing to capture women who lived in tenements in ordinary city neighborhoods, and for now the size of the labor market for maidservants in particular is still an open question.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that migrant women could find work in Edo relatively easily, even if they were not blessed with deep pockets or excellent connections. Katakura Hisako cites the example of Riyo, a woman who was awarded five silver pieces by the city magistrate in 1844 for her commendable behavior in supporting her family after her husband's death. Years earlier, Riyo had migrated to Edo with her two-year-old daughter after divorcing a ne'er-do-well (*mimochi warui*) husband in her native Sagami Province. She was able to find work immediately as a wet nurse for a samurai family, and she stayed in that position for four years, until she left to marry a wasabi vendor.[38]

Tsuneno, too, was able to find work very soon after she arrived, even if it was not precisely the type of position she wanted. At the end of the eleventh month, she began as a maid-of-all-work (*osue*) in a shogunal bannerman's household. Theoretically, this was only one step below a position in a *daimyō*'s residence, but bannermen did not necessarily maintain a lavish standard of living, and her placement did not offer an education in feminine refinement. She started at the end of the eleventh month and received a yearly salary of 2 *ryō* and 2 *bu*, plus room and board.[39] But the job was not easy: "I wake up around six [*muttsu*], and then I light the fire in each of five rooms and prepare the bath. Then I clean out several small rooms and tidy up the nine women's sleeping mats, and then I fill the water jugs in five different places. Then I clean up the mistress's tray and arrange the furniture and take care of the personal effects for nine women. The work is hard, and my hands and feet go numb [from the cold]."[40]

Fortunately, there was no need to stay in a difficult placement for very long. As employers often complained, disgruntled maids voted with their feet. Tsuneno explained that six or seven maids had rotated through her position during the eight months before she arrived.[41] This type of mobility was typical. Employers complained that they were paying higher and higher salaries to maidservants who quit without notice. Takizawa Bakin, an Edo fiction writer, complained to Suzuki Bokushi in 1831 that he had gone through seven maids in one year.[42] Tsuneno, too, planned to leave her present position as soon as the winter was over, and she had little trouble finding other work, this time as a townsman's errand girl. She lived near the theater district, a place both geographically and socially distant from the samurai neighborhood where she had worked for a bannerman. In the early spring, she wrote her mother that her new master, who was busy supervising the construction of a villa for his geisha mistress, treated her kindly and paid her well. She earned enough to treat herself to snacks ("everything in Edo is delicious," she wrote). But this new master would not provide her with a change of

[37] As opposed to more than 25,000 men. Fujita Satoru, *Toyama Kinshirō no jidai* (Tokyo, 1992), 149.

[38] Katakura Hisako, "Bakumatsu ishinki no toshi kazoku to joshi rōdō," in Sōgō joseishi kenkyūkai, ed., *Nihon joseishi ronshū*, vol. 6: *Josei no kurashi to rōdō* (Tokyo, 1998), 85–110, here 87.

[39] This was an ordinary salary for a bannerman's maidservant. See a similar case in Mega Atsuko, *Buke ni totsuida josei no tegami: Binbō hatamoto no Edo-gurashi* (Tokyo, 2011), 50.

[40] Tsuneno to Kōtoku, n.d., Rinsenji monjo #1716, Niigata Prefectural Archives.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Quoted in Saitō, *Shōka no sekai, uradana no sekai*, 71.

clothing or bedding, and she complained repeatedly about the cold.[43] This was the first of a series of temporary jobs. Over the next few years, she worked as a maid at a temple, as an acupuncturist's assistant, and as a waitress at a small restaurant.

About a year after she arrived in the city, Tsuneno married Izawa Hanzō, a masterless samurai and fellow migrant from Kubiki, and took the new name Okin. This came as a complete surprise to her brothers in Echigo, who heard about the marriage only when her new father-in-law dropped by the temple to visit.[44] Since Hanzō was often unemployed, this marriage was not a deliverance from poverty. According to Tsuneno's family's correspondents in the city, there were times when the couple barely had one tattered robe between them. The state of Tsuneno's wardrobe, one wrote, was making it impossible for her to find steady work.[45] Nevertheless, Tsuneno was determined to remain in Edo. When she found herself completely unable to survive in the city, she divorced Hanzō and returned to Echigo, but only temporarily. While she languished at home with her brother, Hanzō was hired by the famous city magistrate Tōyama Kagemoto. After this stroke of good fortune, he invited Tsuneno to join him in the great man's household. Over her family's objections, she remarried him. On her return to Edo, she was no longer the temple daughter, divorcée, and struggling maidservant Tsuneno; she was now the samurai wife Okin, with an impressive address (and, presumably, a suitable wardrobe) to match her new status.

In *Snow Country Tales*, Suzuki Bokushi asserted that Echigo women who migrated to Edo always returned home eventually, because they were loyal to their beloved province. "All the women feel this way," he claimed.[46] Tsuneno, now Okin, would have laughed. She remained in Edo until her death in 1853.

What might a global history look like with Tsuneno at its center? It cannot be a story about contact, communication, or consumption. But it can be a story about construction. It can tell us about the kinds of narratives women told themselves, the capitals that they helped to build, and the cultures of mobility that they created.

Look up from the archive, across the Sea of Japan, and over the vast landmass of Eurasia; step back from the 1830s and 1840s and consider a few hundred years. Tsuneno may have shocked her family, but she was not alone. Across the Eurasian continent, a rise in demand for female domestic labor drew women into expanding cities. In Europe, this trend began as early as the late 1500s, when migrant women streamed into Venice in the wake of the 1575–1576 plague, and continued into the next three centuries.[47] In some cities' hinterlands, most notably London's, the coun-

[43] Tsuneno to mother (Rinsenji-sama no haha-sama), Tenpō 11.2.23, Rinsenji monjo #1699, Niigata Prefectural Archives, http://www.archives.pref.niigata.jp/internet-komonjo-koza/11to20/13/.

[44] Denpachi to Izawa Hirosuke, Tenpō 11.10.14, Rinsenji monjo #1721, Niigata Prefectural Archives.

[45] Fujiwara Yūzō to Rinsenji, Tenpō 15.11.10, Rinsenji monjo #2003, Niigata Prefectural Archives.

[46] Suzuki, *Snow Country Tales*, 20.

[47] On Venice, see Monica Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore, 2001), 82. In subsequent centuries, London and Toulouse witnessed similar trends. See Eleanor Hubbard, *City Women: Money, Sex, and the Social Order in Early Modern London* (New York, 2012), 17–19; and Cissie Fairchilds, "Masters and Servants in Eighteenth Century Toulouse," *Journal of Social History* 12, no. 3 (1979): 368–393. In the latter city, less than 5 percent of female domestic servants named in marriage contracts were natives (370).

tryside emptied of women. Meanwhile, as men flowed out of urban areas to serve in the army or set out to sea, major cities became predominantly female.[48] While there were variations in the timing of these demographic shifts, the general pattern of migration, domestic service work, and urban settlement gradually converged across Europe and then held steady until the early twentieth century. In London, three-quarters of domestic servants surveyed in 1851 came from the counties outside the city, a proportion that had changed little since the period between 1660 and 1750.[49] By the turn of the twentieth century, the dominance of migrant servants in many cities was even more pronounced. Demographic data collected in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Paris, and Berlin indicated that more than 90 percent of those cities' domestic servants were migrants.[50] Like Tsuneno, maidservants tended to come from the hinterlands that formed major cities' "demographic basins," places where local men and women had family ties and histories of work in specific urban locales. This pattern of migration distinguished them from male apprentices or servants, who were slightly more likely to come from neighborhoods within the city limits, distant provinces, or even foreign countries.[51]

At the center of the continent, in the Ottoman and Chinese empires and throughout Central Asia, maidservants made similar journeys from rural to urban areas, but often they were coerced. In Istanbul, for example, domestic work was a combination of free and unfree labor: the most senior housemaid in a harem was often a freed elderly woman of considerable status, while drudges were local day-laboring women. But most domestic servants in well-off households were slaves who had traveled long distances from the edges of the empire. Those from Circassia did light housework and served as concubines, wet nurses, and entertainers, while those from Africa,

[48] Moch, *Moving Europeans*, 46, 56; Maryanne Kowaleski, "Singlewomen in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: The Demographic Perspective," in Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide, eds., *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800* (Philadelphia, 1999), 38–81, here 53; Lotte van de Pol and Erika Kuijpers, "Poor Women's Migration to the City: The Attraction of Amsterdam Health Care and Social Assistance in Early Modern Times," *Journal of Urban History* 32, no. 1 (2005): 44–60, here 47–48. This is in contrast to most East Asian cities, including Edo, which hosted a standing army and until the last decades of the Tokugawa period skewed heavily male. In this regard, Edo and other East Asian metropolises more closely resembled Berlin and Rome, both of which were home to large occupational groups consisting of men (the military and the priesthood).

[49] Richard Wall, "The Social and Economic Significance of Servant Migration," in Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, ed., *Domestic Service and the Formation of European Identity: Understanding the Globalization of Domestic Work, 16th–21st Centuries* (Bern, 2004), 19–42, here 32.

[50] Rachel G. Fuchs and Leslie Page Moch, "Pregnant, Single, and Far from Home: Migrant Women in Nineteenth-Century Paris," *American Historical Review* 95, no. 4 (October 1990): 1007–1031, here 1019.

[51] Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice*, 86; Fairchilds, "Masters and Servants in Eighteenth Century Toulouse," 370–371; Sarah C. Maza, *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France: The Uses of Loyalty* (Princeton, N.J., 1983), 30–31, 40–41. Moch observes that in eighteenth-century Bourdeaux, "women came from less far than men"; *Moving Europeans*, 98. London and Amsterdam seem to be exceptions. In London, male and female migrants had similar origins, while in Amsterdam, nearly half of female migrants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were foreigners. Hubbard, *City Women*, 18; Pol and Kuijpers, "Poor Women's Migration to the City," 46. This type of statistical analysis is not possible for Edo, given the paucity of surviving records, but Hamano Kiyoshi's examination of population registers from a Kyoto neighborhood in 1848 suggests that Japanese cities experienced similar sex-specific migration patterns, in which male servants and apprentices were from either very close by or very far away. Hamano, "Kinsei Kyōto no hōkōnin ni tsuite: Chōki sūsei to jinkō purofairu," *Kansai daigaku keizai ronshū* 55, no. 4 (2006): 545–563, here 560–561.

afforded less status, labored as cooks and child-minders.[52] In contrast, Chinese maidservants did come from "demographic basins," as urban families sent recruiters into nearby villages to either hire girls or buy them outright. Criminal cases referred to the Qing magistrates suggest that some of the maidservants purchased in this manner were victims of kidnapping. Others were young girls whose parents had put them up for sale (a transaction of dubious legality that was nonetheless very common).[53] On the other hand, some older women found work on their own initiative. A woman from Shandong Province named Ning Lao T'ai-t'ai recalled that in the 1870s she presented herself for hire at a village temple market.[54]

Women's motivations for undertaking these migrations were varied, and economic incentives were more pronounced in some regions than others. Across Eurasia, urban domestic service competed with work opportunities in the countryside, usually in textile production and farm labor. In China, women weavers commanded high incomes. Thus middling peasant families were unwilling to part with daughters who could be put to work. This reliance on girls' labor power, combined with a taboo against traveling for single women, meant that women almost never migrated to cities by themselves. Instead, most who made the journey to the cities were married to migrant men, or they were sold into maid service or prostitution as children. But in Japan and Europe, young women were more likely to leave home to work in textile-producing towns.[55] In Japan, these women, who spun or manufactured cotton batting, provoked many of the same anxieties as urban maidservants. Samurai officials and village headmen complained that they wore fine clothes and hairpins and flaunted their financial independence.[56]

It is difficult to determine whether these opportunities paid as well as work in the big cities. In the English countryside, unmarried women who could accept annual contracts saw their wages rise in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[57] In Japan during the same period, female farmhands also received better and better

[52] On racialized hierarchy in slaveholding, see Madeline C. Zilfi, *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire* (New York, 2010), 136–140. There are reasons to doubt that African women were strictly domestic, as opposed to sexual, servants. In Egypt, sub-Saharan African slave women bore their masters' children without being accorded any status as mothers. George Michael La Rue, "African Slave Women in Egypt, ca. 1820 to the Plague of 1834–35," in Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers, and Joseph C. Miller, eds., *Women and Slavery*, vol. 1: *Africa, the Indian Ocean World, and the Medieval North Atlantic* (Athens, Ohio, 2007), 169–189, here 183.

[53] Joanna Sirera Ransmeier, "'No Other Choice': The Sale of People in Late Qing and Republican Beijing, 1870–1935" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2008), 69–73.

[54] Ning Lao T'ai-t'ai and Ida Pruitt, *A Daughter of Han: The Autobiography of a Chinese Working Woman* (New Haven, Conn., 1945), 74–75.

[55] Kenneth Pomeranz, "Women's Work, Family, and Economic Development in Europe and East Asia: Long-Term Trajectories and Contemporary Comparisons," in Giovanni Arrighi, Takeshi Hamashita, and Mark Selden, eds., *The Resurgence of East Asia: 500, 150 and 50 Year Perspectives* (London, 2004), 124–172, here 134–135.

[56] Yabuta Yutaka, "Kinsei josei no raifusaikuru," in Joseishi sōgō kenkyūkai, ed., *Nihon josei seikatsu shi*, vol. 3: *Kinsei* (Tokyo, 1990), 237–271, here 265. Another instance of this type of complaining appears in Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo, ed., *Shichū torishimari ruishū*, vol. 4 in *Dai Nihon kinsei shiryō*, 24 vols. (Tokyo, 1962), 57.

[57] This study excludes London, so it pertains mostly to farmhands, dairy maids, and provincial domestic servants. Jane Humphries and Jacob Weisdorf, "The Wages of Women in England, 1260–1850," *Oxford Economic and Social History Working Papers* 127 (2014), http://www.economics.ox.ac.uk/Oxford-Economic-and-Social-History-Working-Papers/the-wages-of-women-in-england-1260-1850.

remuneration, both in absolute terms and in comparison to men.[58] Judging from the comments about their hair ornaments, skilled textile workers in the countryside must have been paid even more. But for the unskilled, cities throughout Eurasia must have offered a more favorable market, because an escalating demand for domestic servants was concentrated in those areas. In eighteenth-century London, employers echoed their counterparts in Edo, complaining of a crisis in which pay for both male and female servants was spiraling upward.[59] In France, this was a gendered phenomenon; as male servants became more expensive to retain, demand for unskilled female servants rose and their wages increased.[60] Even where domestic service was supplied through slave labor, maidservants were more and more expensive. In eighteenth-century Korea, female slaves were traded at a far brisker pace than their male counterparts, and women began to command comparatively higher prices on the market. By the nineteenth century, the much-diminished slave trade was exclusively a traffic in women.[61]

In places where women could choose their employment, part of the attraction of work in domestic service might have been the romance of the cities themselves. Throughout Eurasia, young, never-married women were blocked from most other urban trades (with the notable exception of prostitution), so domestic work was the only plausible, respectable option for single women who wanted to leave the countryside. Katakura Hisako found that Edo women worked as laundresses, wet nurses, seamstresses, tea servers, music teachers, hairdressers, and masseuses, in addition to taking in piecework, making sandal straps, digging for fish bait, and peddling everything from candy to pickles to tinder. But most of them were widows and married women, not single young newcomers.[62] According to population records from one neighborhood in late Tokugawa-era Kyoto, nearly every single woman who migrated to the city ended up in domestic service.[63] The same was true in European cities, where widows could take over their former husbands' occupations, but never-married women's options were constrained. Domestic service, which safely contained women within households and could be construed as preparation for marriage, was relatively unthreatening.[64]

[58] Sugano Noriko, "Nōson josei no rōdō to seikatsu," in Sōgō joseishi kenkyūkai, ed., *Nihon joseishi*, 5 vols. (Tokyo, 1982), 4: 63–94.

[59] R. C. Richardson, *Household Servants in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2010), 80–82.

[60] Maza, *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France*, 278–282.

[61] Bok Rae Kim, "Nobi: A Korean System of Slavery," in Gwyn Campbell, ed., *The Structure of Slavery in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia* (Portland, Ore., 2004), 155–168, here 161. Milan Hejtmanek, "Devalued Bodies, Revalued Status: Confucianism and the Plight of Female Slaves in Late Chosŏn Korea," in Youngmin Kim and Michael J. Pettid, eds., *Women and Confucianism in Chosŏn Korea: New Perspectives* (Albany, N.Y., 2011), 137–150, here 145–146.

[62] Katakura, "Bakumatsu ishinki no toshi kazoku to joshi rōdō," 88–89.

[63] Nagata and Hamano, "Marriage Market in Early Modern Kyoto," 40–41. This neighborhood was not an entertainment district, which is why no prostitutes were counted in the study.

[64] On age at migration, see Hubbard, *City Women*, 21–22; on age while in service, see Merry E. Wiesner, "Having Her Own Smoke: Employment and Independence for Singlewomen in Germany, 1400–1750," in Bennett and Froide, *Singlewomen in the European Past*, 192–216, here 200; Tim Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender, 1660–1750: Life and Work in the London Household* (London, 2000), 17. On never-married women blocked from pursuing other occupations, see Amy M. Froide, *Never Married: Singlewomen in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2005), 30–31; Hubbard, *City Women*, 24; Pol and Kuijpers, "Poor Women's Migration to the City," 48–49.

Almost everywhere, marriage followed service.[65] In London, a wedding typically marked the end of a woman's career as a maid.[66] In Germany, this was considered a desirable outcome; some municipalities even set up special funds to provide dowries for loyal maidservants so that they would be able to find husbands and retire.[67] The idea of domestic service as a stage in the lifecycle before marriage applied even in situations where maidservants were bought and sold rather than hired. In China, contracts providing for the sale of young girls as maidservants stipulated that their masters were obligated to find husbands for them when they reached the appropriate age.[68] And even in places where domestic service and concubinage were linked, such as Istanbul, emancipation at or before marriage was common.[69] Tsuneno's history as a double divorcée would have made her a demographic impossibility in Europe, and even an outlier in Japan. She was also older than most single women migrants. But her pattern of migration, domestic service, and marriage would have put her squarely within the mainstream throughout Eurasia.[70]

Maidservants who retired at marriage usually remained in the city, where their husbands were local men or, as in Tsuneno's case, fellow migrants from the same region.[71] City marriage often represented social mobility for women who had come from difficult circumstances in the countryside. In France, whether former maids married fellow migrants (as was common) or city natives, they tended to marry above their original station in life.[72] The situation in early-twentieth-century Hong Kong suggests that Chinese maidservants in earlier eras might have followed a similar pattern: trafficked girls called *mui jai* were not married off in style, but they could end up as mistresses of their own small households, and often they remained in the city.[73] According to Mary Adelaide Walker, a British painter who wrote of her long residence in Istanbul in the late nineteenth century, Circassian slaves in that city could rise much higher in the social hierarchy. Married to prominent men, they ended up

[65] This was not true in some places in Japan, notably the northeast, where women left for service after they were married, but this was almost always rural-rural migration, not migration to the capital.

[66] Hubbard finds that "adult status and service were considered to be incompatible"; *City Women*, 25. Meldrum's study of a later period finds that a small percentage of London maidservants were married; *Domestic Service and Gender*, 18.

[67] Wiesner, "Having Her Own Smoke," 202.

[68] Ransmeier cites one example of this provision included in an 1835 contract; "No Other Choice," 64–65. This was also a common feature of early-twentieth-century agreements in Hong Kong. Rubie S. Watson, "Wives, Concubines, and Maids: Servitude and Kinship in the Hong Kong Region, 1900–1940," in Rubie S. Watson and Patricia Buckley Ebrey, eds., *Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 231–255, here 240.

[69] Zilfi, *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 126–127, 134–135.

[70] Divorce was quite common in Japan, and young divorced women usually remarried. Harald Fuess, *Divorce in Japan: Family, Gender, and the State, 1600–2000* (Stanford, Calif., 2004); Kurosu, "Divorce in Early Modern Rural Japan."

[71] For breakdowns in the proportion of migrant/migrant versus migrant/native-born marriages, see the following: for Aix, see Maza, *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France*, 57; for Stockholm, see Beatrice Moring, "Migration, Servanthood, and Assimilation in a New Environment," in Fauve-Chamoux, *Domestic Service and the Formation of European Identity*, 43–70, here 51; for Kyoto, see Nagata and Hamano, "Marriage Market in Early Modern Kyoto," 47; for Edo, see Saitō, *Shōka no sekai, uradana no sekai*, 142–143.

[72] Maza, *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France*, 83–84; Fairchilds, "Masters and Servants in Eighteenth Century Toulouse," 384–385; Hubbard, *City Women*, 48–49.

[73] Watson, "Wives, Concubines, and Maids," 242.

"as ladylike and well-mannered as the most undeniable 'city-born' dames."[74] Tsuneno was well-off to begin with, but her journey from temple daughter to samurai status represented a variation on this theme of social promotion, even if her actual economic circumstances likely changed for the worse.

If she ended up in the same place as most of her counterparts across the continent (married and living in the city), her experience while in service diverged from that of most East Asian women outside Japan. Unlike young girls who were sold into service contracts, or older women who presented themselves to be hired at a central market, Tsuneno had to find her own place. Here she followed a strategy that closely resembled those of European women who found themselves in similar situations. While she soon realized the folly of trusting a young man solely because he was not "a strange person from a different province," she relied on Echigo connections, including her aunt and uncle and her brothers' acquaintances in Edo, to cushion her bumpy landing in the city. Later, as her third marriage began to fall apart, she found a position as a live-in companion to an acupuncturist who came from a far northern province and sympathized with Tsuneno as a fellow migrant.[75] Aspiring maidservants in Europe, too, tended to follow patterns of chained migration, in which they sought out the assistance of previous migrants in order to settle and find work. Hubbard cites an array of anecdotal evidence suggesting that young women in London found their first positions in service with the help of blood relatives and personal connections from home.[76] The pattern was similar in mid-eighteenth-century France, where servants of both sexes "secured their first job with the help of a friend or relative already established in town."[77] Such connections were crucial, since without them it could be nearly impossible to find a place, and a girl with no friends in the city was in danger.[78]

This initial placement was typically followed by a period of extreme mobility, and masters in Europe echoed Takizawa Bakin's lament about the difficulty of keeping household help. Whether in Edo, Kyoto, London, or Paris, most maidservants did not serve in great houses with large, long-term staffs; instead, they were likely to serve in less prosperous households employing only one or two maids who turned over frequently. In France, low-ranking servants rarely stayed in a placement longer than a year. While those in London lasted longer, typically one or two years, they also tended to switch parishes when they changed households.[79] In Germany, laws that punished women who left service after less than six months were issued repeatedly, indicating that employers there faced a similar problem with retaining maidservants.[80]

[74] Mary Adelaide Walker, *Eastern Life and Scenery: With Excursions in Asia Minor, Mytilene, Crete, and Roumania*, 2 vols. (London, 1886), 1: 72.

[75] Gisen to Rinsenji, Tenpō 14.9.29, Rinsenji monjo #2041, Niigata Prefectural Archives.

[76] Hubbard, *City Women*, 28–30.

[77] In other cities, where maidservants did not necessarily reside with their employers, migrants tended to live near their own countrymen and -women. In seventeenth-century Stockholm, Finnish women streamed into areas where their compatriots had already settled, while migrant women arriving in Venice also clustered together, whether in groups of people from the same area or in more diverse immigrant neighborhoods. Moring, "Migration, Servanthood, and Assimilation in a New Environment," 63; Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice*, 97.

[78] Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe* (New York, 1995), 79–80; van de Pol and Kuijpers, "Poor Women's Migration to the City," 48–49.

[79] Hubbard, *City Women*, 30, 35–36.

[80] Wiesner, "Having Her Own Smoke," 201.

What were these women searching for as they moved across cities? Some sought higher wages, but many were looking to add to their collections of material effects, typically household goods and clothing. Tsuneno recited the litany of her pawned items in several of her letters home, constantly rehearsing what she had lost and calculating how much it might cost to buy it all back. This tedious account-keeping—in kimono or in petticoats, translated into various currencies—was a common feature of the maidservant's existence. Servant girls in London and Lyon and Amsterdam also knew precisely the value of the clothing they wore on their backs, and they were constantly adding to their wardrobes. Some viewed items of clothing as assets, easily converted into cash, which were held in that form because they were easily portable and because they signified preparation for marriage.[81] But clothing also conferred respectability. As printed cotton cloth became available throughout Eurasia, standards for the dress of working women rose. In 1689, Ihara Saikaku described an unemployed Osaka maidservant who would rather starve and die than relinquish her "fashionably printed kimono, her wide silk sash, her one pair of split-toed socks, and her silk floss veil and ornamental comb."[82] By the eighteenth century, European maidservants were similarly consumed with amassing wardrobes, and that was how they spent the majority of their wages.[83]

On the other hand, many maidservants were compensated in clothing, in addition to or in place of cash. Sometimes this was the result of their employers' relative poverty. A Bengali woman, reminiscing about her maidservants in early-twentieth-century Calcutta, reported that "we were not able to give them anything beyond two pieces of clothing and napkins every year."[84] Conversely, giving a maidservant clothing could also be a strategy of expressing the employer's status. In eighteenth-century England, "perquisites" in the form of clothing accounted for part of a maid's overall compensation, and upper-class mistresses tended to dress their servants as well as possible to signify their own personal taste and social standing.[85] However, since the possession of a wardrobe made it easier for a woman to transition to a different job, or (in cases were trousseaus were a prerequisite for marriage) to retire, employers could strategically withhold clothing to limit servants' mobility. In London and Paris, maidservants complained that their masters locked up their wardrobes and denied them access.[86] In Edo, Tsuneno found that her employers were freer with cash than with clothing; some were willing to loan nightclothes or extra robes, but others paid coins and withheld clothing.[87] In China, Ning Lao T'ai-t'ai had a similar experience,

[81] Maza, *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France*, 65–68.

[82] Ihara Saikaku, "Spending a Day at the Employment Agency" (ca. 1689), trans. Peter Nosco, quoted in Chaiklin, "Up in the Hair," 45.

[83] This was true of working women in general. Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (New York, 2008), 142–144.

[84] Swapna M. Banerjee, "Down Memory Lane: Representations of Domestic Workers in Middle Class Personal Narratives of Colonial Bengal," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 3 (2004): 681–708, here 689.

[85] Chloe Wigston Smith, "'Callico Madams': Servants, Consumption, and the Calico Crisis," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 31, no. 2 (2007): 29–55, here 42–43. On a similar dynamic in Moscow, see Alexander M. Martin, *Enlightened Metropolis: Constructing Imperial Moscow, 1762–1855* (New York, 2013), 164–165.

[86] Hubbard, *City Women*, 33; Maza, *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France*, 66.

[87] Other masters, particularly in rural areas, compensated female employees with clothing. For an example, see Mary Louise Nagata, "One of the Family: Domestic Service in Early Modern Japan," *History of the Family* 10, no. 4 (2005): 355–365, here 359.

even though there was little danger that she would leave her employer. She reported that her mistress, a military official's wife, had loaned her a coat to wear because she had no clothes, but did not provide her with anything of her own.[88]

Some of these similarities in the conditions of labor seem to be resemblances that appear on the surface of fundamentally different experiences. A five-year-old sold by her parents in rural China in 1870 and an eighteen-year-old who hitched a ride to London on a cart in 1620 both swept rooms, hauled water, worried over their wardrobes, and struggled with city accents, but one was paid and one was not, and one could leave while the other was trapped. On the other hand, to look at these situations as manifestations of "free" versus "slave" labor systems can also be misleading. First, "slavery" in Central, South, and East Asia encompassed a number of situations that were not at all alike, and which also did not resemble Atlantic world chattel slavery. Unfree women ranged from the powerful concubine and mistress of a ruler to the seven-year-old girl scrubbing the floor.[89] Moreover, in China, Korea, and the Ottoman Empire, systems of involuntary indenture and (in Korea's case) hereditary slavery functioned alongside labor markets in which domestic workers were hired, whether they were Korean seamstresses (*ch'immo*) who worked on contract, older Chinese maids like Ning Lao Ta'i-ta'i, or the day laborers who served as harem drudges.[90] And everywhere, including in Europe and Japan, the specter of unfreedom haunted the urban labor market, where the dark side of opportunity was the ever-present danger of sliding into prostitution, where women were coerced and even enslaved. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, the "woman brokers" who placed country girls in domestic work were often accused of being procurers who trapped their naïve prey in brothels.[91] Tsuneno's brother in Edo admitted to a similar fear. He wrote home, "there are so many bad men around here; I worry that Tsuneno is going to end up as some kind of prostitute [*tsutome onna*]."[92]

Nevertheless, in situations where women did set out on their own initiative to migrate from the countryside to the city, the question of agency is unavoidable. Did the pattern of urban migration among aspiring maidservants represent an accumulation of individual choices by women who desired an urban lifestyle? Did the possibility of this work provide an opportunity for them to resist the demands of their fathers and brothers? Or was domestic service a last resort for women fleeing bad conditions in the countryside? In local contexts, and even in individual cases, historians have proposed different answers to these questions.[93] In Tsuneno's situation, it is clear that she left home of her own volition, that she aspired to a lifestyle that was unavailable in the countryside, and that she understood this decision as an act of resistance to her family's expectations. Even as she pleaded for her brothers' understanding, she reaffirmed this choice at every opportunity. It would be impossible to make a similar statement about a large number of women scattered across the globe.

[88] Pruitt, *A Daughter of Han*, 76.

[89] B. D. Hopkins, "Race, Sex and Slavery: 'Forced Labour' in Central Asia and Afghanistan in the Early 19th Century," *Modern Asian Studies* 42, no. 4 (2008): 629–671.

[90] Thanks to Jooyeon Hahm for information on Korean seamstresses.

[91] Hubbard, *City Women*, 26–27.

[92] Gisen to Rinsenji, Tenpō 14.9.29, Rinsenji monjo #2041, Niigata Prefectural Archives.

[93] For example, see Maza's discussion of historians' approach to this issue in *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France*, 44–45.

But when the problem of agency is approached as a problem of context, of which opportunities for resistance were imaginable at a given place and time, then large-scale comparisons are easier. So, for example, what kinds of cultural narratives about service were available to young women? In Japan, board games (*sugoroku*) for women invited players to roll dice and move through various stations in life. If the winning square on the board was a luxurious retirement in a wealthy household and the losing square was a dire fate as a streetwalker or beggar, then the stations for housekeepers, chambermaids, and ladies-in-waiting were among the more desirable places to land. The experience of playing these games suggested that domestic service, especially as a lady-in-waiting in a samurai or noble household, could lead to better things: such women had a good chance of becoming brides or upper-class wives with the next roll of the dice.[94] This was probably the venue through which Tsuneno came to imagine that she might go into service for a lord and "learn the conduct and manners of the upper class."

Other representations of maid service in print culture suggested that it provided the opportunity to experience the freedom of the city. Several decades after Saikaku's description of well-dressed Edo maids, Dōmyaku Sensei wrote a comic poem, "Hijo kō" (The Housemaid's Ballad), in the voice of a country girl working as a maid in a Kyoto townsman's household. Although her father in the province was poor, and she received only about one *ryō* per year in wages, she quickly discovered the wonders of "eight-penny powder," scented hair pomade, platform clogs, pongee and crepe kimono, and hairpins with tortoiseshell inlay. Like Tsuneno, after experiencing the city, she had completely lost her taste for the countryside, both literally and figuratively: "It's been some time now since I've had 'wheat-rice' or miso stews; / Whenever I spot tea-porridge, it gives me the blues."[95] This was satire, but it was a beguiling representation nonetheless.

These printed materials were available only to those who were literate or had someone to read to them. But word of mouth was also important. Tsuneno's desire to see Edo can probably be traced to her childhood, when she would have heard her male relatives talking about their adventures in the city. Her father had made at least one trip there, which he recounted in a diary kept in the temple collection, and her younger brother was sent to study at one of the capital's many Shin temples.[96] This type of secondhand experience of Edo was common in Echigo Province, which sent sons and daughters across the mountains to Edo and eventually welcomed them back. In *Snow Country Tales*, Bokushi described several instances in which Echigo natives (including the author himself) traveled to Edo, and others in which visitors from the city shared their observations. In one scene, men who had spent time in the capital thrilled local peasants with a tall tale about catching an Edo demon.[97] Most who returned to the countryside from the capital probably told more plausible stories

[94] Formanek, "The 'Spectacle' of Womanhood," 80, 84–85. Spaces for concubines and high-ranking prostitutes had even better odds, but they were also fraught with peril—there was a significant chance of ending up in the gutter.

[95] Andrew Markus, "Dōmyaku sensei and 'The Housemaid's Ballad' (1767)," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 58, no. 1 (1998): 5–57.

[96] "Seiu nikki," n.d., Rinsenji monjo #891, Niigata Prefectural Archives. Rinsenji also kept a pocket map of Edo from the late 1840s or 1850s, which probably belonged to Tsuneno or her younger brother. Okada Shuntōsai, "Edo annai zu," n.d., Rinsenji monjo #2532, Niigata Prefectural Archives.

[97] Suzuki, *Snow Country Tales*, 150–155.

about the city's prosperity.[98] Meanwhile, returning maidservants themselves provided the best publicity for life in big cities. The poet Yosano Buson recalled that during his childhood in the early eighteenth century, he used to see girls who worked as Osaka maidservants returning home along the river bank, showing off the latest city fashions to envious country girls.[99]

In many parts of Europe, young women heard and read similar stories that depicted work in service as an aspiration for rural women. Eleanor Hubbard quotes a ditty published in London in 1622: "When country Nan the milkmaid-lasses left / She came to London very neat and deft, / To seek preferment and her fortunes raise / Being indeed (as all the parish says) / A handsome wench and likely to do well / If with a London Mistress she might dwell."[100] Other fictional accounts suggested that young women went to London to "learn city fashions," an aspiration shared by Dōmyaku Sensei's fictional Kyoto maidservant. These provincial girls probably also heard attractive stories about life in the city that filtered back from their sisters and neighbors, particularly when former maidservants ended up marrying well. This was true even at the edges of the Ottoman Empire, where Circassian girls began to see slavery in Istanbul as an opportunity to rise in the world, particularly since the slave trade had already destabilized their native communities. According to a visitor to that city in the 1830s, "almost all the youth of both sexes in Circassia insist upon being conveyed by their parents to Constantinople [Istanbul], where the road to honour and advancement is open to every one."[101]

Of course, there were also darker narratives about the pitfalls of work in domestic service, many of which emphasized sexual predation and confinement. In Japan, the frequent inclusion of maid service alongside prostitution in board games and lists of occupations for women suggests that there was a troubling slippage between these categories of work.[102] In China, too, this was a common suggestion, and late imperial fiction aimed at male readers related tales of migrant girls who were kidnapped and forced into prostitution.[103] European literature offered similar stories featuring naïve migrant women who "fell" into prostitution, often after an experience of seduction and abandonment. In London, advice manuals for servants bluntly warned of abusive masters who would take advantage of their employees.[104] And women did indeed live

[98] For a discussion of this phenomenon in a different part of the countryside, see Tsukamoto Manabu, *Chiisa na rekishi to ooki na rekishi* (Tokyo, 1993), 142–147.

[99] Eiko Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture* (New York, 2005), 283.

[100] Hubbard, *City Women*, 21–22.

[101] Of course, this was also a self-serving justification from people living in Istanbul. Julia Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan, and Domestic Manners of the Turks, in 1836*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (London, 1838), 1: 99, quoted in Zilfi, *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 127. See also Walker, *Eastern Life and Scenery*, 1: 61–62.

[102] Yokota Fuyuhiko, "Imagining Working Women in Early Modern Japan," trans. Mariko Asano Tamanoi, in Hitomi Tonomura, Anne Walthall, and Wakita Haruko, eds., *Women and Class in Japanese History* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1999), 153–167.

[103] Paola Zamperini, *Lost Bodies: Prostitution and Masculinity in Chinese Fiction* (Leiden, 2010), 46–48.

[104] Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, 104–107. For European women, part of the danger was ending up pregnant and alone, while Edoites rarely told this version of the fallen servant girl narrative, not only because unwed motherhood was less stigmatized, but also because abortion and infanticide were so widely practiced. Posters in Edo advertised the services of abortionists. Fabian Drixler, *Mabiki: Infanticide and Population Growth in Eastern Japan, 1660–1950* (Berkeley, Calif., 2013), 57. Infanticide was prosecuted in Europe, and many of the perpetrators were servant girls; Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, 110–111.

out these tragic stories of seduction or coercion and abandonment. Or, at the very least, they seized upon these cultural narratives to explain themselves when they ended up "ruined."[105]

But sexual coercion was also a regular feature of life in the countryside, and these narratives at least offered the possibility of a different future.[106] When an Echigo peasant woman named Miyo ran away from her detested fiancé in 1798, she begged her friends, who were hiding her temporarily, to find her work "in service in a distant province."[107] Hatsu, a post station prostitute from Echigo who made a failed attempt to escape her brothel in 1842, tried to intimidate her master with a farfetched story of how she had traveled to Edo and come under the protection of the shogun's senior councilor, Mizuno Tadakuni, presumably by entering his service. It is possible to read her story as a kind of wishful thinking.[108] These women shared with Tsuneno not only a home province and an experience of sexual coercion, but also a hope that life as a city maidservant might offer a chance at escape. Of the three, however, only well-connected Tsuneno managed to realize that hope.

Across Europe, too, there were scattered accounts of migrant maidservants who left home over their parents', brothers' or fiancés' objections, whether they were Finnish runaway brides in seventeenth-century Stockholm or fashion-crazed Lancashire girls in seventeenth-century London.[109] Even in places where most domestic labor was supplied through slavery or indentured servitude, there are indications that a market for urban maidservants provided opportunities for women fleeing difficult situations in the countryside. Ning Lao T'ai-t'ai left an abusive, opium-addicted husband behind when she went to work as a maidservant. She knew where the market was because he had previously attempted to sell their daughter in the same temple square.[110] Suzanne Volinquin, a Frenchwoman who lived in Moscow in the 1840s, noted that both of her maidservants—sisters who were able to migrate because their father had been drafted into the military and liberated from serf status—had come to Moscow to escape romantic complications, a faithless lover in one case and an abusive husband in the other.[111] In Korea, female slaves ran away from their masters with increasing frequency during the eighteenth century, and many vanished into growing cities, where they found jobs as maids as well as entertainers and prostitutes.[112] The idea of leaving rural misery for urban service resonated even where most domestic servants were enslaved, and even when cultural narratives about maid service were as likely to warn of ruination as to celebrate social promotion.

[105] Fuchs and Moch, "Pregnant, Single, and Far from Home"; Maza, *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France*, 69–72; Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender*, 100–102, 107–109.

[106] Meldrum suggests that they may even have had positive implications for women who hoped to end up married into the households of their employers; *Domestic Service and Gender*, 105.

[107] "Aiwatase mōsu issatsu no koto," Kansei 10.7, Hasegawa-ke monjo, Niigata Prefectural Archives, http://www.archives.pref.niigata.jp/internet-komonjo-koza/11to20/11/.

[108] Amy Stanley, *Selling Women: Prostitution, Markets, and the Household in Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley, Calif., 2012), 115–117.

[109] Moring, "Migration, Servanthood, and Assimilation in a New Environment," 43, 49–50; Hubbard, *City Women*, 23.

[110] Pruitt, *A Daughter of Han*, 74.

[111] Martin, *Enlightened Metropolis*, 249–250.

[112] At the same time, abandoned masters often found it cheaper to hire replacements than to search for runaways, accelerating the growth of a market for hired, rather than purchased, domestic labor. Eugene Park, personal communication, July 25, 2014.

None of this mattered to Tsuneno. The snow mattered to her, and so did the mountains and the winters of eating radishes; the resented brothers, the two ex-husbands, and the young friend on his way to Edo; the early mornings at the well, the noise and press of the city, the cold coins in her hand, the scribbled letters, the lost hairpins, and the longed-for cotton padded robes. She could not have imagined the young women across Eurasia who made similar journeys across different landscapes. Why, then, should they appear in her history? Why tell Tsuneno's story on a global (or at least continental) scale?

One answer is that a focus on ordinary women such as Tsuneno applies one of the traditional strengths of women's history—its challenge to conventional periodization—to global history, a field that has struggled with how to divide time.[113] While some global historians use "early modern" as a heuristic device to locate themselves in a universally recognizable period, others have cast doubt on the conventional European definition of early modernity (usually 1500 to ca. 1750), pointing out that the mid-nineteenth century is a more important economic and political turning point outside of Western Europe.[114] In an attempt to reconcile these factions, Jürgen Osterhammel has proposed a long nineteenth century spanning roughly 1780–1915, taking up this transitional period that begins in the age of revolutions and encompasses the rush of global industrialization.[115] But maidservants' stories challenge all these chronologies: the Eurocentric mid-eighteenth-century break, the mid-nineteenth-century turning point favored by some global historians, and the idea of a long nineteenth century dividing the early modern and modern. If we take these lower-class women's experiences seriously, we do not see major breaks, but rather a slow convergence over time and space that began in the early seventeenth century and faded out only in the late nineteenth century, when a new form of rapid urbanization and industrialization changed the possibilities available for young migrant women across the continent. From the maidservant's point of view, London in 1620, Paris in 1750, and Edo in 1840 were surprisingly alike. The major discontinuity was geographical—between places where women could change employers freely and the places where they could not. But even here, a basic story of urban migration, service, and settlement was shared.

Maidservants' stories also displace the global history narrative that shows us an interconnected world system that emerged from the age of discovery. It is possible to catch glimpses of global connections in maidservants' lives, most notably in the striped cotton and calico that formed their wardrobes. After all, these were textiles

[113] This challenge was first articulated by Joan Kelly-Gadol, "The Social Relation of the Sexes: Methodological Implications of Women's History," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1, no. 4 (1976): 809–823. For a more recent development of the same theme, stressing continuity over change, see Judith M. Bennett's concept of "patriarchal equilibrium" in *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (Philadelphia, 2006).

[114] Jack A. Goldstone, "The Problem of the 'Early Modern' World," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41, no. 3 (1998): 249–284. Moreover, global economic historians assert that industrialization did not begin to transform the world outside England until the middle decades of the nineteenth century; Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence*, 16. Thus, even in discussions of European economic history, it has become common to eschew the usual "early modern" formula and reach into the nineteenth century. For example, de Vries's discussion of the "industrious revolution" spans a long eighteenth century, encompassing the years 1650–1850.

[115] Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Patrick Camiller (Princeton, N.J., 2014).

that emerged in India and became global commodities by the seventeenth century.[116] To the extent that the desire for fashionable clothes motivated women to seek work in cities, this global trade network did change maidservants' lives. But what maidservants' tales show us much more clearly are the conditions that made these connections possible, as women migrants constructed households and cities that became nodes in new trade networks. They also show us convergence across the Eurasian continent during the centuries between 1600 and 1900, as big cities shared more and more in common.[117]

This is not a story of "modernization" in the classic sense, as the stories of "early modern" maidservants do not connect neatly to the histories of the women who migrated to work in factories later. When Japanese textile companies recruited laborers, for example, their arrangements resembled "unfree" brothel contracts more than the flexible agreements of city maidservants.[118] Moreover, just as free and slave labor coexisted in many parts of the premodern world, factory labor and servitude shadowed one another throughout the nineteenth century. Even as industrialization transformed the economy, the demand for domestic labor in urban areas skyrocketed, outstripping factory work as a form of employment for young women.[119] Finally, a straightforward story of progress from "free" domestic labor to factory labor would elide the brutal but crucial contributions of Atlantic world slavery to the development of capitalism, and obscure the point that African enslaved women were systematically excluded from the narrative of migration, service, and marriage that was shared across Eurasia. The history of maidservants is not a narrative of progress toward industrialization; instead, it shows us how urbanization happened slowly and unevenly across a continent, fueled by the very similar stories that people told themselves and others about how life in the city was an alluring, though dangerous, possibility for single women.

The global mode of narration offers challenges for microhistorians, too. Intimate, local details give accounts of agency and resistance their texture; they propel narratives and explain the constraints and opportunities that shaped ordinary lives. But they can also provide an illusion of specificity, obscuring broader patterns that can be seen more easily by employing a wider geographical frame. If Tsuneno's story is presented as a conflict between a woman and her family, situated within the space of Ishigami village, the dynamics of the household and the community are of paramount importance: the engine of the story is the conflict between the individual's desire to leave and the household head's need to maintain his status in the community, either by settling his wayward sister in a stable marriage or by keeping her safely at home. If we expand the frame, we can see the province, in which stories about female mi-

[116] Riello and Parthasarathi, *The Spinning World.*

[117] For a recent discussion of Japan and global convergence, see *Japan's Convergence with the West: How Similar Approaches to Nature Created Parallel Developments*, ed. Julia Adeney Thomas, Special Issue, *Japanese Studies* 34, no. 3 (2014).

[118] E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan* (Princeton, N.J., 1992). Japanese recruiters employed similar coercive contract labor strategies in China, and in the early twentieth century recruitment was taken over by violent gangs. Emily Honig, *Sisters and Strangers: Women in the Shanghai Cotton Mills, 1919–49* (Stanford, Calif., 1996), chap. 5.

[119] Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World*, 696; Geoff Eley, "Historicizing the Global, Politicizing Capital: Giving the Present a Name," *History Workshop Journal* 63, no. 1 (2007): 154–188, here 165–166. Even in the twentieth century, the job description of a Chinese factory girl could include domestic labor; Honig, *Sisters and Strangers*, 107–108.

gration circulated in village gossip; the region, in which the Edo labor market drew an increasing number of single women into the city; and the realm of Japanese print culture, in which work in domestic service was presented as an aspiration. In this wider Japanese context, it is possible to argue that Tsuneno's departure was a leap of faith as well as an act of rebellion, one supported by an economic transformation that enabled women to imagine that they could support themselves in cities. But expanding the frame once again, to encompass the entire continent of Eurasia, alters the meaning of Tsuneno's story even further. She no longer looks like an iconoclastic heroine; instead, she appears to be part of a wider trend in which women in various rural hinterlands left to work in the urban service economy, sometimes without their families' permission, sometimes at their families' behest.

If the exercise of individual agency is considered as a problem of place and context, if certain grooves worn into the social or economic landscape made some avenues of resistance or rebellion not only more possible but more thinkable than others, then the topographies of Japan and Europe were remarkably similar: single women at both edges of Eurasia were able to use the prospect of migration and domestic service in ways that usually eluded their counterparts in other places. On the other hand, even where maidservants were more often bought than hired, and where the ability to move through a city in search of higher wages was curtailed by law or custom, the idea of urban service work as a path to a different (and perhaps better) life for girls had begun to expand the territory people traversed in their own imaginations. If we gaze across the continent, Tsuneno's story becomes a Japanese variation on a common theme, one in which work in domestic service inspired a wider array of women to tell new kinds of stories about themselves, to imagine the possibility of disappearance and reinvention, even if these stories remained dreams, or threats, or outright lies.

These small and idiosyncratic stories, real and invented, show us that the global economy was made up not only of calories and acres, populations and bolts of cloth, but of individuals and their choices: the runaway who set out for the city, the family who relinquished a daughter, and the shopkeeper who ran the numbers and hired a girl to sweep the floors. These obscure people lived out relatively mundane lives that, in their very ordinariness, were surprisingly similar. When their small histories come into focus, they produce chronologies and geographies that confound expectations. They smooth out breaks in time and leap over continental divides. They show us that global history is not only the possession of the sovereign at his court, the mariner at his star charts, the scientist at his study, and the merchant at his accounts. It also belongs to the maidservant at the city well, singing a tune from the countryside, calculating the value of the clothes on her back, and planning her next move.

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"The Gesture Speech of Mankind": Old and New Entanglements in the Histories of American Indian and European Sign Languages

CÉLINE CARAYON

BETWEEN THE 1880s AND THE 1920s, Americans became fascinated with newly "discovered" manually coded languages among western Indian groups. Members of the recently established Bureau of American Ethnology recorded fully conventional sign languages in the Great Plains, Great Basin, and Plateau regions of western North America, notably among the Arapaho, Cheyenne, Lakota, Blackfoot, Comanche, Paiute, and Crow peoples.[1] These sign language systems served the Indian societies who used them as what linguists call an "international auxiliary language"—a *lingua franca* shared by two or more distinct linguistic groups, allowing communication across language barriers, such as between trade or military partners. But, more unexpectedly,

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[1] By "conventional sign language" I mean formally established communication systems of hand and arm signs functioning as a separate language within a specific culture. While all idiosyncratic gestures within a culture are to some extent conventional (coded, or culturally established), only some systems constitute sign languages proper. The Bureau of American Ethnology was created by an act of Congress in 1879 as an independent research branch of the Smithsonian Institution, making early anthropological/ethnological research among American Indians a primarily government-sponsored initiative. The most important works of the period on this subject were authored by a veteran of the U.S. military, Garrick Mallery. Mallery's work was originally published as *Introduction to the Study of Sign Language among the North American Indians as Illustrating the Gesture Speech of Mankind* (Washington, D.C., 1880); an expanded and revised version was published the following year as *Sign Language among North American Indians, Compared with That among Other Peoples and Deaf-Mutes* (Washington, D.C., 1881) and included that same year in J. W. Powell, ed., *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution for 1879–1880* (Washington, D.C., 1881), 263–552. Mallery also produced a 329-page long report that was circulated only among collaborators at the Smithsonian, titled *A Collection of Gesture Signs and Signals with Some Comparison* (Washington, D.C., 1880). Other studies from that period include William P. Clark, *The Indian Sign Language, with Brief Explanatory Notes of the Gestures Taught Deaf-Mutes in Our Institutions for Their Instruction, and a Description of Some of the Peculiar Laws, Customs, Myths, Superstitions, Ways of Living, Code of Peace and War Signals of Our Aborigines* (Philadelphia, 1885); Lewis F. Hadley, *Indian Sign Talk* (Chicago, 1891); Ernest Thompson Seton, *Sign Talk: A Universal Signal Code, without Apparatus, for Use in the Army, Navy, Camping, Hunting, and Daily Life* (New York, 1918); William Tomkins, *Universal Indian Sign Language of the Plains Indians of North America* (San Diego, Calif., 1926).

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Plains Indians Sign Language (PISL), as it came to be known, also functioned as an "alternate sign system," by which is meant a separate, internal language that is completely autonomous from speech and is used by speaking-hearing communities who share the same dialect. Belying the common assumption that manual signing is used only when speech is unavailable, Indian sign languages were thus summoned on certain occasions when spoken conversation was possible but silence was preferred, for instance in ceremonial settings or when hunting, as well as in conjunction with formal oratory.[2]

Rather than focusing on the critical dialogic relationship between verbal and nonverbal modes of expression, however, government-sponsored scientists at the turn of the century conceptualized Indian sign languages in conjunction with their most obvious equivalent in Western culture, the sign languages of deaf communities. Following decidedly evolutionist perspectives that presupposed the subaltern status of signs to verbal languages, they conducted several methodical experiments to compare examples of indigenous sign language with the still-nascent American Sign Language (ASL) in which Anglo-American hearing-impaired pupils were instructed.[3] On March 6, 1880, seven Ute men were taken by Lieutenant-Colonel Garrick Mallery to the National Deaf-Mute College in Washington, D.C. (today Gallaudet University), where researchers observed what happened when deaf students told the Indians scripted stories using ASL signs.[4] Despite a few inaccuracies and impasses in the translation process, most of which were attributed to cultural differences rather than communicative deficiencies, the reports were overwhelmingly positive. Mallery, the foremost specialist of the time in the study of Indian signs, used the case study to argue that "what is called *the* sign language of Indians is not, properly speaking, one language, but . . . it and the gesture systems of deaf-mutes and of all peoples constitute together one language—the gesture speech of mankind—of which each system is a dialect."[5] In this statement, Mallery captured the two most prominent and problematic concepts attached to the observation of American Indian sign languages in

[2] The best recent study of PISL is Jeffrey E. Davis, *Hand Talk: Sign Language among American Indian Nations* (Cambridge, 2011). Davis, who keeps his focus on the Western Plains and developments since the 1800s, states that "this book is the first of its kind published in more than one hundred years" (xviii), in part because of the predominant dismissal of PISL in the field of sign language studies. See also Brenda Farnell, *Do You See What I Mean? Plains Indian Sign Talk and the Embodiment of Action* (Austin, Tex., 1995); Jeffrey Davis and Samuel Supalla, "A Sociolinguistic Description of Sign Language Use in a Navajo Family," in Ceil Lucas, ed., *Sociolinguistics in Deaf Communities* (Washington D.C., 1995), 77–106.

[3] ASL was still in the process of being strictly standardized in the late nineteenth century, incorporating signs from the old French system as well as American "home signs"—i.e., simple non-language-like signs spontaneously developed by a deaf person or community in the absence of a taught sign language. Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, a Congregationalist minister, founded the very first school for the deaf in the United States in 1817 after visiting institutions in France, and later founded his renowned eponymous college in Washington, D.C., in 1864. ASL achieved the status of a formal language only in the 1950s, after linguist William Stokoe transcribed it in written form. On the recording of native languages by early ethnologists, see Brian Hochman, *Savage Preservation: The Ethnographic Origins of Modern Media Technology* (Minneapolis, 2014).

[4] It is not clear, in the account of this experiment, whether the Utes' participation was voluntary or in what context they came to Washington, D.C. Mallery also noted that their tribe, "according to report, is unacquainted with sign language"; *Sign Language among North American Indians*, in Powell, *First Annual Report*, 321.

[5] Ibid., 323. The term "deaf-mute," considered acceptable at the time, has since fallen into disuse and is today considered a loaded and inaccurate term. It will appear in this essay only in direct historical quotes.

the modern era: the question of whether manual languages had "universal" properties that could transcend cultural, geographical, and linguistic barriers, and the misguided conceptual association of Indian signs with the various nationally based sign languages of deaf communities in the industrialized Western world.

The late-nineteenth-century interest in PISL arose from a larger concern among those in the emerging fields of ethnology and cultural anthropology with the need to document "vanishing" Indian cultures, as well as with ongoing questions about the origins of human language that first arose in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[6] If signs preceded verbal language, the logic went, then one had a better chance of recovering philological inceptions among signing peoples whose cultures were perceived as primeval and unchanging. (See Figure 1.) This quest was only the latest chapter in a long line of Western reflections regarding the reversal of Babel that took place in subtle dialogue with the languages of the New World after the fifteenth century.[7] The story of Indian sign language in Western thought, however, is marked by historical amnesia and historiographical myopia. Thus it affords the perfect opportunity to illuminate the value of interdisciplinary, geographically comparative, and diachronic approaches in reconsidering the entangled intellectual, linguistic, sensory, and cultural histories of indigenous America and Europe. In much the same way that scholars in a number of disciplines today tend to overlook or dismiss some of the crucial, albeit often racially tainted, contributions of the turn-of-the-century research on PISL, this first generation of American ethnologists were themselves mistaken in believing that they were the first Westerners to "discover" and document Indian signs. In fact, this scholarship reflected only one of the many moments of encounter between Western and indigenous kinetic literacies that took place after Columbus's crossing of the Atlantic. Bridging these temporal and disciplinary fissures not only challenges traditional understandings of native and European sign language histories, but also calls for a thorough methodological and conceptual reframing of the four centuries of transatlantic intellectual exchanges to which they belonged.

The first step toward this goal is to historicize and dispel the pervasive (essentially post-Enlightenment) paradigm that associates sign language with speech deficiency or incapacity, a faulty model that has been severely damaging to our understanding and knowledge of both Indian and European sign language systems. Free from this distorted lens, we are then able to reexamine early colonial communication events in

[6] For an overview of language theory and science in the West, see James J. Bono, *The Word of God and the Language of Man: Interpreting Nature in Early Modern Science and Medicine*, vol. 1: *Ficino to Descartes* (Madison, Wis., 1995); Allison P. Coudert, "Some Theories of a Natural Language from the Renaissance to the Seventeenth Century," in *Magia naturalis und die Entstehung der modernen Naturwissenschaften* (Wiesbaden, 1978), 56–114; Jules David Law, *The Rhetoric of Empiricism: Language and Perception from Locke to I. A. Richards* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993); Matthew Lauzon, *Signs of Light: French and British Theories of Linguistic Communication, 1648–1789* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2010).

[7] A number of recent studies have bridged intellectual developments in European philology/linguistics in the early modern period and the encounter with Indian languages in the Americas. See, for instance, Lauzon, *Signs of Light*; Sean P. Harvey, *Native Tongues: Colonialism and Race from Encounter to the Reservation* (Cambridge, Mass., 2015); Harvey, "'Must Not their Language Be Savage and Barbarous like Them?' Philology, Indian Removal, and Race Science," *Journal of the Early Republic* 30, no. 4 (2010): 505–532; Patrick Erben, *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2012); Sarah Rivett, "Learning to Write Algonquian Letters: The Indigenous Place of Language Philosophy in the Seventeenth-Century Atlantic World," *William and Mary Quarterly* 71, no. 4 (2014): 549–588.

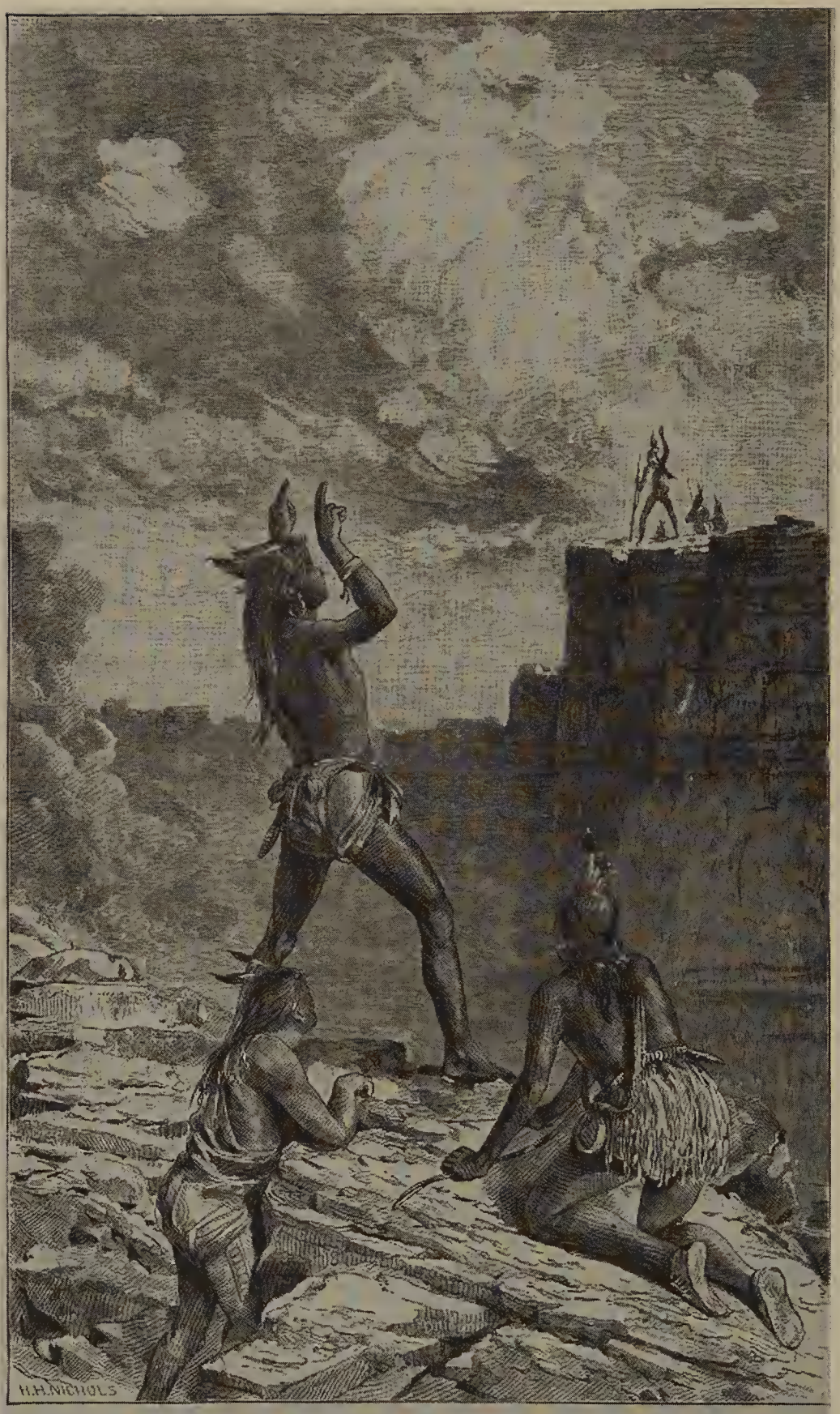

Fig. 336.—Signal, "Who are you?" Answer, "Pani."

Figure 1: Example of conventional sign language used as intertribal *lingua franca*: upon encounter, one party makes a sign inquiring about the identity of the others, who respond with the tribal sign for "Pani" (Pawnee). From Garrick Mallery, *Sign Language among North American Indians* (Washington, D.C., 1881), facing 531.

the light of a more nuanced understanding of the full diversity and multimedia qualities of Indian modes of communication, taking into account the wide visual-kinetic spectrum available to early modern participants in these cross-linguistic encounters.[8] Although the work of early ethnologists from the Smithsonian Institution and the Bureau of American Ethnology has its limitations, it must be more critically and carefully mined in parallel with both colonial sources and recent scholarship for information about the connections between culture, language, paralanguage, and kinesics, and what they reveal about indigenous and European epistemologies and their interactions in the *longue durée*. Revising our approach to American Indian nonverbal communication strategies has the potential to challenge ideas about unbridgeable cultural divides, communicative impermeability, and clashes between oral/aural and alphabetic/alternate literacies in the Americas.[9] The histories of Indian and European sign language traditions, which have intersected and sometimes blurred together for better *and* for worse since the early modern period, should not be separated, and in fact have much to gain from being put in a transatlantic and diachronic dialogue with one another. Their relationship, however, must be considerably reassessed, with potentially significant benefits to several fields of inquiry.

More than three centuries before U.S. officials ventured into the Far West, early modern Europeans had already come into close contact with Indian signs and complex indigenous systems of visual-kinetic communication in the context of the early colonization of the Americas. Their records of some of the nonverbal indigenous practices they witnessed strikingly resemble nineteenth-century observations of PISL and its role as an "alternate sign system" being used alongside speech in hearing societies. A French Jesuit conducting a mission in seventeenth-century Guiana, for instance, noted that the Galibi Indians (modern Kali'na) "also use gestures to express what they want to say, treating and conferring with each other, without their being deaf and mute, however; which they particularly do to designate numbers, despite the fact that there are words to express several of them."[10] This commentator was unusual in his comparison of native gestures with deaf signs. Unlike Mallery and nearly every post-Enlightenment scholar of the subject, most early modern observers who encountered Indian signs did not think systematically, primarily, or necessarily even at all about deafness and speech impairment. Non-standardized instances of communicative signs among hearing-impaired peoples had been well-known in Europe since antiquity, but no conventional system of manual signing for the explicit purpose of

[8] Most of my primary research is grounded in early published accounts and travel narratives by explorers, missionaries, officials, and soldiers from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French, British, and Spanish America. Translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

[9] In the words of Gordon M. Sayre, "our conviction of the extreme cultural difference between Europeans and Indians at the time of initial contact has affected too strongly our reading of the accounts of that contact." Sayre, *Les Sauvages Américains: Representations of Native Americans in French and English Colonial Literature* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997), 27.

[10] "Ils se servent aussi de gestes, pour exprimer ce qu'ils veulent dire traittant, et conferant ensemble, sans estre pourtant ny sourds, ny muets: ce qu'ils font particulierement pour designer les nombres . . . bien qu'ils aient des mots pour en exprimer plusieurs." Pierre Pelleprat, *Introduction à la langue des Galibis, sauuages de la terre ferme de l'Amerique Meridionale* (Paris, 1655), 13–14.

instructing the deaf would emerge until the late eighteenth century.[11] The cultural sensibilities and practices of colonial visitors, however, placed them in a better position than subsequent observers to appreciate the dynamic interplay of speech and manual signing among Native Americans. In the second half of the twentieth century, the notion emerged that Indians had "borrowed" pictographs and manual signs from Euro-Americans, or that these had developed as a result of intercultural encounters that took place after contact. When scholars visited Plains Indians in an effort to update and further the original findings of the Bureau of Ethnology in the 1970s, they concluded that the combined use of gestures and speech was a "modernism," once again rooting the initial emergence of sign language in some necessity born out of muteness, a statement that Mallery—who published two unprecedented and largely unsurpassed studies on Indian sign language during his career, as well as several works on pictographs—would no doubt have strongly refuted.[12] PISL also came to be seen as an exception specific to the western regions of North America rather than a remnant of a larger set of indigenous cultural practices that at one time may have spanned the continent. Mallery and his peers were simultaneously foundational in shaping the misconceptions that plague the study of the topic, and critical in documenting Indian signs and laying the groundwork for some of the most solid knowledge we have about it. Their work must thus be kept at the center of any discussion of indigenous nonverbal communication, even as one looks back toward the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in search of the earliest-documented instances of Indian sign systems.

From the time of their first encounter, in the face of seemingly insurmountable cultural and linguistic barriers, Europeans and Native Americans across the early Americas turned to signs and gestures, both improvised and conventional, in order to communicate. Such nonverbal utterances originated in the cultures of all the groups in contact, and allowed for a degree of communication that, given the circumstances, was often considered more than satisfactory. The earliest and perhaps best-known example comes from Christopher Columbus's diary, in which the Genovese captain deplored the absence of a mutual linguistic understanding with the Taíno Indians of Hispaniola, while also making frequent use of phrases such as "they told me," "I asked them," and "they replied" to express the results of conversations that were essentially mediated through signs.[13] In the decades that followed, instances of

[11] Here I mean systems of arbitrary and conventional signs forming a fully grammatical language; manual alphabets to spell individual spoken words were known well before the eighteenth century. Adam Kendon, *Gesture: Visible Action as Utterance* (Cambridge, 2005), includes excellent chapters that trace the international history of gesture speech and deaf signs in Western culture; see also Lois Bragg, "Visual-Kinetic Communication in Europe before 1600: A Survey of Sign Lexicons and Finger Alphabets Prior to the Rise of Deaf Education," *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education* 2, no. 1 (1997): 1–25; David F. Armstrong, *Show of Hands: A Natural History of Sign Language* (Washington, D.C., 2011); John Tabak, *Significant Gestures: A History of American Sign Language* (Westport, Conn., 2006); Renate Fisher and Harlan Lane, eds., *Looking Back: A Reader on the History of Deaf Communities and Their Sign Languages* (Hamburg, 1993).

[12] "The chief modernism was that the executants now duplicate their sign communication by simultaneously speaking the corresponding words." A. L. Kroeber, "Sign Language Inquiry," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 24, no. 1 (1958): 1–19, here 1.

[13] Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelley Jr., eds., *The Diario of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America, 1492–1493* (Norman, Okla., 1989). In the fields of literary and disability studies, Jason Farr has suggested that colonial travel accounts such as Columbus's have had a lasting impact in shaping representations of the deaf as a separate "tribe" outside of the social order because of their lack of education.

kinetic-visual communication became a staple of colonial encounters and writings for other Spanish, Portuguese, French, English, and Dutch voyagers who landed on the North and South American mainland and in the Caribbean region. At almost every turn throughout the account of his taxing journey through southeastern North America between 1528 and 1536, Álvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca mentioned both speaking to Indians and being answered by them "by signs," generally without further specification.[14] Over the course of an hour-long exchange with an Indian leader wearing full regalia, the Spaniards, for instance, reportedly "[b]y signs ... told him we were going to Apalachee, to which he replied by signs that seemed to indicate that he was an enemy of the people of Apalachee and that he would go with us to help us against them."[15] Other texts offer more detailed descriptions, especially of formal greeting signs or salutations used by certain Indian nations. In sixteenth-century Florida, Timucua Indians were said by French observers to have saluted their leader one by one each morning before holding council, by "raising both hands twice in front of their face, saying *ha, he, ya, ha, ha* and the rest [of the assembly] responds *ha, ha*."[16] (See Figure 2.) The account of French explorer Jacques Cartier's second voyage to the Saint Lawrence River in 1535 similarly makes mention of a peculiar greeting by a local Iroquoian chief, which the chronicler found himself lacking the words to specifically depict: "After he had with certayne signes and beckes saluted our Captaine and all his company, and by manifest tokens bidde us all welcome, he shewed his legges and armes to our Captaine, and with signes desired him to touch them, and so he did, rubbing them with hys own hands."[17]

While the exact nature and meaning of these gestures may forever remain elusive, they were most often clearly rooted in native ritual conventions rather than invented on the spot or borrowed from European practices.[18] Enough consistency in sign usage across wide distances and long periods of time also suggests that what the Europeans occasionally reported in their writings were well-established gestural codes

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Farr, "Colonizing Gestures: The Universality of Hand Sign in Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719)" (paper presented at the 45th ASECS Annual Meeting, March 22, 2014, Williamsburg, Va.).

[14] See, for instance, Álvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, *The Account: Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's "Relación,"* trans. Martin A. Favata and José B. Fernández (Houston, Tex., 1993), 38, 43, 55, 58. See also Rolena Adorno and Patrick Charles Pautz, *Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca: His Account, His Life, and the Expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez*, 3 vols. (Lincoln, Nebr., 1999).

[15] Cabeza de Vaca, *The Account*, 39. On early communication in Spanish America, see Julianna Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2007); and Alejandra Dubcovsky, *Informed Power: Communication in the Early American South* (Cambridge, Mass., 2016).

[16] René de Laudonnière, *L'histoire notable de la Floride* (Paris, 1586), sig. 5^{v}.

[17] Jacques Cartier, *A Shorte and Briefe Narration of the Two Nauigations and Discoueries to the Northweast Partes Called Newe Fraunce* (London, 1580), 53. There are two succinct French-language studies of the prominence of gestural signs in Cartier's account, but both dismiss the possibility of actual indigenous kinetic communication systems. Réal Ouellet, "Gestualité et perception de l'autre dans les *Relations* de Cartier," in Jaap Lintvelt, Réal Ouellet, and Hub. Hermans, eds., *Culture et colonisation en Amérique du Nord* (Sillery, 1994), 27–48; Gilles Thérien, "Jacques Cartier et le langage des signes," in *Colloque Jacques Cartier: Histoire, Textes, Images* (Montréal, 1985), 229–267.

[18] Indians also mimicked and emulated European gestures, and vice versa. For instance, during Giovanni da Verrazzano's exploration of the North Atlantic coast in 1524, "We reassured them somewhat by imitating their gestures, and they came near enough for us to throw them a few little bells and mirrors and many trinkets, which they took and looked at, laughing, and then they confidently came on board ship." "Giovanni da Verrazzano to Francis I," July 8, 1524, in David B. Quinn, *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612*, 5 vols. (London, 1979), 1: 280–292, here 284–285.

Wie die Wächter jrer Fahr= XXXII.
lessigkeyt halben gestrafft werden.

NEiter / so die Statt / durch Vnachtsamkeyt der Wächter / durchs Feuwer verderbt ist / werden dieselbigen auff nachfolgende weiß gestraffet: Wann der König allein auff einer Banck sitzt / vnd alle andere / so nach jm das allergrösseste Ansehen haben / die andere grosse Banck / so da wie ein halber Circkel krumb ist / eingenommen haben / Heisset alsdann der Scharpffrichter / den Schüldigen oder Vbertretter / für dem König nider knien / Darnach stellet er jhm seinen lincken Fuß auff den Rück / vnd schlegt mit beyden Händen mit einem Kolben (der von einem Baum / so deß orts wechst / vnd von Natur schwartz ist / oder aber auß anderem hartem Holtz gemacht) mit solchen Kräfften oben auff seinen Kopff / daß er jhm denselbigen schier zertheylet. Diese Straffe wirdt auch denen / so ein andere Missethat / die von jhnen / deß Todts wirdig zu seyn / geschätzt wirdt / begangen haben / angethan. Dann wir noch zween andere / auch auff jetztgemeldte weiß / haben sehen richten.

J ij Wie sie

FIGURE 2: Johann Feyerabend for Theodor de Bry, "Wie die Wächter irer Fahrlessigkeyt halben gestrafft werden." From Jacob le Moyne, *Der ander Theyl der newlich erfundenen Landtschafft Americae, von dreyen Schiffahrten, so die Frantzosen in Floridam (die gegen Nidergang gelegen) gethan* (Frankfurt a.m., 1591), pt. II, plate XXXII. John Carter Brown Library Archive of Early American Images, 08915-37. De Bry's engravings were based on the work of artist Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, who accompanied Ribault and Laudonnière (here represented attending a public execution with a Timucua chief) to Florida in the early 1560s. De Morgues's illustrations are particularly rich in communicative gestures, which are often echoed in the written chronicles.

that had their origins in cosmological and epistemological commonalities (often also manifest in oratorical patterns) and connected native groups across language families, regions, and tribal identities before the arrival of Westerners. Perhaps because they were themselves versed in a wide range of three-dimensional nonverbal repertoires associated with speech and with a number of specific occupational skills (including ocean navigation and preaching), many of these early explorers and settlers expressed confidence in their ability to comprehend and use sign language in the New World. Elsewhere in the account of Cartier's Canadian explorations, it is said that a local Indian chief "made a long sermon, upon coming and arriving on board, showing by *evident signs* with his hands and other ceremonies that the said River, further upstream, was very dangerous."[19] From the earliest contacts between the groups, conversations in which geographical directions were given or trade rendezvous were arranged for later dates were among the most frequent exchanges to use gestures. They were also among the most successful, according to the colonial chroniclers, who derived a great deal of confidence in cross-cultural communication from the outcomes of such emplaced kinetic conversations. While they reflected the specific concerns and economic goals of Europeans, these exchanges also inform us about the variety of native communicative strategies. Recent works on Indian non-alphabetic forms of recording and material representation have challenged the image of Native American societies as defined by their orality alone, while our understanding of the multidimensionality of Indian oratorical and narrative traditions has been enriched.[20] Thanks to a number of remarkable ethnohistorical analyses, we now know a lot more about complex alternate literacies in indigenous America, including mapping and the use of mnemonic devices such as wampum, memory sticks, and other pictographic markings (winter counts, bark scrolls, petroglyphs, and the like), which suggest a high level of cultural fluency in impermanent and other-than-verbal modes of communication among Native American groups.[21] Scholars in recent years have in partic-

[19] H. P. Biggar, ed., *Voyages of Jacques Cartier* (Ottawa, 1924), 142–143, my emphasis. Biggar's translation is based on the oldest-known French version of the account (1545). The 1580 English version of the *Shorte and Briefe Narration* has the following wording: "Many boates and barkes came unto us, in one of whiche came one of the chiefe Lordes of the Countrey, making a long discourse, who beyng come neere us, did by evident signes and gestures shewe us, that the higher the River went, the more daungerous it was, and bade us to take heede of ourselves." Cartier, *A Shorte and Briefe Narration*, 45.

[20] Two seminal works in challenging Western definitions of literacy as strictly alphabetic are Elizabeth Hill Boone and Walter D. Mignolo, eds., *Writing without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes* (Durham, N.C., 1994); and Gordon Brotherston, *Images of the New World: The American Continent Portrayed in Native Texts* (London, 1979). See also Kathleen J. Bragdon, "The Pragmatics of Language Learning: Graphic Pluralism on Martha's Vineyard, 1660–1720," *Ethnohistory* 57, no. 1 (2010): 35–50; Galen Brokaw, "Indigenous American Polygraphy and the Dialogic Model of Media," ibid., 117–133. On Indian oratory and issues of textualization by Westerners, see Andrew Wiget, "Native American Oral Literatures: A Critical Orientation," in Wiget, ed., *Handbook of Native American Literature* (New York, 1996), 3–18; William M. Clements, *Oratory in Native America* (Tucson, Ariz., 2002).

[21] Julianna Barr and Edward Countryman, eds., *Contested Spaces of Early America* (Philadelphia, 2014); Matt Cohen, *The Networked Wilderness: Communicating in Early New England* (Minneapolis, 2009); Lisa Brooks, *The Common Pot: The Recovery of Native Space in the Northeast* (Minneapolis, 2008); Birgit Brander Rasmussen, *Queequeg's Coffin: Indigenous Literacies and Early American Literature* (Durham, N.C., 2012); Alejandra Dubcovsky, "One Hundred Sixty-One Knots, Two Plates, and One Emperor: Creek Information Networks in the Era of the Yamasee War," *Ethnohistory* 59, no. 3 (2012): 489–513; Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*; Tracy Neal Leavelle, *The Catholic Calumet: Colonial Conversions in French and Indian North America* (Philadelphia, 2011); Joshua David Bellin and Laura L. Mielke, eds., *Native Acts: Indian Performance, 1603–1832* (Lincoln, Nebr., 2011); Germain

ular emphasized the degree of sophistication of Native American cartography.[22] Indigenous informers drew maps on the ground with sticks and their fingers and used "hand maps" to describe the local landscapes. They painted and carved information on peeled trees, and they relied on conventional signs to express directions and duration of travel—however accurate or purposefully misleading that information may have been.[23] During his second voyage to the Arctic in 1577, for example, Martin Frobisher reported that some of the Inuit people he had conversed with "hastily departed, holding up three fingers and pointing at the sun to indicate that they meant to return in three days."[24] And yet, acknowledgment of these communicative strategies often paradoxically coexists in scholarship and in popular perceptions with a tenacious dismissal of the possibility of formal indigenous sign languages prior to contact, and is typically disconnected from discussions of the successes and limits of cross-linguistic manual exchanges in the colonial period.

Understandably, much of the scholarly attention that has been given to gesture as communicative utterances between Europeans and Indians in America has focused on the early period of their relationship, despite the fact that there were mentions of signs and kinetic elements of Indian speech well into the late eighteenth century (in fact, gestures were continuously used by Euro-Americans and native groups to communicate as the former expanded westward through the early republic and the later nineteenth century). Whether expressing skepticism about their efficacy or pointing to their crucial role in mediating accommodation through shared enacted ceremonies, historians have tended to associate kinetic-visual modes of communication primarily with the need to overcome the linguistic barrier during the early phases of colonial contact.[25] The historiography, in short, has held that gesture was an inade-

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Warkentin, "In Search of 'the Word of the Other': Aboriginal Sign Systems and the History of the Book in Canada," *Book History* 2, no. 1 (1999): 1–27.

[22] G. Malcolm Lewis, ed., *Cartographic Encounters: Perspectives on Native American Mapmaking and Map Use* (Chicago, 1998); Julianna Barr and Edward Countryman, "Introduction: Maps and Spaces, Paths to Connect, and Lines to Divide," in Barr and Countryman, *Contested Spaces of Early America*, 1–29; Barbara Belyea, "Inland Journeys, Native Maps," *Cartographica* 33, no. 2 (1996): 1–16; Mark Warhus, *Another America: Native American Maps and the History of Our Land* (New York, 1997); Gregory A. Waselkov, "Indian Maps of the Colonial Southeast," in Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, eds., *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1989), 292–343, here 324–329; Barbara Belyea, "Amerindian Maps: The Explorer as Translator," *Journal of Historical Geography* 18, no. 3 (1992): 267–277. Paul W. Mapp emphasizes the crucial importance of verbal elucidation for the comprehension and efficacy of Indian maps; it seems that nonverbal elucidations could also be used. Mapp, *The Elusive West and the Contest for Empire, 1713–1763* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2013), chap. 2.

[23] In addition to Malcolm Lewis's magisterial work on native cartography, for Eastern Woodland pictography and bark/peeled tree markings, see Heidi Bohaker, "Reading Anishinaabe Identities: Meaning and Metaphor in *Nindoodem* Pictographs," *Ethnohistory* 57, no. 1 (2010): 11–33; Scott Meachum, "'Markes upon Their Clubhammers': Interpreting Pictography on Eastern War Clubs," in J. C. H. King and Christian Feest, eds., *Three Centuries of Woodland Indian Art: A Collection of Essays* (Altenstadt, 2007), 67–74; Selwyn Dewdney, *The Sacred Scrolls of the Southern Ojibway* (Toronto, 1975).

[24] W. A. Kenyon, *Tokens of Possession: The Northern Voyages of Martin Frobisher* (Toronto, 1975), 64.

[25] William C. Sturtevant, general ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, 20 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1978), especially vol. 17: Ives Goddard, ed., *Languages*; Edward G. Gray and Norman Fiering, eds., *The Language Encounter in the Americas, 1492–1800: A Collection of Essays* (New York, 2000); James Axtell, "Babel of Tongues: Communicating with the Indians," in Axtell, *Natives and Newcomers: The Cultural Origins of North America* (New York, 2001), 46–75; Marcus P. Meuwese, "'For the Peace and Well-Being of the Country': Intercultural Mediators and Dutch-Indian Relations in New Netherland and

quate alternative to speech, emerging out of necessity and largely based on improvisation, occasionally leading to convenient but serendipitous partial understandings or misunderstandings.[26] According to that reading, gestures are believed to have faded into gradual disuse as linguistic understanding developed over time. Once pidgins, jargons, interpreters, and other bilingual go-betweens emerged in early America, the story goes, the inferior medium of gestural communication lost its prominence and *raison d'être*. The fact that Europeans expressed confidence in their ability to decipher Indian signs has consistently been seen as a product of wishful thinking and colonial propaganda, which it in fact often was. Failing to trace the enduring use and complex array of signs in early America, and missing their important association with speech rather than muteness, most studies so far have tended to agree with one scholar's conclusion that "[d]espite these dramatic gestures and signs, the various non-verbal communication strategies . . . were ultimately of limited use in establishing intercultural contact."[27] Most studies of colonial encounters also typically ignore (or seem unaware of) later documented instances of formal Indian sign language systems and reveal a core misunderstanding of how human kinetic communication functions. In turn, studies that make mention of PISL as recorded by Mallery and others in the nineteenth century assume that this was one of the earliest encounters between Westerners and Indian signs, unconnected to their larger trans-hemispheric and early modern (even pre-Columbian) precedents. The ingrained and often implicit ideas that fully developed sign languages appear only in conjunction with congenital deafness, that such sign language systems are an exclusively Euro-American invention, and that all other gestures falling outside the limits of such codes are only improvised are instrumental in this prominent oversight among colonial scholars. The artificial hierarchies we establish between kinetic and verbal communication, however, like these ideas, not only are defective but also are a product of rather recent intellectual developments.

Dutch Brazil, 1600–1664" (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2003); Lois M. Feister, "Linguistic Communication between the Dutch and Indians in New Netherland, 1609–1664," *Ethnohistory* 20, no. 1 (1973): 25–38; Frances Karttunen, *Between Worlds: Interpreters, Guides, and Survivors* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1994); Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640* (Cambridge, 1995); Alida C. Metcalf, *Go-Betweens and the Colonization of Brazil, 1500–1600* (Austin, Tex., 2005); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2000).

[26] Some scholars have particularly denied any possibility of actual understanding between the groups and have minimized the importance of native agency and literacies in mediating contact. Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (1991; repr., Chicago, 2008); Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*.

[27] Meuwese, "'For the Peace and Well-Being of the Country,'" 47. Meuwese at times seems to contradict himself in acknowledging the efficacy and diversity of these techniques: "while . . . gestures were somewhat useful in establishing rudimentary contacts, both sides complemented the ambiguous and easily misunderstood sign language with more elaborate non-verbal forms of communication such as the exchange of gifts and food" (43). In "Linguistic Communication between the Dutch and Indians in New Netherland," Feister similarly describes nonverbal communication as an unimportant early stage of cultural and material exchange between the groups, which became more sophisticated as linguistic fluency emerged. French-speaking scholars who have written on the subject of gesture and communication are also highly skeptical of the results of such exchanges; for instance, Ouellet, "Gestualité et perception de l'autre dans les *Relations* de Cartier"; Thérien, "Jacques Cartier et le langage des signes"; and Dominique Bertrand, "Verbal et non verbal dans les relations entre Européens et Caraïbes: Échanges réels et imaginaires," in Frank Lestringant, ed., *La France-Amérique, XVIe–XVIIe siècles: Actes du XXXVe colloque international d'études humanistes* (Paris, 1998), 419–431.

In its worst expression, the Eurocentric understanding of Indian signs as tied to speech deficiency has led scholars to argue that PISL as observed in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries was an anomaly in the indigenous American linguistic landscape and was the product of the colonial encounter itself. Indian signs are thus conceived either as clever but ad hoc adaptations to the necessities of colonial communication or, worse, as borrowed from the superior communicative toolkit of Europeans.[28] As recently as the late 1980s, William J. Samarin thus suggested that it may have been the Spaniards who introduced American Indians to the practice, and expressed doubt that PISL could have predated the arrival of Europeans.[29] Efficiently challenging this interpretation, Susan Wurtzburg and Lyle Campbell published an important (but often underutilized) essay in the *International Journal of American Linguistics* that argued for the probable existence of Indian sign language before contact, independent of European presence.[30] Even if it is likely that Indians adopted some gestural habits from the Europeans (and vice versa) along with words through frequent contact in the colonial era, for thousands of years before the Europeans even knew of the existence of the New World and for hundreds of years after, American Indian peoples also actively interacted with each other through a rich variety of communicative means. As linguist Jeffrey Davis recently pointed out in his excellent study of PISL, "After all, there were already many separate languages spoken by numerous native groups, and sign language could just as easily have originally emerged in these North American multilingual communities without the influence of explorers or colonizers. This is comparable to the emergence of sign language that has been

[28] The "Caucasian stimulation" theory is in essence a denial or trivialization of the long history that American Indian nations had in the American continent before 1492. "As for the non-rock-carved pictography of the Indians of the United States and Canada which communicates information on events, the first question is how much if any such visible communication there was before Caucasian stimulation. Personally, I feel quite dubious whether there was any. All the recorded pictographic messages and letters may be products of stimulus diffusion from observation of alphabetic writing . . . it is also possible that the sign language is post-Caucasian." Kroeber, "Sign Language Inquiry," 15.

[29] William J. Samarin, "Demythologizing Plains Indian Sign Language History," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 53, no. 1 (1987): 65–73; Susan Wurtzburg and Lyle Campbell, "North American Indian Sign Language: Evidence of Its Existence before European Contact," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 61, no. 2 (1995): 153–167. A recent review summarized the terms of the debate: "Some have claimed an early, pre-Columbian origin, others a genesis in the Plains in the late 1700s." Peter Bakker, review of *Hand Talk: Sign Language among American Indian Nations* by Jeffrey E. Davis, *International Journal of American Linguistics* 78, no. 1 (2012): 127–132, here 128.

[30] Campbell and Wurtzburg's "North American Indian Sign Language" places the birthplace of Indian sign language around the Gulf of Mexico, supporting the idea of a northward dissemination of the practice rather than multiple simultaneous origins of sign language. This conclusion could be due to the limited historical range of their sources since they primarily rely on native oral traditions collected by U.S. military envoys in the late 1800s, which also hinted at the idea of a southward origin for the sign system: "The Plains Indians themselves believe the sign language was invented by the Kiowas, who holding an intermediate position between the Comanches, Tonkaways, Lipans, and other inhabitants of the vast plains of Texas, and the Pawnees, Sioux, Blackfeet, and other northern tribes, were the general go-betweens, trading with all, making peace or war with or for any or all." Mallery, *Sign Language among North American Indians*, 316. Wurtzburg and Campbell, along with linguist Allan R. Taylor, among the few scholars to seriously inquire into this issue, all cite in their works, as the "earliest" historical mentions of signs in encounter settings, the accounts of Cabeza de Vaca (1542) and Coronado (1541), which references they also borrowed from nineteenth-century sign language authorities, especially Garrick Mallery. The next "early" source used by these authors is the La Salle expedition in Louisiana and South Texas by the Talon Brothers, which dates from the 1690s, as well as later eighteenth-century sources. They do not inquire into earlier Spanish and non-Spanish sources.

documented with other indigenous communities around the world."[31] More than an epistemological issue, the question of where sign language originated thus also has important ethical and racial implications for descending communities and historical representations of Native Americans. Enduring stereotypes, popularized by Hollywood western movies, depict speech-impaired Indians expressing themselves through a mixture of simplistic gestures and broken English, suggesting equally faulty cognition or even questionable humanity.[32]

The pejorative correlation of gesture speech with incapacity rather than skill, in itself problematic for our contemporary treatment of deafness, has helped to drive scholarly attention away from Indian sign language.[33] But the damage done by this paradigm extends in the other direction as well. In part because of the well-intentioned work of people such as Mallery and the connections it established between signed communication and what were then seen as "savage races," in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century the United States became the stage for a fierce anti–sign language campaign, which caused significant harm to deaf communities and their educational needs.[34] "Would a parent really want their deaf child to use sign language, as do Indian 'savages'?" emerged as a genuine concern at that time, explains Davis. He further notes that "[t]he 'primitive language' view and the notion of a 'Deaf race' underlie much of the writings of Alexander Graham Bell and other educators of that historical period," and that "[s]igns, gesture, body language, and even facial expression, were seen as indicative of 'primitive races' or of our 'animal past.'"[35] As PISL thereafter fell largely into obscurity, the sign languages of deaf communities stopped conjuring in most people's minds images of signing Indians. More generally, and in more recent years, however, reference to deaf sign languages and inattention to the crucial intersemiotic role of signs in the performance of ceremonial speech, for instance, has in turn continued to impair the ability of scholars in

[31] Davis, *Hand Talk*, 20. Allan R. Taylor also suggested that sign language in indigenous contexts "may have originated in the communication needs of deaf individuals, or in the spontaneous signing of other particular contexts: war and hunting situations where silence was mandatory, face-to-face contacts between persons of different languages, or situations where distance prevented adequate verbal communication," and added that "[t]rade may have been an important stimulus in the development of the sign language." Taylor, "Nonspeech Communication Systems," in Goddard, *Languages*, 275–289, here 275. Mallery suggested similar conditions: "The use of gesture-signs, continued, if not originating, in necessity for communication with the outer world, became entribally convenient from the habits of hunters, the main occupation of all savages, depending largely upon stealthy approach to game, and from the sole form of their military tactics—to surprise an enemy"; *Sign Language among North American Indians*, 312.

[32] A 1978 collection of essays on indigenous sign languages of the Americas and Australia began with an offensive but revealing discussion of the "conflicted feelings" anthropological linguists experienced when faced with signed communication: "On the one hand, our interlocutor, whether an Australian aborigine, an Indian of the North American Plains, or even a deaf compatriot, does not strike us as quite 'human' because he does not communicate to us in a spoken language which we are able to understand. On the other hand, his use of an elaborate set of significative gestures, while not quite conferring full humanness upon him, appeals to us as a graceful and 'dignified' form of communication ideally suited to service as a universal *lingua franca*, a bridge between men speaking mutually incomprehensible tongues, or, in recent years, with other, nonhuman primates, and thus in one way at least superior to spoken language." D. Jean Umiker-Sebeok and Thomas A. Sebeok, eds., *Aboriginal Sign Languages of the Americas and Australia*, vol. 1: *North America: Classic Comparative Perspectives* (New York, 1978), xiv.

[33] For the debates surrounding deafness today and the "integration" of the deaf into hearing society, see Josh Aronson's remarkable documentary film *Sound and Fury* (2000).

[34] Douglas C. Baynton, *Forbidden Signs: American Culture and the Campaign against Sign Language* (Chicago, 1996).

[35] Davis, *Hand Talk*, 68.

several disciplines to study indigenous sign language systems in non-mute contexts or in parallel with other nonverbal technologies in Euro-American and Indian cultures.[36] Recent inquiries into the history of deaf sign language in the United States have looked for its roots in Europe, dismissing Indian practices as irrelevant, without acknowledging the long history of contact with indigenous peoples of the Americas.[37]

Surprisingly, given the extensive engagement of Western thinkers with the issue of other-than-verbal modes of communication and their prolonged acquaintance with indigenous specimens, the origins, mechanics, and precise linguistic status of nonverbal communication (even its terminology) remain, to this day, nebulous and debated topics, further hindered, ironically, by the lack of communication between disciplines.[38] One of the most basic issues at the heart of the historiographical treatment of Indian-European communication is our tendency to conflate different types of signs and to blur the lines between ad hoc gestures and what might have belonged to full sign languages. Simply put, when we discuss "signs," it is often unclear what, exactly, we are speaking of. Early modern observers typically used fluid and imprecise terminology to describe the signs, gestures, and communicative bodily attitudes they witnessed and performed during these exchanges, rarely attempting to classify them. Our modern urge to bring typological order to what appears as an eclectic and polysemous ensemble of kinetic-visual utterances runs into several obstacles, including the fact that there is still much disagreement among today's experts on the subject, and that the taxonomy of gestural communication varies enormously over time, depending on the chosen criteria. Early visitors to the New World generally perceived Indian gestures either as intentional/communicative, intended to express a specific message, or as unconscious but still revealing of the speaker's inner character and intentions. They also conceived of gestures in terms of the ancient binary distinction between *gestus* and *gesticulatio*—between regulated gestures and posture deemed essential to the proper delivery of speech (as typified by the art of oratory), on the one hand, and undisciplined gesticulations akin to those of actors, on the other.[39] This

[36] Even just a few decades ago, anthropologists recording indigenous sign languages in parts of South America and Australia struggled to reconcile their findings with the absence of strong evidence of high concentrations of congenital deafness, in which they assumed the sign languages were bound to have originated. Jim Kakumasu, "Urubú Sign Language," in Umiker-Sebeok and Sebeok, *Aboriginal Sign Languages of the Americas and Australia*, vol. 2: *The Americas and Australia* (New York, 1978), 247–253.

[37] "The historical contact between early European-American signing communities and American Indian signing communities is sometimes mentioned, but little described in the sign language literature of recent times. When it is written about, it is typically glossed over, footnoted or dismissed altogether as not being relevant to our studies of the sign languages of Deaf communities." Davis, *Hand Talk*, xvi.

[38] Thomas A. Sebeok wrote that "the formula 'communication minus language = nonverbal communication' is clumsily negative, simplistic, and obscurantist." Sebeok, "The Semiotic Web: A Chronicle of Prejudices," *Bulletin of Literary Semiotics* 2 (1975): 1–63, here 10. Several experts have "voiced their discontent" with the term, as explained in Fernando Poyatos, ed., *Nonverbal Communication across Disciplines*, vol. 1: *Culture, Sensory Interaction, Speech, Conversation* (Philadelphia, 2002), xviii. Poyatos also points to the issue of the lack of scholarly dialogue across time periods, topics, and methodologies (xv).

[39] "[I]n the entire classical and medieval tradition, theoretical and normative texts relating to gesture (from the domain of rhetoric as much as ethics), the negative and excessive *gesticulatio* of the actor [histrion] is opposed to the positive and moderate *gestus* of the good orator and the good Christian." Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médieval* (Paris, 1990), 262. See also Schmitt, "'Gestus'—'Gesticulatio': Contribution à l'étude du vocabulaire latin médiéval des gestes," in Yves Lefèvre,

basic division between "natural" or spontaneous gestures and "artificial" or coded manual signs is still essential to our current analyses of kinetic communication.[40]

The consensus among linguists today is that while some signs occur spontaneously across several cultures, and some iconic signs may be relatively transparent across languages, all signs are in fact to some extent conventional and not actually universal. Even when they belong to a culturally and socially established set of conventions, moreover, not all signs and gestures constitute a "language." In the 1980s, linguist Adam Kendon established a useful continuum for understanding the variety and interconnectedness of various forms of kinetic communication, progressing from spontaneous "gesticulation" to "language-like gestures," "pantomimes," "emblems," and, finally, fully coded "sign languages."[41] Sign languages such as PISL and the various systems developed by industrialized deaf communities possess their own grammar, syntax, delivery styles, and rhythms. Thus the sign languages of both indigenous and deaf communities around the world differ significantly not only from the spontaneous speech gesticulations used by individuals on a daily basis (such as speaking animatedly with idiosyncratic hand motions), but also from other socially conventional coded communicative manual actions that can occur with or without speech (such as accompanying the word "crazy" with a rotating finger gesture near one's head or performing the sign in lieu of speaking the word).[42] Linguists and historical observers agree that fully conventional signs belonging to a language system can hardly be mistaken for spontaneous gesticulations, which perhaps explains why so many colonial witnesses felt the need to explicitly mention them in their accounts. The nineteenth-century Natchez people, for instance, possessed seven different signs to express the concept of "chief," one of which was described as "Forefinger of right hand extended, passed perpendicularly downward, then turned upward in a right line as high as the head, [expressing] 'Rising above others.'"[43] Such "language-like" signs provide fluent communication only between individuals versed in the conventions of the specific sign language, but the coded and often iconic nature of the signs can also often foster an illusion of legibility for naïve observers. Colonials who encountered formal Indian sign languages, in other words, would have noticed them, and would likely have thought that they could understand them, but the signs would in fact not necessarily have guaranteed mutual understanding. Mallery's 1880 experiment with the Gallaudet pupils and the Ute signers may well have resembled the colonial encoun-

ed., *La lexicographie du latin médiéval et ses rapports avec les recherches actuelles sur la civilisation du Moyen-Age* (Paris, 1981), 377–390.

[40] In his influential study *Hand and Mind: What Gestures Reveal about Thought* (Chicago, 1992), linguist David McNeill focused on "the spontaneous and idiosyncratic gestures that occur while one speaks," in contrast to "the more systematic language-like gestures that constitute sign languages" (36). Adam Kendon offers a different definition of gestures, as "actions that have the features of manifest deliberate expressiveness" and "tend to be directly perceived as being under the guidance of the observed person's voluntary control and being done for the purposes of expression rather than in the service of some practical aim"; *Gesture*, 15.

[41] Adam Kendon, "How Gestures Can Become Like Words," in Fernando Poyatos, ed., *Cross-Cultural Perspectives in Nonverbal Communication* (Toronto, 1988), 131–141.

[42] "[W]hat is characteristic of the sign language as an effective system of communication," explained anthropologist Alfred L. Kroeber, "is precisely that it did *not* remain on a level of naturalness, spontaneity, and full transparency, but made artificial commitments, arbitrary choices between potential expressions and meanings"; "Sign Language Inquiry," 16.

[43] Mallery, *Introduction to the Study of Sign Language among the North American Indians*, 18.

ter, in that it produced a mutually satisfactory, albeit far from flawless, exchange of information between two groups possessing diverging sign systems, because both were familiar with the inner workings of kinetic-visual expression.

Human kinetic-visual communication is thus best understood along a spectrum of often-coexisting diverse gestures and signs of various degrees of conventionalization, which function in parallel with speech on most occasions. While fully coded sign languages do tend to emerge spontaneously among groups when speech is impossible (as in communities with high rates of congenital deafness or in areas of dense linguistic diversity), coded communicative manual actions ("signs") also develop among peoples who have full access to speech.[44] Gestures are particularly prone to evolve into a more conventional language, David McNeill tells us: "There is ... no resistance from the gesture medium to taking on language-like properties."[45] We naturally expect that Christopher Columbus, Martin Frobisher, Jacques Cartier, and other early explorers communicated with their native hosts primarily through gesture for lack of a "better" solution (interpreters, pidgins, jargons). Alongside these directly communicative culturally grounded signs used to bridge the language barrier, the colonial encounter was also a prime stage for performances involving gestures that carried ritual or symbolic meaning, initiated by both Indians and Europeans and originating in the conventions of both groups, for instance in the greeting or gift-giving process. Bowing, shaking hands, placing a crown upon someone's head, or rubbing one's arms and legs as a form of welcome belonged to this category and relied on socially coded gestural conventions that tended to merge and transform over time to create a new syncretic Atlantic repertoire of kinetic actions. At the far end of the spectrum, Europeans were also likely to have encountered more formal, language-like systems of signed communication, which they often lacked the ability to identify or clearly describe as such, because such systems were less developed in European societies prior to the late 1700s. The fact that the first published instances of conventional sign languages for the deaf, as well as universal language schemes centered on gestural signs, emerged in Europe concurrently with the formation of cross-cultural colonial societies in the Americas after 1500 suggests that the histories of Indian and European sign languages are indeed entangled, albeit in ways other than is usually assumed.

A FASCINATION WITH SIGN LANGUAGE has long surrounded its potential as a universal means of communication. "The assertion has been made by many writers, and is currently repeated by Indian traders and some army officers," wrote Garrick Mallery in 1880, "that all the tribes of North America have had and still use a *common* and *identical* sign-language of ancient origin, in which they can communicate freely

[44] There are a number of indigenous sign languages recorded among speaking-hearing communities. One of the best-known examples is the gesture language of the Warlpiri women and other aborigine groups of the north-central Australian desert. Warlpiri women communicate using this sign language during periods of mourning, when speech is banned, and as a "convenient alternative means of communication even when speech is ritually permitted, and ... as an accompaniment to speech during storytelling and animated talk." McNeill, *Hand and Mind*, 39–40. See also Adam Kendon, *Sign Languages of Aboriginal Australia: Cultural, Semiotic, and Communicative Perspectives* (Cambridge, 1988).

[45] McNeill, *Hand and Mind,* 65.

without oral assistance." Such, however, was not the case, he argued, having observed instead that "[i]n numerous instances there is an entire discrepancy between the signs made by different bodies of Indians to express the same idea." Thus, "the alleged existence of *one* universal and absolute sign-language is, in its terms of general assertion, one of the many popular errors prevailing about our aborigines."[46] Mallery also attempted to find similarities between PISL and other historically recorded and contemporary instances of coded manual languages, going back to ancient Greece, Neapolitan sign language, and the sign languages of the deaf in Western countries such as France and the United States. From these observations, he developed a theory about the existence of many culturally and historically grounded dialects of sign languages, which varied in specific local conventions the same way that spoken languages did, but that he believed were all rooted in similar principles, allowing communication between users of the various forms. While the field of linguistics has since then greatly refined some of the concepts and terminology he used, Mallery's findings have not been directly contradicted by linguists. We should thus not be too quick to dismiss his idea of a "gesture speech of mankind" or assume that he used the word "universal" without nuance.[47] Rather than implying that all gestures were shared and mutually intelligible around the world, Mallery repeatedly argued that sign languages were *found* universally. While sign languages are deeply conventional, their unique qualities in their various expressions, such as their malleability and their tendency to make misunderstandings less obvious, allowed very different sign language codes to cross communicative barriers more easily than spoken words. What Mallery was really seeking was not an already formed universal sign language, but the principles for the possible elaboration of one, a quest not unlike that of early moderns. Pre-Enlightenment Europe was indeed to some extent remarkably less logocentric than many of its future commentators.[48]

Europeans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had powerful religious and secular motives for embarking upon a search for a universal gesture speech. The opening of the Atlantic oceanic space after 1492 and the encounter with diverse unintelligible peoples around the world who held the key to profitable resources and crucial geographical knowledge revitalized ongoing concerns and debates about finding a superior medium of international communication. Sign language featured prominently in these conversations. Colonial chroniclers repeatedly emphasized the problems caused by the unusually high linguistic diversity of the Americas, and pointed to the limits of remedial strategies such as kidnapping native individuals to train them as interpreters.[49] "The effects of the confusion of Babel have reached these peoples," remarked French attorney and travel writer Marc Lescarbot in 1609, "[f]or I observe that the Patagonians speak differently from [the Indians] of Brazil,

[46] Mallery, *Introduction to the Study of Sign Language among the North American Indians*, 12, 13, emphasis in the original.

[47] On Mallery's life and career, see Davis, *Hand Talk*, chap. 3. Davis stresses how progressive Mallery's views were, even though they were often formulated in the racialized vocabulary of his time.

[48] Carla Mazzio, *The Inarticulate Renaissance: Language Trouble in an Age of Eloquence* (Philadelphia, 2009); Michael J. Braddick, ed., *The Politics of Gesture: Historical Perspectives* (Oxford, 2009).

[49] Frances Karttunen, "Interpreters Snatched from the Shore: The Successful and the Others," in Gray and Fiering, *The Language Encounter in the Americas*, 215–229. On American indigenous linguistic diversity, see Goddard, *Languages*.

and those speak differently from the Peruvians, and the Peruvians are distinguished from the Mexicans. The islands similarly have their own tongue; in Florida, one does not speak as in Virginia; our *Souriquois* and *Etechemins* [Micmac Malecite] do not understand the *Armouchiquois* [perhaps Abenaki], nor do the latter understand the Iroquois. In short, each people are divided by language, and even within the same province there are different tongues."[50] In the New World, failure to communicate with Indians could mean missed economic opportunities that would benefit European competitors, failed efforts at proselytization, and even starvation, violence, or death. Non-communication was therefore never an option in colonial America. In 1718, after more than two centuries of sustained contact, Jesuit father Joseph-François Lafitau reflected on the unique cross-linguistic situations encountered in the New World, where "one reasons with peoples whose language one does not understand and who do not understand you. One understands a part of the things that are said through gesture and signs, and believes one can understand the rest, and from there emerges a common confusion that is entertaining to those who can perceive it. I thus often had the pleasure myself of watching Frenchmen jargon with our savages, and even fell victim to the case myself before I properly learned the language."[51]

The notion that there once existed a truly universal language—one that could be found all over the world and was plainly understandable by all the world's peoples—was commonplace in the Christian culture of premodern and early modern Europe. According to the second chapter of Genesis, Adam was given the opportunity by God to name all the things and creatures on earth, and so produced the original language, the *lingua humana*, within which things and words were one and the same. To know the words of this language was therefore to know the things they expressed, to bring oneself closer to the divine design of nature. Language diversity, on the other hand, was a curse, inflicted upon men by God as punishment for their pride in building the Tower of Babel. According to the biblical account, not only did God take away men's ability to freely communicate with each other, but he also dispersed them around the world (Gen. 11:1–9). The new multiplicity of tongues thus led to the loss of religious harmony, and made nature and its essence more remote from human cognition because of the new arbitrariness of the words employed. Along with the advances brought about by the scientific revolution, a new fascination with semiotics and cryptography and an interest in Egyptian hieroglyphs, Chinese characters, and ancient shorthand and notational systems swept over the learned elite circles of Europe in the 1600s, at the same time that classical and vernacular European languages were coming under attack for having what were perceived as incurable shortcomings.[52]

Attempts, both scientifically minded and more mystical, to recover the Adamic language in the sixteenth and especially the seventeenth century included a number

[50] Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1609), 697–698.

[51] Joseph-François Lafitau, *Mémoire présenté à son altesse royale Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans, regent du royaume de France* (Paris, 1718), 37.

[52] David Cram and Jaap Matt, *George Dalgarno on Universal Language* (Oxford, 1975), 4–5; Robert Markley, *Fallen Languages: Crises of Representation in Newtonian England, 1660–1740* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993); James Knowlson, *Universal Language Schemes in England and in France, 1600–1800* (Toronto, 1975).

of schemes involving manual signs. Gestures and hand signals, seen as iconic and less obviously arbitrary than words, were regarded as more "natural" (closer to the essence of nature) and thus possessing more "universal" qualities. One of the most respected authors of a complex philosophical language, George Dalgarno (1626–1687), was also the author of an influential treatise that linked universal language and signed communication, titled *Didascalocophus; or, The Deaf and Dumb Man's Tutor* (1680). The English grammarian Cave Beck (ca. 1623–1706), in designing his *Universal Character*, a (flawed) mathematical language that he claimed would surpass all other tongues as a universal mode of communication, also stressed in his work that sign language had already provided a spontaneous and efficient avenue for communication between people "of all Nations."[53] The frontispiece of his treatise shows an American Indian "newcomer" gesturing toward representatives of all the other continents. (See Figure 3.) In a 1965 article, scholar James R. Knowlson provided an excellent overview of universal language schemes involving gestures, which had until then been overlooked by specialists on the question. Knowlson rightly pointed to the ancient roots of the idea that signs were superior to verbal speech in the Western world, notably arguing that "[t]he notion that gesture could provide an admirable universal language for mankind was inspired first, it would seem, by the remarkable variety and clarity of the gestures taught and used in Renaissance rhetoric."[54] All across Europe in the seventeenth century, theoreticians such as John Bulwer, Giovanni Bonifacio, and Charles de La Fin celebrated the superiority of gestural signs over spoken words, praising their expressiveness, ease of learning and use, and "natural" qualities, often using the complex conventional gestures of rhetoricians and the art of pantomime actors as illustrations. Deafness and muteness figured rarely, if at all, in these discussions. Knowlson neglected to consider, however, the more global, experiential, and pragmatic context of these important intellectual developments in the fields of gesture speech and philosophical languages, which also had direct roots in the emerging needs and challenges of human interactions in the Atlantic world. As trade grew exponentially with distant places in Africa, Asia, and America, the need for an international means of communication became all the more pressing. By the time French and English philologists and grammarians published their treatises on universal communication, colonists, merchants, and American Indians were already well-versed in using cross-cultural signals honed during two centuries of interactions.

[53] Cave Beck, *The Universal Character, by Which All the Nations in the World May Understand One Another's Conceptions, Reading out of One Common Writing Their Own Mother Tongues* (London, 1657); published in French as *Le charactère universel, par lequel toutes nations peuvent comprendre les conceptions l'une de l'autre en lisant par une escriture commune à toutes leur propre langage maternelle* (London, 1657). The movement for universal languages was essentially centered in France and England. Other arithmetical schemes include Johann Joachim Becher's *Character, pro notitia linguarum universali* (Frankfurt, 1661) and Athanasius Kircher's *Polygraphia nova et universalis* (Rome, 1663). Among the most significant universal language schemes using new artificial script are Jean Douet, *Proposition présentée au roy, d'une escriture universelle, admirable pour ses effects tres-utile et nécessaire à tous les hommes de la terre* (Paris, 1627); George Dalgarno, *Ars Signorum, vulgo character universalis et lingua philosophica* (London, 1661); John Wilkins, *An Essay towards a Real Character, and a Philosophical Language* (London, 1668); Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle, contenant la théorie et la pratique de la musique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1636); Philippe Labbe, *Grammaire de la langue universelle des missions et du commerce,* 2nd ed. (Paris, 1663).

[54] James R. Knowlson, "The Idea of Gesture as a Universal Language in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 26, no. 4 (1965): 495–508, here 496.

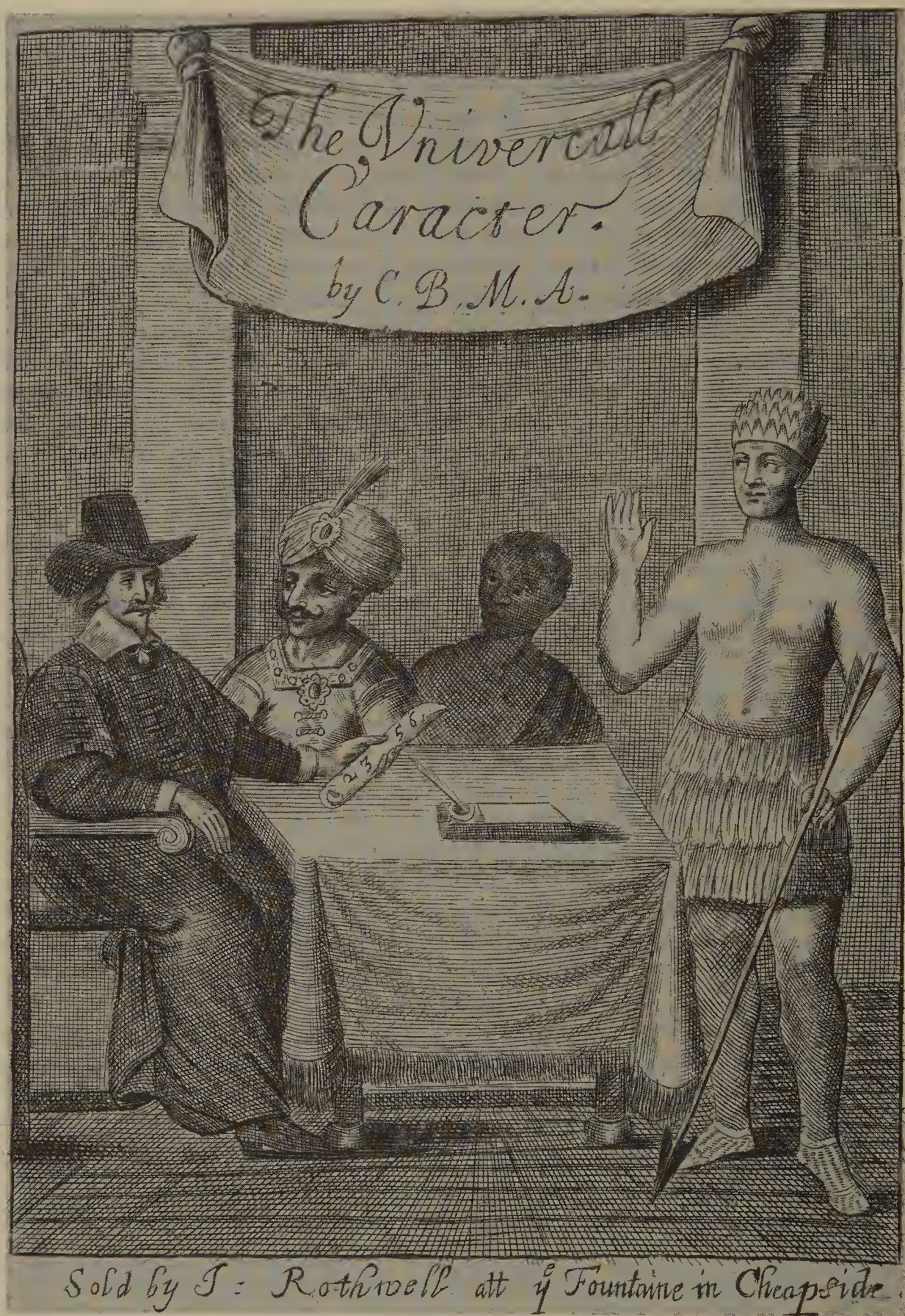

FIGURE 3: Frontispiece from Cave Beck, *The Universal Character, by Which All the Nations in the World May Understand One Another's Conceptions, Reading out of One Common Writing Their Own Mother Tongues* (London, 1657). Rare Books, 600145, The Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.

In his 1644 treatise on sign language, *Chirologia; or, The Natural Language of the Hand, Composed of the Speaking Motions, and Discoursing Gestures Thereof*, John Bulwer expressed his confidence in the efficacy of signs in providing an efficient means of communication to the people of the Atlantic world: "the *Hand*" (i.e., hand gestures), he argued, "as an *universall character of Reason*, is generally understood and knowne by all Nations, among the formall differences of their Tongue. And being the onely speech that is natural to Man, it may well be called the *Tongue and generall language of Humane Nature*; which, without teaching, men in all regions of the habitable world doe at the first sight most easily understand."[55] Bulwer grounded his assertion in concrete examples that must have been familiar to most Europeans: "This is evident by that trade and commerce with those salvage Nations who have long injoy'd the late discovered principalities of the West, with whom (although their Language be strange and unknowne) our Merchants barter and exchange their wares, driving a rich and silent Trade, by signes, whereby many a dumb bargaine without the crafty Brocage of the Tongue, is advantageously made."[56] Elsewhere in his *Chirologia*, Bulwer provided an even more specific reference to the interaction of English colonists and Powhatan Indians in Virginia, who were engaged in a brutal decade-long war the year his book was printed in London: "In this garbe long ago we spake with th' Indian *Apochankano* [Opechancanough]."[57] Manual signs and their communicative potential were thus not framed within discussions of classical literature, ancient rhetoric, or new scientific advances in Europe alone, but also, importantly, belonged to discourses involving the peoples of the Atlantic world. (See Figure 4.)

Sign language, like other universal communication projects, was also presented during this period as an efficient alternative to time-consuming language learning and translation, and especially as a replacement for the much-distrusted interpreters upon whom most visitors to the New World were cripplingly dependent.[58] Bulwer included in his book a popular story taken from the works of Lucian of Samosata, a rhetorician of the second century A.D. Emperor Nero, the story went, once let one of his distinguished visitors, the Prince of Pontus, select a gift of his choice from among all of the emperor's possessions. The prince had been so impressed by the talents of the court *chirologer*, or mime artist, that he requested that the man's services be granted to him. When Nero expressed surprise at his odd choice, the explanation he received was that the pantomime artist was so skilled in the art of gesture speech that the prince would be able to single-handedly replace the score of interpreters he employed in his embassies with foreign dignitaries.[59] Silent signs surpassed imperfect speech. Distrust and hostility toward interpreters were an omnipresent trope of early modern travel literature and official correspondence between the Old and the New World, and a powerful incentive to pursue universal languages. It was also an astoundingly long-lived opinion:

[55] John Bulwer, *Chirologia; or, The Natural Language of the Hand: Composed of the Speaking Motions, and Discoursing Gestures Thereof, Whereunto Is Added Chironomia; or, The Art of Manuall Rhetoricke* (London, 1644), 3. On Bulwer's perception of gesture as a natural expression, or symptom, of the "state of the soul," see Jeffrey Wollock, "John Bulwer (1606–1656) and the Significance of Gesture in 17th-Century Theories of Language and Cognition," *Gesture* 2 (2002): 233–264.

[56] Bulwer, *Chirologia*, 3–4.

[57] Ibid., sig. A4^{v}.

[58] Beck, *The Universal Character*, sig. B1^{r}.

[59] *The Works of Lucian of Samosata*, trans. H. W. and F. G. Fowler, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1905), 2: 256; Bulwer, *Chirologia*, 13.

FIGURE 4: Examples of seventeenth-century conventional signs for the purpose of manual rhetoric and enhancement of speech. From John Bulwer, *Chirologia or the Naturall Language of the Hand* (London, 1644), 155. Rare Books, 432943, The Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.

when Garrick Mallery was promoting possible diplomatic and military applications of PISL in the late nineteenth century, he still referred to interpreters as "a class dangerously deceitful and tricky."[60] In early America, it was also not uncommon for Catholic missionaries to use sign language in an effort to undermine or emulate the influence of interpreters, or to observe an indigenous speaker's body language in an effort to assess the quality of the translation provided to them by a third party. The animated style of Indian oratory, typically accompanied by evocative gestures, made this "reading" of indigenous bodies all the more frequent. It was also a convenient cultural bridge for missionaries, especially the Jesuits, who were highly trained in classical rhetoric.[61] Being well-versed in the writings of Quintilian, for instance, who urged his students never to "divorce delivery from oratory" and who established very strict codes for the use of "manual eloquence," it was not surprising that, often without understanding much if anything in the speeches pronounced by Indian orators, Catholic chroniclers nevertheless often compared the latter to classical rhetoricians such as Titus Livius because of their dignified use of gestures.[62] "I do not know what a Roman Senator could have answered that would have been more appropriate to the subject under discussion," the French governor of New France once commented on the prowess, in both verbal and manual eloquence, of an Algonquian orator.[63] Early modern observers thus tended to think of signs and speech in a close conceptual bond.

It was in this multicultural and Atlantic context that the first instances of formally coded sign languages for the deaf emerged and should be resituated. For many years, the history of deaf sign languages has been written with the rather belated beginning of deaf education in late-eighteenth-century France as a starting point.[64] Charles Michel de L'Épée, the author of the first fully methodological sign language for the deaf in Europe, published in 1776 under the title *Institution des sourds et muets, par la voie des signes méthodiques*, is the uncontestable figurehead in that history.[65] More recently, however, deaf studies scholars, students of gesture, and linguists have also emphasized the multiple precedents that informed the emergence of the first conventional systems: scattered references to the "gestures of the dumb" in classical works (Plato, Saint Augustine), monastic sign language in medieval Europe, instances of popular pantomime acting in the early modern world, and finger calculus methods with their origins in the Middle East that had been in use since antiquity.[66] The

[60] Mallery, *Sign Language among North American Indians*, 346.

[61] This will be the subject of an expanded chapter in my monograph in preparation, provisionally titled "Beyond Words: Nonverbal Communication and the Making of the French-Indian Atlantic, c.1500–c.1700." Some material appears in my dissertation: Céline Carayon, "Beyond Words: Nonverbal Communication, Performance, and Acculturation in the Early French-Indian Atlantic, 1500–1701" (The College of William and Mary, 2010).

[62] Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit missionaries in New France, 1610–1791*, 73 vols. (Cleveland, 1896–1901), 10: 244.

[63] Ibid., 9: 232.

[64] Jonathan Rée, *I See a Voice: Deafness, Language, and the Sense—A Philosophical History* (New York, 1999); Fisher and Lane, *Looking Back*.

[65] Charles-Michel de L'Épée, *Institution des sourds et muets, par la voie des signes méthodiques: Ouvrage qui contient le Projet d'une langue universelle, par l'entremise des signes naturels assujettis à une méthode* (Paris, 1776). De L'Épée was once celebrated as the "Savior of Deaf-Mutes" [*sic*] for his significant efforts to teach the deaf how to read, write, manually sign, and speak (vocalize) at a time when deaf communities were victims of much ostracism and stigma.

[66] Bragg, "Visual-Kinetic Communication in Europe before 1600"; Susan Plann, *A Silent Minority: Deaf Education in Spain, 1550–1835* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997). In the field of gesture studies, see Kendon,

earliest-known manual alphabet explicitly designed for the "speech therapy" of the deaf was published by a Spanish priest named Juan Pablo Bonet in 1620 in Madrid. *Reducción de las letras y arte para enseñar a ablar los mudos* was an example of dactylology, in which the letters of the alphabet were manually signed, offering opportunities for communication not only between deaf people, but also with the hearing.[67]

A century and a half later, de L'Épée virulently criticized dactylology because it rested on verbal and nationally bounded languages rather than on the visual representation of universal concepts through conventional/abstract signs. For instance, in his own "method," he explained, the manual sign for "to think" would be the same in English, French, Spanish, or Dutch, which would have direct benefits for world commerce and could potentially offer a solution to Babel. Attacking the narrow-minded people who resisted the idea that "one hears through the eyes as well as through the ears," de L'Épée was also indebted to the firsthand experiences of French colonists in distant lands. Placing his opponents in a hypothetical scenario, he wrote: "May it please God that these routine-grounded people, who know only one door, one path, and one staircase to reach other people's minds, never end up shipwrecked among the Iroquois or some other barbarous people! Having instantly become deaf and dumb, since they would neither understand what is said to them, nor make themselves understood, in the midst of a people similarly deaf and dumb toward them ... how would they manage, not knowing any other channel of communication for our ideas than the tongue and ears?" Concluding that "necessity makes one eloquent," de L'Épée stressed the spontaneous and efficacious recourse to "natural signs" and gestural communication to touch the minds and hearts of American Indians.[68]

While the strict conceptual association of sign language with muteness began in the wake of de L'Épée's system, the older search for a universal mode of communication and the development of manually coded languages for the deaf had been occurring since the sixteenth century, not in isolation, but rather in dialogue with other signed encounters across the Atlantic. Sign language and its indigenous manifestations were thus vividly present in the reality and thoughts of most early modern Europeans, linked in many ways to the hearing world rather than to speech incapacity. Some studies have even suggested that American "home signs" that were later incorporated into de L'Épée's principles in elaborating ASL may have been directly indebted to native influence on and around Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts.[69] Deconstructing the

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Gesture; Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg, eds., *A Cultural History of Gestures: From Antiquity to the Present Day* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991); Clifford Davidson, ed., *Gesture in Medieval Drama and Art* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 2001); Marvin Carlson, *Theatre Semiotics: Signs of Life* (Bloomington, Ind., 1990). A particularly rich corpus of studies deals with gestures and medieval/Renaissance drama: Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médieval*; Véronique Dominguez, "Le corps dans les mystères de la Passion français du XVeme siècle: Discours théologiques et esthétique théâatrale" (Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris–Sorbonne, 1999); Mary E. Hazard, *Elizabethan Silent Language* (Lincoln, Nebr., 2000); Marco Mostert, ed., *New Approaches to Medieval Communication* (Turnhout, 1999); J. A. Burrow, *Gestures and Looks in Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge, 2002); Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (1992; repr., Ithaca, N.Y., 2002).

[67] Juan Pablo Bonet, *Reduccíon de las letras y arte para enseñar a ablar los mudos* (Madrid, 1620).

[68] De L'Épée, *Institution des sourds et muets, par la voie des signes méthodique*, 66–67.

[69] It is possible that a local Wampanoag Indian sign language influenced the formation of the well-known sign language on Martha's Vineyard (a site with a high concentration of congenital deafness), which has been credited as one of the pillars of early ASL in the nineteenth century. Davis, *Hand Talk*, 25; Evan T. Pritchard, *Native New Yorkers: The Legacy of the Algonquin People of New York* (San

prominent paradigm (signs = muteness) in the study of Indian sign language systems thus has potentially important repercussions not only for a better appreciation of native communicative technologies and visual literacies, but also for a growing literature that emphasizes transatlantic networks of knowledge in the early modern period.

THE HISTORICIZATION OF DISCOURSES regarding signs and sign languages on both continents suggests that the cultural divide during the colonial encounter should not be exaggerated. While it is true that many signs were used in the early colonial period to remedy the absence of verbal communication, gesture was, from the start, also associated with speech rather than with its absence, and this continued to be true as linguistic fluency developed.[70] Over time, tongues became more mutually understandable, but gesture remained an essential part of delivery and discourse for Indian, European, and mixed-ancestry speakers. From the beginning of their relations and for the next several centuries, Europeans and Indians thus used a complex typology of gesture in association with and as a complement to and a substitute for speech. Most importantly, Europeans and many (especially northeastern) American Indian groups could not have conceived of rhetoric without manual rhetoric as a fundamental element of and condition for the power of formal argumentative speech.[71]

To some extent, the question of how ancient and widespread fully coded manual languages were among Native American groups at the time of contact is less important than the realization that all groups likely possessed a complex range of more or less formal communicative gestures that they could deploy in cross-linguistic, diplomatic, and ritual circumstances. Because of internal developments in the field of linguistics that favored other types of inquiries, however, the state of research regarding PISL has more or less remained the same since the later decades of the nineteenth century.[72] Few efforts have been made since the 1950s to recover other examples of indigenous signing technologies in the U.S., Canada, or elsewhere in the Americas, leading to the hasty dismissal of any potential equivalents outside the historical context of the late-nineteenth-century Plains. Writings from the colonial period strongly suggest that Native American groups knew and used elaborate kinetic communication systems well before Europeans crossed the ocean, and thus well before they devised conventional manual languages for deaf communities. Given the scantiness of

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Francisco, 2002); Nora Ellen Groce, *Everyone Here Spoke Sign Language: Hereditary Deafness on Martha's Vineyard* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985).

[70] Even when explorers reported that Indians had told them something "by signs," this did not imply an absence of verbal utterances, but only their incapacity to grasp the content of the speeches uttered in close conjunction with gesture.

[71] Modern linguists have also emphasized the co-occurrence of gesture and speech in which gestures participate on an equal or even superior footing with words in the communication act. McNeill, *Hand and Mind*; David McNeill, ed., *Language and Gesture* (New York, 2000); Susan Goldin-Meadow, *Hearing Gesture: How Our Hands Help Us Think* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003). In ancient, medieval, and early modern Europe, it was strongly held that "without gesture, oral communication was at best incomplete, and at worst impossible." Jody Enders, "Of Miming and Signing: The Dramatic Rhetoric of Gesture," in Davidson, *Gesture in Medieval Drama and Art*, 1–25, here 6.

[72] Davis, *Hand Talk*. See also Melanie Raylene McKay-Cody, "Plains Indians Sign Language: A Comparative Study of Alternate and Primary Signers" (M.A. thesis, University of Arizona, 1996); an older, comparative work is Umiker-Sebeok and Sebeok, *Aboriginal Sign Languages of the Americas and Australia*.

research on the subject, it is more than probable that a number of American indigenous sign languages became extinct or were replaced by other forms of *lingua franca* (like jargons) before there was a chance for them to be documented by ethnologists and anthropologists.[73] Early travel accounts by the English, French, Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish, albeit without any systematic attempts at taxonomy, contain many specific examples of communicative signs such as hand, arm, and finger gestures associated with specific meanings and used to express ideas in the larger context of a formal sign language vocabulary, as well as many examples of ritual signs and gestural behaviors predominantly used by Indians in ceremonial and rhetorical contexts. My own extensive research in colonial sources suggests that little truly unambiguous evidence of coded sign languages that would have resembled PISL or similar alternative sign systems as described by linguists can be found in the northeastern regions of what is now the United States and Canada. This could be due, however, to Europeans' failure to identify these systems, or to their being excluded from certain privileged settings and information, rather than constituting evidence of a complete absence of sign systems. The use of rhetorical gestures and refined oratory-related pantomime by Iroquoian and Algonquian peoples in the northeastern region is widely attested, for instance, and warrants further study to see whether it was part of a larger kinetic communication system extending into the realms of trade and intertribal diplomacy.

The most compelling traces of a sign language possessing the typical linguistic features of conventional systems come from regions inhabited at the time of initial colonial contact by native speakers of the Guarani-Arawak language family. The area in which a formal sign language would have been in use among various groups speaking mutually unintelligible dialects thus could have extended through the circum-Caribbean region to the islands of the Lesser Antilles, Guiana/Suriname, Venezuela, and northern Brazil, as well as parts of Florida and the American Southeast. Notably, there are particularly evocative descriptions of manual signs used by Indians in conjunction with speech to express quantities in the seventeenth-century Caribbean and Guiana.[74] In late-sixteenth-century Florida, a small party of French colonists once encountered a man whose skeletal appearance caused them to insistently inquire (with signs) about his advanced age. In response, in the absence of interpreters or a shared numerical system, the elder "called up a band of Indians: then, striking his thigh twice and putting his hand on two of them, he gave him to understand through signs that these two men were his children. Then, striking their thighs, he made known to him other less old men, produced by the first two, which he continued in this manner up to the fifth generation."[75] Multiple textual occurrences of gestures used to express numbers and other elaborate concepts (here kinship) across the American indigenous world are more than coincidental and invite further investigation.

[73] Nineteenth-century scholars felt an urgency to record PISL because they were simultaneously witnessing its rapid disappearance under the effect of the predominant Anglo-American influence and, in particular, of the development of trade jargons and other pidgin languages. PISL belongs today on the list of endangered languages.

[74] Bertrand, "Verbal et non verbal dans les relations entre Européens et Caraïbes." Bertrand believes that the many instances of nonverbal communication played little actual role in cross-cultural exchanges and mutual understanding. Instead, she argues that they served a literary purpose, in order to establish authenticity and reveal the many frustrations of colonial communication.

[75] Laudonnière, *L'histoire notable de la Floride*, sig. 40^{v}. Also in Nicolas Le Challeux, *Brief discours et histoire d'un voyage de quelques François en la Floride* (Geneva, 1579), 47.

While it may be tempting to dismiss Garrick Mallery's pioneering but racially tainted conclusions and language, some of his findings remain highly relevant to our knowledge and understanding not only of PISL but of human nonverbal communication more generally.[76] Mallery was indeed remarkable in his struggle to reconcile a nuanced perception of Indian sign systems with the predominant prejudices of his era. For instance, his genuine appreciation, even admiration, for and conceptualization of pictographs—which he saw not as decorative and poorly executed art forms, as scholars still held into the 1960s, but rather as a communication device that belonged to the same larger system as manual signs and other gestural traditions—was quite daring for his time and actually reminiscent of the latest research on the topic.[77] His nuanced definition of a "gesture speech of mankind" is, despite the problematic terminology of the time, actually akin to what historians and anthropologists today call "alternate literacies," and not far removed from the most current studies of nonverbal communication.[78] While Mallery and his peers were mistaken in several ways and were at least partly responsible for encouraging conflations between deaf and Indian signs, they still have much to teach us, especially when it comes to rediscovering earlier historical instances of Indian sign language that Mallery himself was unfamiliar with.

Important diachronic lessons may thus be drawn from the study of Indian signs. Without denying the role of wishful thinking and the misconstrual of signs as "universal," there may be a good reason why early modern observers and nineteenth- and twentieth-century officials and scientists all expressed such confidence in their ability to decipher Indian signs. That reason lies in the specific properties of coded kinetic communication. One of the main characteristics of sign language is its fluidity and adaptability, what Mallery aptly termed its "tentative and elastic" properties.[79] In its various expressions around the world, sign language (here used to the exclusion of other gestures not belonging to a full language-like system) is almost intrinsically a *lingua franca*, and skilled sign talkers have been said to be able to rapidly adjust their signs to facilitate comprehension depending on their audience.[80] A twentieth-century

[76] Mallery had studied the works of Edward Tylor (one of the founding fathers of sociocultural anthropology at Oxford University) at a time when the concept of "culture" itself and the field of anthropology were being defined. He was writing at the same time that Darwin was changing the face of natural science.

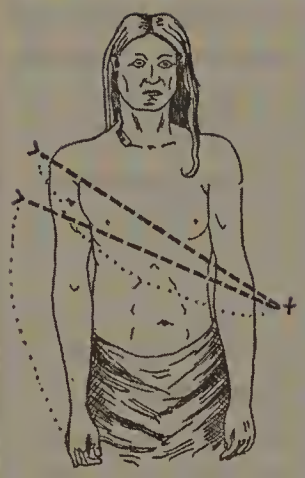
[77] Both his writings and the testimony of his contemporaries confirm that Mallery conceived of pictographs and manual signs as closely connected. "At the time of his death, Mallery was preparing a treatise on the sign-language of the American Indians, intended to be a companion volume to the 'picture writing' last published." Robert Fletcher, *Brief Memoirs of Colonel Garrick Mallery, U.S.A., Who Died October 24, 1894* (Washington, D.C., 1895), 13. Mallery published extensive works on Indian pictographs, which are also exceptional for their trans-hemispheric content. His first publication on the subject was "Pictographs of the North American Indians: A Preliminary Paper," in J. W. Powell, ed., *Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1882–'83* (Washington, D.C., 1886), 13–256. An expanded version was later published: Garrick Mallery, *Picture-Writing of the American Indians*, 2 vols. (1893; repr., New York, 1972).

[78] While pointing to the importance of interdisciplinarity and the enduring debates surrounding the field of nonverbal studies, linguist Fernando Poyatos highlights "the triple reality of discourse: verbal language—paralanguage (its acoustic modifiers and independent quasiwords)—kinesics (gestures, manners and postures)"; *Culture, Sensory Interaction, Speech, Conversation*, xxv. Mallery's realization that nonverbal elements possessed the characteristics of speech, and his hunch that each culture around the world possessed a unique version of this nonverbal "dialect," were particularly farsighted.

[79] Mallery, *Introduction to the Study of Sign Language among the North American Indians*, 42.

[80] "[I]f any one of the more approximately conventional signs is not quickly comprehended [by his interlocutor], an Indian skilled in the principle of signs resorts to another expression of his flexible art,

EXAMPLES.

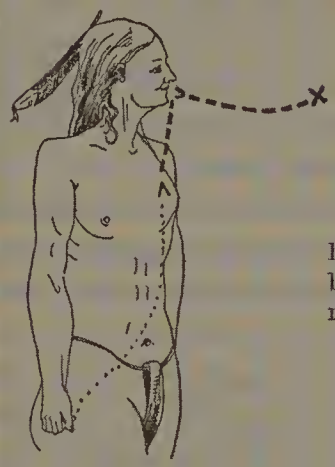


Word or idea expressed by sign: To cut, with an ax.

DESCRIPTION:

With the right hand flattened (X changed to right instead of left), palm upward, move it downward to the left side repeatedly from different elevations, ending each stroke at the same point.

Conception or origin: From the act of felling a tree.



Word or idea expressed by sign: A lie.

DESCRIPTION:

Touch the left breast over the heart, and pass the hand forward from the mouth, the two first fingers only being extended and slightly separated (L, 1—with thumb resting on third finger).

Conception or origin: Double-tongued.

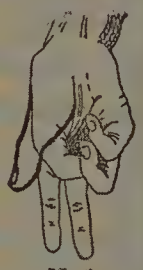
L, 1.

Word or idea expressed by sign: To ride.

DESCRIPTION:

Place the first two fingers of the right hand, thumb extended (N, 1) downward, astraddle the first two joined and straight fingers of the left (T, 1), sidewise, to the right, then make several short arched movements forward with hands so joined.

Conception or origin: The horse mounted and in motion.



N, 1.

T, 1.

- - - - - - - - - - - - Dotted lines indicate movements to place the hand and arm in position to commence the sign and not forming part of it.

> Indicates commencement of movement in representing sign, or part of sign.

- - - - - - - - - - Dashes indicate the course of hand employed in the sign.

X Represents the termination of movements.

——————→ Used in connection with dashes, shows the course of the latter when not otherwise clearly intelligible.

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FIGURE 5: "Outlines for Arm Positions in Gesture Languages: Examples." From Garrick Mallery, *Introduction to the Study of Sign Language among North American Indians as Illustrating the Gesture Speech of Mankind* (Washington, D.C., 1880). 72. E98 S5 M3, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.

anthropologist explained that "the 'gesture language of mankind' turns out to be not a language at all, but a combination of generally shared techniques for selecting, improving, redundantly supplementing or abandoning and substituting new pantomimes for the bodies of conventionalized signs available in the respective sign languages of the conversationalists . . . This adequately explains the reported ability of intelligent and experienced sign language adepts to communicate with each other across language boundaries and the usual inability of poor sign talkers or individual with no sign language experience to do so."[81] In the first decade of the seventeenth century, Marc Lescarbot made a similar observation when he experienced difficulties in interpreting the gestures of an unintelligible Indian he had encountered. The French turned for help to Chkoudun, the Indian guide who had accompanied them on their journey, only to realize that he spoke a different tongue, and thus he "could not understand him any more than our [men]." However, Lescarbot added, "[i]t is true that by signs he understood much better what he wanted to say."[82] Intermediaries like Chkoudun may have attained their positions because of their ability to use and decipher signs, as well as their multilingualism.

Human reliance on pantomime and gestural speech in cross-linguistic contexts is thus actually grounded in the unique attributes of this mode of communication, as confirmed by linguists. Studies have shown that because sign languages consist of a number of iconic or imitative elements, and because they are familiar to all humans (who first communicate through signs before acquiring speech), they provide a reasonably efficient platform for interpersonal communication, even across cultures, languages, and grammars. Because gesture can in fact be easier to understand than speech, even substantial misunderstandings can in turn be more easily overlooked. This makes communicating with gestures quite an effective, if not exactly "universal," medium. Linguist Susan Goldin-Meadow has little doubt that nonverbal communication possesses more consistency across languages and cultures than do verbal languages. For instance, in observing speakers of four languages with different word order patterns—English, Turkish, Spanish, and Chinese—who had been asked to perform "a communicative task (describing an event by using gesture without speech) and a noncommunicative task (reconstructing an event with pictures)," Goldin-Meadow and her colleagues reached a striking conclusion: "We found that the word orders speakers used in their everyday speech did not influence their nonverbal behavior. Surprisingly, speakers of all four languages used the same order and on both nonverbal tasks," suggesting that "the ordering we use when representing events in a nonverbal format is not highly susceptible to language's influence. Rather, there appears to be a natural order that humans (regardless of the language they speak) use when asked to represent events nonverbally."[83] These findings, as well as

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perhaps reproducing the gesture unabbreviated and made more graphic, perhaps presenting either the same or another conception or quality of the same object or idea by an original portraiture." Ibid., 39.

[81] Here we can also sense some of the same enduring debates regarding the exact linguistic nature of signs. La Mont West, "The Sign Language: An Analysis" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1960), as quoted in Umiker-Sebeok and Sebeok, *North America*, xviii.

[82] Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France,* 605.

[83] Susan Goldin-Meadow, Wing Chee So, Aslı Özyürek and Carolyn Mylander, "The Natural Order of Events: How Speakers of Different Languages Represent Events Nonverbally," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 105, no. 27 (2008): 9163–9168, here 9163, 9167.

the earlier methodical observations of PISL, all suggest the high potential of signs to serve as a successful medium of communication during the colonial encounter. Like Mallery a century and a half earlier, Goldin-Meadow commented on the creativity and adaptability at the heart of kinetic communication: "the manual modality makes sign languages unique ... It is relatively easy to use [it] to invent representational forms that can be immediately understood by naïve observers (e.g., indexical pointing gestures or iconic miming gestures). As a result, communication systems can be invented on the spot in the manual modality, which means that sign systems have the potential to provide a window onto the process of language creation."[84] This in itself should warrant a critical reconsideration of our prominent distrust of historical accounts that stress the efficacy and formality of signed communication between Europeans and Indians.

Putting in dialogue descriptions of indigenous gestures and sign languages across broad swaths of space and time could lead to a better methodology for identifying, imagining, reconstructing, and understanding early, often imprecise colonial depictions of such kinetic strategies. Studying the structure, syntax, prosodic features, and common social functions of PISL may help us better distinguish occurrences of formal signs in earlier historical sources from more improvised communication events involving gestures. The sign for "sun," for instance, was described by nineteenth-century ethnologists as being expressed by Plains Indians by "form[ing], with index and thumb of right hand, an incomplete circle, space of one inch between tips; hold hand towards the east; then move it in a curve across the heavens towards the west."[85] In the performance of this sign, the orientation of the body also conveyed meaning.[86] Different versions of this sign were easily understood even by people unfamiliar with any type of conventional sign language. In many colonial accounts, Indians were said to express months through "moons" and days through "suns," to the point where colonial writers got into the habit of referring to those time units in such terms even when they were not paraphrasing Indian speech. If some native groups were skilled in using alternate sign languages in addition to speech, they would probably have expressed "moon" or "sun" in such conversations using signs similar in conception and enactment to those documented in the nineteenth century in the Great Plains. Could such a sign have been at the root of a misunderstanding of indigenous beliefs in sixteenth-century Florida? "And as I made a sygne unto there king, lifting up myne arme and streching owt one fynger, only to make them loke up to heavenward," recalled French colonist Jean Ribault, "he likewise lifting up his arme towardes heven, put fourthe two fynge[rs] wherby it semed that he would make us tunderstand that thay worshipped the sonne and mone for godes, as afterward we understode yt so."[87]

When signs are discussed at all in early American scholarship, they are typically

[84] Susan Goldin-Meadow, "Watching Language Grow," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 102, no. 7 (2005): 2271–2272, here 2271.

[85] Tomkins, *Universal Indian Sign Language of the Plains Indians of North America*, 51.

[86] One of its variants, collected by another ethnologist among Indians of the Upper Missouri Valley, was to hold "the partly bent forefinger and thumb of the right hand ... brought together at their tips so as to represent a circle; and with these digits next to the face, the hand is held up toward the sky from one to two feet from the eye and in such a manner that the glance may be directed through the opening." Mallery, *Introduction to the Study of Sign Language among the North American Indians*, 30.

[87] Jean Ribault, "The True Discoverie of Terra Florida" (1563), in David B. Quinn, ed., *New American World: A Documentary History of North America to 1612* (New York, 1979), 2: 285–294, here 288.

presented as an improvised, imperfect, and temporary remedy for the absence of mutual linguistic understanding. Early instances of European manually coded languages for the deaf, as well as other expressions of Western kinetic traditions in the realm of oratory and drama, in particular, are typically omitted from studies of cross-cultural communication in early America. Scholars of deaf education and sign languages seldom include consideration of Indian sign languages and gestures in their analyses. And yet a case can be made for multidimensional intersections in the histories of European and American Indian signed traditions. Recasting the terms of this entangled history should give us a better grasp of how kinetic-visual systems work, what they reveal about Native American oratorical and sociocultural patterns, and how they shaped the linguistic and cultural encounter with Europe. My own rediscovery of Mallery's work greatly enhanced my ability to find and interpret Indian signs in colonial sources, unveiled a complex set of historiographical entanglements and interdisciplinary boundaries, and prompted some preliminary conclusions that are possible only at the intersection of several disciplines, time periods, and regions of the world. While some topics greatly benefit from a "microhistory" approach, sign language in its indigenous and European manifestations is best understood in a comparative, cross-regional, multidisciplinary, and *longue durée* perspective. In this new light, much remains to be learned about historical expressions of sign language, what they reveal about the unique cultures and societies in which they are rooted, and the tremendous impact they may have had on communicative efficacy starting with the Age of Exploration.

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Mass Housing, Late Modernism, and the Forging of Community in New York City and East Berlin, 1965–1989

ANNEMARIE SAMMARTINO

From Clichy-sous-Bois outside Paris to Zahradní Město-východ outside Prague, and from Singapore's Toa Payoh to Rio de Janiero's Realengo, mass-produced modernist high-rise housing estates span the globe. For decades these housing developments stood as iconic symbols of the failure of social engineering.[1] In recent years, however, modernist mass housing has had a revival of sorts. Architectural and cultural historians have explored the variety of its manifestations around the globe.[2] Historians of Eastern Europe have discovered a vibrant array of modern architectural experiments that echoed, but did not imitate, their Western counterparts.[3] The transnational culture of borrowing and exchange that marked modernism's heyday has been a further subject of historical inquiry.[4] Motivated in part by nostalgia for his

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[1] On housing projects in the United States, see Sudhir Alladi Venkatesh, *American Project: The Rise and Fall of a Modern Ghetto* (Cambridge, Mass., 2002); D. Bradford Hunt, *Blueprint for Disaster: The Unraveling of Chicago Public Housing* (Chicago, 2010). On the social crisis in Paris's banlieue, see Gilles Kepel, *Banlieue de la République: Société, politique et religion à Clichy-sous-Bois et Montfermeil* (Paris, 2012); Jean-Marc Stébé, *La crise des banlieues: Sociologie des quartiers sensibles*, 4th ed. (Paris, 2010); Jacques Donzelot, *Quand la ville se défait: Quelle politique face à la crise des banlieues?* (Paris, 2008).

[2] Vladimir Kulić, Timothy Parker, and Monica Penick, eds., *Sanctioning Modernism: Architecture and the Making of Postwar Identities* (Austin, Tex., 2014); Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault, eds., *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001); Kenny Cupers, *The Social Project: Housing Postwar France* (Minneapolis, 2014); Florian Urban, *Tower and Slab: Histories of Global Mass Housing* (New York, 2012).

[3] Kimberly Elman Zarecor, *Manufacturing a Socialist Modernity: Housing in Czechoslovakia, 1945–1960* (Pittsburgh, 2011); Virág Molnár, *Building the State: Architecture, Politics and the State in Post-War Central Europe* (New York, 2013); Vladimir Kulić, Maroje Mrdjulaš, and Wolfgang Thaler, *Modernism In-Between: The Mediatory Architectures of Socialist Yugoslavia* (Berlin, 2012); Brigitte Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital: Urban Planning, Modernism, and Socialism in Belgrade* (Pittsburgh, 2014).

[4] Elidor Mëhilli, "The Socialist Design: Urban Dilemmas in Postwar Europe and the Soviet Union," *Kritika* 13, no. 3 (2012): 635–665.

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ability to get things done, even New York's long-vilified Robert Moses has been partially rehabilitated.[5]

And yet despite this newfound attention, the declensionist narrative of modernism's rise and fall remains surprisingly intact. Drawing in large measure from the work of the Swiss architect Le Corbusier, postwar modernists sought to make cities more efficient, hygienic, and rational through architecture and urban planning. The high-rise superblocks that are their most visible legacy were intended to give residents "sunshine, clear air, and silence," set apart from the chaotic, foul-smelling streets that dominated older cities.[6] Designing these urban spaces marked by residential towers and efficient traffic was a godlike planner, who displayed an aesthetic approach to the cities he designed and an imperious relationship to the citizens who populated them.[7] His social goal was to create public harmony and avoid revolutionary upheaval.[8] Furthermore, he sought to "negat[e] the past by reference to a new future."[9] In the aftermath of World War II, architects and urban planners influenced by these principles were responsible for projects as diverse as the capital city of Brasília, the Sarcelles *grand ensembles* in the Parisian suburbs, and the high-rise Robert Taylor Homes in Chicago, along with other housing estates around the world. In the United States, postwar modernism was connected with urban renewal, in which older, often dilapidated housing was destroyed to make way for a more modern and efficient city.[10]

By the early 1960s, misgivings about modernist planning that had been pushed to the sidelines burst into public consciousness. Most famously voiced by Jane Jacobs, these concerns reflected a new appreciation for established neighborhoods and a resistance to the sterile products of modernist architecture.[11] Opposition to modernism and urban renewal spread rapidly, and by the late 1960s they had "been discredited and [were] largely done as both policy and vision."[12] Since then, "new urbanists" have dominated popular conceptions of the ideal urban environment. Today, rich and poor alike privilege authentic charm, a lively street life, and community input in planning decisions. Following the outlines of this history, the story of postwar modernism is often assumed to have stopped in 1965, with later modernist initiatives receiving little attention from historians.[13]

This narrative is primarily located in an American and Western European set of experiences, but it has had repercussions for the history of Eastern European archi-

[5] Hilary Ballon and Kenneth T. Jackson, eds., *Robert Moses and the Modern City: The Transformation of New York* (New York, 2008); Samuel Zipp, *Manhattan Projects: The Rise and Fall of Urban Renewal in Cold War New York* (New York, 2010).

[6] Athens Charter [1943], Article 16, http://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/research_resources/charters/charter04.html; Robert Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier* (New York, 1977), 200.

[7] James Holston, *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasília* (Chicago, 1989), 9.

[8] Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*, 187. See also Le Corbusier, *Vers une architecture* (Paris, 1923).

[9] Holston, *The Modernist City*, 10.

[10] Zipp, *Manhattan Projects*, 14.

[11] Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York, 1961).

[12] Zipp, *Manhattan Projects*, 17.

[13] See, for example, the chronologies in two excellent recent books on postwar modernism and urban renewal: Zipp, *Manhattan Projects*, and Christopher Klemek, *The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal: Postwar Urbanism from New York to Berlin* (Chicago, 2011).

tecture and urban planning as well. Even if a growing number of historians of Eastern Europe have begun to take the ambitions of modernist urban planners in the Eastern Bloc seriously, the projects of the 1970s and 1980s are still condemned as "represent[ing] everything that was wrong with communism."[14] Meanwhile, Florian Urban and others have used the existence of neo-historical planning in the Eastern Bloc to create a variant on the narrative of urban modernism's decline in the West. Here, architects and urban planners realized the folly of their modernist ways, but were stymied by the shortsightedness of government officials.[15]

But urban modernism's collapse was neither so inevitable nor so precipitous as this narrative suggests. The crisis of the city experienced on both sides of the Cold War did not lead to the end of urban ambition or of architectural modernism. Rather, urban modernism proved to be both flexible and resilient, at least until the economic crises of the 1970s and 1980s. Without abandoning modernism, urban planners, architects, and residents on both sides of the Iron Curtain rethought the meaning of cities and communities and the purpose of architecture and urban planning as a result of the challenge offered by both new urbanist ideas and urban crisis. Thus, a new chronology of urban modernism is needed, one in which the 1960s and 1970s are viewed as a period not of decline but of transformation. This transformation, which can be characterized as "late modernism," was located not so much in a metamorphosis of the physical form of modernist architecture as in a social and ideological evolution that stressed the transformational potential of communities rather than the architectural determinism of the immediate postwar decades.

Late modernism is explored here through an examination of two housing developments—Co-op City in New York City and Marzahn in East Berlin.[16] First occupied in 1968, Co-op City had room for 65,000 residents.[17] Built a decade later, Marzahn could accommodate up to 175,000 residents in 59,646 apartments.[18] Co-op City is the largest cooperative development ever constructed; at the time of its

[14] Zarecor, *Manufacturing a Socialist Modernity*, 294.

[15] Brian Ladd, "Socialist Planning and the Rediscovery of the Old City in the German Democratic Republic," *Journal of Urban History* 27, no. 5 (2001): 584–603; Florian Urban, *Neo-Historical East Berlin: Architecture and Urban Design in the German Democratic Republic, 1970–1990* (Burlington, Vt., 2009); Emily Pugh, *Architecture, Politics, and Identity in Divided Berlin* (Pittsburgh, 2014).

[16] The only book on a development similar to Co-op City is Peter Eisenstadt, *Rochdale Village: Robert Moses, 6,000 Families, and New York City's Great Experiment in Integrated Housing* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2010). Co-op City is not discussed in depth in either Joel Schwartz, *The New York Approach: Robert Moses, Urban Liberals, and Redevelopment of the Inner City* (Columbus, Ohio, 1993), or Joshua B. Freeman, *Working-Class New York: Life and Labor since 1945* (New York, 2000); and it is dismissed as architecturally and socially sterile in Evelyn Gonzalez, *The Bronx* (New York, 2009). Even the recent reconsideration of Robert Moses's legacy has not led to a rethinking of Co-op City and its legacy. Ballon and Jackson, *Robert Moses and the Modern City*. East German planned housing in general has been addressed by only a few general studies, including Alice Kahl, *Erlebnis Plattenbau: Eine Langzeitstudie* (Opladen, 2003); Christine Hannemann, *Die Platte: Industrialisierter Wohnungsbau in der DDR*, 3rd ed. (Berlin, 2005); Hannsjörg F. Buck, *Mit hohem Anspruch gescheitert: Die Wohnungspolitik der DDR* (Münster, 2004); Jay Rowell, *Le totalitarisme au concret: Les politiques de logement en RDA* (Paris, 2006). Eli Rubin's *Amnesiopolis: Modernity, Space, and Memory in East Germany* (Oxford, 2016), which addresses Marzahn from the perspective of East German material culture, is the only study to look at the development specifically.

[17] "December 10th Move-in a Happy, Family Event," *Co-op City Times* 3, no. 1 (1968): 1.

[18] Christa Hübner, Herbert Nicolaus, and Manfred Teresiak, *20 Jahre Marzahn: Chronik eines Berliner Bezirkes* (Berlin, 1998), 10; Günter Peters, "Zur Baugeschichte—Drei Gründerzeiten," in Gerrit Engel, ed., *Marzahn* (Cologne, 1999), 15–17, here 15.

FIGURE 1: Aerial view of Co-op City, ca. the 1960s. Kheel Center for Labor-Management Documentation and Archives, Cornell University Library, Ithaca, N.Y.

completion, it would have been the eighth-largest city in New York State.[19] The sprawling new developments anchored by Marzahn in northeast Berlin would have been the fourth-largest city in East Germany when they were finished.[20] Built after the supposed heyday of modernism, Co-op City and Marzahn were the physical embodiment of massive amounts of social, political, and economic capital. Marzahn was the showpiece development for the East German Wohnungsbauprogramm (Housing Program) in the 1970s and 1980s. Co-op City represented the culmination of decades of struggle against urban blight in New York. They, and developments like them, represented a significant component of the lived experience of millions of people on either side of the Iron Curtain in the later decades of the Cold War.

The builders of Co-op City and Marzahn were barely aware of one another, and the settlements they constructed were products of their own specific national and

[19] "What NAHC Is—and What It Can Do," *Cooperative Housing*, Summer 1967, 4.
[20] Rubin, *Amnesiopolis*, chap. 2.

Figure 2: Aerial view of Marzahn, 1984. BA-Berlin Bild 183-1984-0601-008 / Zimmermann.

local contexts. There is no East German analogue to the racial dynamics that motivated so many of Co-op City's pioneers; nor did Co-op City's builders seek to reconstruct an Eastern European surveillance state in the Northeast Bronx. The East German socialist ethos was not the cooperative vision that inspired the builders of Co-op City, however much each was a response to consumerism and individualism. Nonetheless, the architects and urban planners who built these two developments responded in some similar ways to the simultaneous challenges of social crisis and the intellectual critique of modernist urban planning.

Late modernism as demonstrated in Co-op City and Marzahn differed in six key ways from the modernism of the first two postwar decades. First, like postwar modernists, late modernists saw urban planning as an engine of social transformation. The goal of that transformation, however, was the creation of a new kind of community. Indeed, not only did community constitute the objective of late modernist urban planning, but it was the means of social transformation in late modernism on both sides of the Iron Curtain. This notion of a transformational community differed both from postwar modernism, which stressed the transformational power of architecture itself, and from new urbanism, which viewed communities as a source of stability and succor rather than transformation.

Second, postwar modernism was largely rationalist and technocratic, but late modernism marked a return of sorts to modernism's interwar radical roots. The practitioners of late modernism in the Eastern Bloc and the United States built upon their shared heritage of interwar progressivism. The Bauhaus goal of using modern architecture to create a "human brotherhood, with organic community ties" was a conscious precursor to the late modernist vision of architects in the Communist Eastern Bloc and postwar New York City alike.[21] Co-op City's architect, Herman Jessor, paid direct homage to both the physical form and the social function of housing in interwar Red Vienna, which had sought to marry socialist communitarianism and modern architecture.[22]

Third, rather than eschewing the past of the communities they built in, late modernist planners recognized the attraction of older neighborhoods and viewed the spaces and communities they created as a bridge between the past and the future. Fourth, in late modernism the planner was crucially important. That planner, however, was not a godlike figure standing above humanity, but rather a link in a feedback loop—constantly responding to the desires and needs of the ordinary people who populated housing developments. Fifth, late modernist developments were located on the fringes of the city and built on a scale that dwarfed anything seen previously, which allowed people to live in a self-enclosed world. In this sense, they were simultaneously more ambitious and more defensive than their earlier progenitors. And sixth, late modernism was a response not only to critiques of urban modernism, but also to the rise of consumerism during the Cold War. Late modernist housing developments tried to provide a kind of good life for residents that reconceived ownership in collective terms.

[21] Bruno Taut quoted in Barbara Miller Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918–1945* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 49; Richard Plunz, *A History of Housing in New York City: Dwelling Type and Social Change in the American Metropolis* (New York, 1990), 165.

[22] Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 402; Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna, 1919–1934* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999).

In the end, the story of late modernist housing belongs not to the developers who constructed Co-op City and Marzahn, but to the men, women, and children who lived in them. Both complexes were quite popular with residents, at least initially. And from the beginning, the residents of Marzahn and Co-op City made their developments their own, forging communities but also proving stubbornly resistant to the transformational plans their developers had for them.

The United Housing Foundation (UHF), which constructed Co-op City, was not the only cooperative housing organization in the postwar United States, but it was by far the largest. The UHF grew out of the cooperative housing projects built in the Bronx by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in the 1920s and 1930s. Its leader, Abraham Kazan, saw cooperative housing as "the nucleus of the metropolis of the future."[23] Kazan emerged from the trade union activism of the Lower East Side, where a host of labor organizations constructed housing developments for their members. However, he was less interested in union politics or even housing for its own sake, but rather saw in cooperative housing the means for creating a utopian cooperative society.[24] Kazan founded the UHF in 1951 to take advantage of federal funding for affordable housing made available through Title 1 of the 1949 Housing Act. The organization offered the possibility of cooperative housing to a broad swath of working- and middle-class New Yorkers, and did not have the explicit left-wing and union orientation that had marked interwar union housing efforts.[25] Residents of its housing ventures were able to purchase cooperatively owned properties at a reduced price and paid a relatively low monthly "maintenance fee." They also received the tax benefits that accrued to property owners. However, they could not realize any profit (or loss) from the sale of their apartments. UHF cooperatives offered a kind of qualified and cooperative home ownership that bore little resemblance to the single-family housing market that was then taking off elsewhere in the U.S. The organization's first project was the Mutual Housing Association, near the original Amalgamated Co-ops in the Bronx. It was completed in 1955 as a single-building cooperative with space for 123 families.[26] Each successive UHF development was larger than the previous one; Rochdale Village, which opened in eastern Queens in 1961 on land that had previously been home to the Jamaica Racetrack, contains 5,860 units.[27] Altogether, in the 1950s and 1960s, the UHF was responsible for more than half of the new housing built in New York City. Co-op City would be its last and largest development.[28]

[23] Eisenstadt, *Rochdale Village*, 28.

[24] Hilary Ann Botein, "'Solid Testimony of Labor's Present Status': Unions and Housing in Postwar New York City" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2005). See chap. 2 for a discussion of the uneasy relationship of Kazan and the UHF to other proponents of labor housing.

[25] Ibid., 72.

[26] United Housing Foundation, *Twenty Years of Accomplishment* (New York, 1971), 11.

[27] Ibid., 13. Other developments include East River Houses in Manhattan, completed in 1956 (with 4 buildings and 1,672 apartments), and Amalgamated Warbasse Houses near Brighton Beach in Brooklyn, completed in 1965 (with 5 buildings and 2,585 apartments). On the history of Rochdale from the perspective of a former resident and with a view to its embeddedness in New York history, see Eisenstadt, *Rochdale Village*.

[28] Botein, "'Solid Testimony of Labor's Present Status,'" 76.

For all its utopianism, the UHF was a major player in New York's urban establishment. The city's "master builder," Robert Moses, was a close political ally of Kazan's, drawn to the UHF's proven ability to build large amounts of housing for a comparatively cheap price. Seeing Kazan as someone who shared his goal of large-scale urban renewal, Moses was willing to lend his considerable political clout to the organization, ushering UHF projects through the thickets of New York City's planning bureaucracy and ensuring it a steady stream of financial and political capital. Even as elsewhere in the United States subsidized housing became associated with the urban underclass as the New Deal receded into history, New York City remained something of an exception. The UHF and other developers who built middle-class housing could rely upon Mitchell-Lama funding, a series of New York State tax breaks and subsidies that encouraged the construction of rental housing for the middle class.[29] The UHF's reliance upon a combination of union and state resources had more in common with European-style social democracy than with the housing landscape in other American cities.[30]

Yet if the context in which Co-op City was built was unique to New York City, it was also a response to the broader social transformation of the American city after World War II. By the mid-1960s, the problems of the "inner city" had become a focus of national concern, with deteriorating conditions on numerous fronts across the nation, including white flight to the suburbs, declining infrastructure, economic deindustrialization, and growing violence.[31] As much as the urban crisis rocked the economic and social foundations of America's cities, the UHF viewed it as an opportunity to remake America's crumbling and exploitative cities in a new and more cooperative form.[32]

On July 14, 1965, the UHF signed a $250,900,000 mortgage through the New York State Housing Finance Agency for the construction of a new development, Co-op City, on the site of a failed amusement park, Freedomland, in the Northeast Bronx.[33] In addition to this low-interest mortgage, Co-op City enjoyed a 50 percent municipal tax abatement for its first thirty years of existence.[34] The new development was an order of magnitude larger than anything the UHF had done, with plans for 15,382 apartments.[35] A number of important politicians celebrated the cooperative at its groundbreaking ceremony. Moses took the opportunity to herald "democracy in action, socialism without communism, self-government without bureaucracy," adding, "Rochdale and Co-op City are names to conjure with."[36] Governor Nelson Rockefel-

[29] For more on New York's financing of urban middle-class housing, see Hilary Botein, "New York State Housing Policy in Postwar New York City: The Enduring Rockefeller Legacy," *Journal of Urban History* 35, no. 6 (2009): 833–852. Botein writes that the vast majority of Mitchell-Lama funding went to New York City (838).

[30] Freeman, *Working-Class New York*, chap. 4.

[31] Wendell E. Pritchett, "Which Urban Crisis? Regionalism, Race and Urban Policy, 1960–1974," *Journal of Urban History* 34, no. 2 (2008): 266–286, here 273.

[32] Bayard Rustin, "Housing, the Ghetto and the Urban Crisis," *Co-op Contact*, Fall 1967, 10.

[33] Special Meeting of the UHF Board, September 17, 1965, United Housing Foundation, Selected Files, Collection Number: 6129, Kheel Center for Labor-Management Documentation and Archives, Cornell University Library, Ithaca, N.Y. [hereafter KC], box 17. On Freedomland, see Tom Vanderbilt, "Stagecoach Wreck Injures 10 in Bronx," *New York Times*, September 1, 2002; David Gonzalez, "Celebrating the Short, Sweet Ride of Freedomland," *New York Times*, June 19, 2010.

[34] Edith Evans Asbury, "Ground Broken for Bronx Co-ops," *New York Times*, May 15, 1966, 70.

[35] Ostroff to UHF Board, January 28, 1965, KC, box 17.

[36] "The Wisdom of Moses—Remarks at the Co-op City Groundbreaking," *Co-op Contact*, Fall 1966, 5.

ler praised the development as "our greatest effort to meet one of New York's greatest needs."[37] The *New York Times* congratulated Co-op City's founders for providing a "lesson in . . . social progress."[38] Even President Lyndon Johnson sent a telegram thanking the UHF for its "farsighted endeavor."[39] Co-op City was also popular among prospective and new residents; more than 12,000 applications for apartments were submitted within the first three months after the development opened.[40]

In contrast to New York City's social and racial upheaval, East Berlin's urban crisis had origins that reached back into the hasty and unplanned urbanization of the nineteenth century. The housing shortage there was compounded by the destruction of the city during World War II. In the central districts of Berlin, which witnessed the fiercest street fighting at the end of the war, up to 60 percent of the buildings were destroyed.[41] Yet despite these issues, housing was not a priority for the state for the first two decades of its existence.[42] As late as 1971, 80 percent of the housing stock in the German Democratic Republic was pre-1945, and of that, most had been constructed prior to World War I.[43] More than 60 percent of apartments did not have their own shower or a private toilet, and less than one-quarter even had warm water.[44] The housing crisis directly influenced people's satisfaction with the East German state. Complaints about inadequate housing made up the majority of *Eingaben* (citizen petitions) to the state and the governing party, the Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unity Party [SED]), while a 1972 study revealed that 70 percent of East Germans believed that the housing situation should be the state's highest priority.[45] In 1971, Erich Honecker, the new SED chairman, announced the GDR's new Housing Program. Approved by the Central Committee in 1973, it promised to solve the "housing problem as a social problem" by 1990 through the construction of between 2.8 and 3 million new apartments for East Germans.[46] These apartments would be built using serialized concrete panel (*Plattenbau*) architecture, which had become ubiquitous in the Eastern Bloc.[47] In order to build the millions of apartments promised in the Housing Program, the party called for large-scale *Plattenbau* suburbs on the outskirts of cities across East Germany.

[37] Asbury, "Ground Broken for Bronx Co-ops."

[38] "Co-op City," *New York Times*, May 14, 1966, 23.

[39] Telegram from Lyndon Johnson to Potofsky, KC, box 6.

[40] "At Foundation's Annual Meeting, Cheers Greet Announcement of 12,400 Co-op City Applications," *Co-op City Times* 3, no. 3 (1969): 1.

[41] Jörg Echternkamp, *Nach dem Krieg: Alltagsnot, Neuorientierung und die Last der Vergangenheit, 1945–1949* (Zurich, 2003), 19–20.

[42] Jay Rowell, "Wohnungspolitik," in Dierk Hoffmann and Michael Schwartz, eds., *Deutsche Demokratische Republik, 1949–1961: Im Zeichen des Aufbaus des Sozialismus* (Baden-Baden, 2004), 699–726, here 712.

[43] Ladd, "Socialist Planning and the Rediscovery of the Old City in the German Democratic Republic," 588.

[44] Gunnar Winkler, ed., *Sozialreport '90: Daten und Fakten zur sozialen Lage in der DDR* (Berlin, 1990), 158.

[45] Institut für Meinungsforschung beim ZK der SED, Bericht zu Problemen der Politik und der Wirtschaft, September 13, 1972, Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR, Bundesarchiv-Berlin [hereafter BA-Berlin], DY 30 Vorl. SED 14350.

[46] Buck, *Mit hohem Anspruch gescheitert*, 389.

[47] Rowell, "Wohnungspolitik," 711.

The number of new apartments dwarfed what had been achieved in the previous two decades of SED rule. It also reflected the arrival of "Real Existing Socialism," in which the regime proclaimed that industrial development had advanced to the point at which East Germans could begin to reap its benefits, including the production of more and higher-quality consumer goods.[48] With Real Existing Socialism, the engine for social transformation shifted from industry and economics to social and political life, with the home at the center. The Deutsche Bauakademie—Institut für Städtebau und Architektur (German Construction Academy—Institute for Urban Planning and Architecture [DBA]) saw its task as the creation of new living situations to serve as the building blocks of socialist society.[49]

Berlin-Marzahn, built on the site of a small village on the northeast edge of Berlin, was the largest and most ambitious of East Germany's new satellite towns—a showpiece for the entire East German Housing Program. On March 21, 1973, the SED Central Committee ordered the construction of the Marzahn settlement for approximately 100,000 Berliners, with the first apartments to be occupied in 1977.[50] This was a massive undertaking involving the extension of several transit lines, the lengthening of streets (and the construction of new ones), and the provision of water, sewer, and power lines.[51] After three years of preparatory work under the leadership of Berlin's chief urban planner, Günter Peters, and chief architect, Heinz Graffunder, the first concrete slabs were laid on July 8, 1977. The first residents arrived five months later.[52]

Reflecting the planning precepts espoused by Corbusier, the plans for Co-op City and Marzahn had several features in common—high-rise buildings, a separation of the spaces for pedestrian and vehicular traffic, and relatively large apartments featuring the latest amenities. Marzahn's buildings were designed in three basic styles—five, eleven, and twenty-two stories, primarily utilizing the Wohnungsbau Serie 70 (WBS-70) model for prefabricated concrete slab apartments.[53] Co-op City also features three main building styles—the Tower, which consists of thirty-three stories; the twenty-six-story Triple Core; and the Chevron, a high-rise with twenty-two stories—along with 236 three-story townhouses placed in clusters around the site. In both Marzahn and Co-op City, these large apartment buildings were designed with minimal ornamentation but with plenty of windows and balconies, in an effort to provide residents with Corbusier's trio of "light, air, and sun." In both cases, the choice to use this architecture had simultaneous practical and ideological rationales. The

[48] Ina Merkel, *Utopie und Bedürfnis: Die Geschichte der Konsumkultur in der DDR* (Cologne, 1999).

[49] Jay Rowell, "Wohnungspolitik," in Christoph Boyer, Klaus-Dietmar Henke, and Peter Skyba, eds., *Deutsche Demokratische Republik, 1971–1989: Bewegung in der Sozialpolitik, Erstarrung und Niedergang* (Baden-Baden, 2008), 679–701, here 681; Hannemann, *Die Platte*, 111.

[50] Günter Peters, *Hütten, Platten, Wohnquartiere: Berlin-Marzahn, ein junger Bezirk mit altem Namen* (Berlin, 1998), 77, 90. By 1980, plans had expanded to accommodate 172,000 residents. Hübner, Nicolaus, and Teresiak, *20 Jahre Marzahn*, 9.

[51] Beschlussvorlage—Magistrat von Gross-Berlin—Grundlagen für den Aufbau des Gebietes Biesdorf/Marzahn, July 18, 1973, Landesarchiv Berlin (LAB), C. Rep. 107/1197, Vorlagen-Nr 166/73.

[52] Peters, "Zur Baugeschichte—Drei Gründerzeiten," 15.

[53] Hannemann, *Die Platte*, 97.

structures could be built quickly and cheaply, and high-rise towers would allow for a dense population surrounded by nature.[54]

In both Co-op City and Marzahn, the apartments were modern and spacious, designed with a nuclear family in mind. In the case of Co-op City, their modernity was reflected in the availability of central air-conditioning; for Marzahn, modernity meant central heating and private bathrooms with warm water. The floor plan for a six-room (three-bedroom) apartment with a balcony in one of the Tower buildings in Co-op City was 1,210 square feet. A three-room WBS-70 apartment designed for a family with children in Marzahn was smaller, at 68 square meters (or 732 square feet). Both apartments emphasized almost identically sized living rooms (225 or 226 square feet, respectively) and balconies (70 and 75 square feet, respectively); the Co-op City apartment, however, had considerably larger bedrooms, an additional half-bathroom, and numerous built-in closets. Finally, both the UHF and the GDR Ministry of Finance were aware that cheap rents were crucial to the popularity of these new homes. A three-room apartment in Marzahn cost 123.85 marks per month, approximately one-tenth the average salary of a GDR worker.[55] The original plan was for Co-op City residents to pay $22–23 per room per month. That brought the total cost for this six-room apartment to $216 per month, after a $450 down payment due upon initial occupancy.[56] The rents on the Co-op City apartments were approximately 30 percent below the market rate for an equivalent non-UHF apartment.[57]

People were enthusiastic from the outset about their apartments in Marzahn and Co-op City. When Anne Sullivan arrived at Co-op City, her movers exclaimed, "Wait till you see what you've got!" Indeed, on a clear day she could see from her twenty-fourth-story window all the way to LaGuardia Airport. The apartment was spacious, and like many of the development's other residents, she was thrilled about her new home, saying she felt like she "had died and gone to heaven."[58] Judy Rabinowitz, another early resident, stated in 1969 how much she enjoyed living in Co-op City: "The apartment is great. There's air-conditioning and the kitchen has a lot of cabinets. There are a lot of closets, and there are parquet floors and the rooms are a nice size."[59] For Jutta Wormbs, her apartment in Marzahn with central heating was "like heaven on earth."[60] Karin Matthees described her apartment as "wonderful: hot water from the faucet, central heating, a six-meter-long balcony, an elevator, and—

[54] Jessor quoted in Tony Schuman, "Labor and Housing in New York City: Architect Herman Jessor and the Cooperative Housing Movement," 6, http://urbanomnibus.net/redux/wp-content/uploads/2010/03/LABOR-AND-HOUSING-IN-NEW-YORK-CITY.pdf. Original plans to build Co-op City as a "miniature Venice" with canals to let water run through the marshy ground rather than constructing atop landfill were scrapped due to cost concerns. Herman Jessor, "Comments upon the Author's Text," *Progressive Architecture* 51, no. 2 (1970): 72–73, here 72.

[55] Peter Marcuse and Wolfgang Schumann, "Housing in the Colours of the GDR," in Bengt Turner, József Hegedüs, and Iván Tosics, eds., *The Reform of Housing in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union* (New York, 1992), 59–113, here 92.

[56] Ostroff to UHF Board, January 28, 1965, KC, box 17.

[57] Thomas W. Ennis, "Huge Bronx Co-op a Staggering Job," *New York Times*, February 14, 1965, R1.

[58] Anne Sullivan, interview with author, November 15, 2011.

[59] William E. Farrell, "In Co-op City, the 'Pioneers' are Genial," *New York Times*, November 9, 1969, R1.

[60] Jutta Wormbs, "Wohnqualität ist Lebensqualität," in Verein Kids & Co., ed., *Marzahn-Südspitze: Leben im ersten Wohngebiet der Berliner Großsiedlung* (Berlin, 2002), 36.

super-fancy—a garbage incinerator."[61] As late as 2000, 80 percent of Marzahn's residents expressed satisfaction with their apartments.[62]

Like the apartments themselves, the overall organization of each development bears the stamp of Corbusier's model in various ways. Both developments eschewed rectilinear organization in favor of courtyards and curving walkways. Planners isolated the living spaces from traffic noise and incorporated pedestrian paths that made it possible for children to get to school without having to cross main streets.[63] And both developments contain substantial green space, which in Co-op City amounts to 80 percent of the land area.[64] While plans for a riverfront park there fell through, the first four sections and an educational park are arrayed around a central greenway, a large lawn used for occasional community events and otherwise open for community members to bike, jog, and play in.[65] A park more than 250 acres in size was included in the plans for Marzahn, although it was not completed until after the Berlin Wall fell.

While the physical design of the complexes was recognizably Corbusian, their ideology was not. Corbusier believed that the power of architecture to transform consciousness worked directly on individuals. The only positive mention of the collective in the Athens Charter, the 1943 CIAM (Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne) statement of principles that provides the most concise statement of Corbusier's ideals, comes in a discussion of the "advantages of collective action," although even here it stresses the need to balance this against individual liberty.[66] In contrast, community was absolutely fundamental to both the UHF and the DBA on multiple levels. They respected, albeit in differing and sometimes diffuse ways, the communities that residents came from. Indeed, rather than seeing the past as something merely to be overcome, they viewed these communities as connected to the past. Moreover, as believers in the voices and power of communities, both the UHF and the DBA eschewed the godlike role claimed by earlier modernists, seeking to please their residents as much as they sought to transform them. Indeed, Abraham Kazan of the UHF specifically dismissed Corbusier's architectural determinism.[67] Instead, he and the planners at the DBA believed that social transformation was itself fundamentally communal—cooperative and socialist ways of life were assumed to be better because they were oriented toward the benefit of the group as a whole, rather than the individual.

Community-building was always central to the UHF mission. As Kazan wrote as early as 1937, "only co-operative housing can . . . greatly revise the relationship of man to man in the big city."[68] This vision of a cooperative community sharpened as the scale of UHF projects grew. At a conference in Detroit in 1966, Harold Ostroff, vice president of the UHF, rejected the idea that cooperatives were merely a means to "provide a balance wheel for capitalism in order to prevent or correct the worst

[61] Karin Matthees, "Marzahn—meine Heimat," in Engel, *Marzahn*, 7–12, here 7.

[62] Siegfried Scheffler, "Wohungs- und Städtebau in den neuen Ländern," in Bezirksamt Marzahn von Berlin, ed., *Marzahn: Ein Stadtteil mit Zukunft* (Berlin, 2000), 16–22, here 16.

[63] Hübner, Nicolaus, and Teresiak, *20 Jahre Marzahn*, 90.

[64] Schuman, "Labor and Housing in New York City," 4.

[65] Ada Louise Huxtable, "Co-op City's Grounds: After 3 Years, a Success," *New York Times*, October 26, 1971, 43.

[66] Athens Charter, Article 75.

[67] Eisenstadt, *Rochdale Village*, 39.

[68] Kazan as quoted ibid., 106.

excesses of the profit system." Instead, he insisted that cooperatives offered the means "to eliminate the profit system. Eliminate it that is by putting the interest of people first . . . Cooperatives offer a tremendous outlet for the energies of those who really want to change society in a fundamental way."[69]

With developments on the scale of Rochdale Village and Co-op City, for the first time the UHF had the ability to create a self-enclosed world that empowered cooperatives as a transformative force. Co-op City contains three shopping centers, each outfitted with meeting rooms for organizations, cooperative supermarkets, restaurants, banks, and other service centers. Six schools are located in the twenty-five-acre educational park, along with an Olympic-size swimming pool and a planetarium. In 1960, Kazan explained his expansive vision for a world in which consumers could fulfill all of their needs in a consumer cooperative: "We need consumers with vision to see the advantages of using their own savings and purchasing power to own and operate their own automobile agencies and repair shops, bakeries, barber shops, beauty parlors, baby-sitting services, book and record stores, credit unions . . . bowling alleys, gymnasiums, radio stations, repair shops, shoe stores, travel agencies, transportation facilities . . . tailor shops, telephone and telegraph services, etc., etc., etc."[70] Co-op City's scale allowed it to come as close as anywhere to fulfilling this vision. Ten years later, in 1970, Jacob Potofsky, the president of the UHF, described how a resident of Co-op City could "buy in our co-operative food stores. He buys his furniture in a co-operative furniture store. He buys his cosmetics and drugs in a co-operative drug store . . . He opens his account in the Amalgamated Bank, which is union owned . . . we have our own insurance company."[71]

With a capacity of more than 60,000 residents, Co-op City was able to provide a variety of services that earlier cooperative ventures could not match. However, its self-sufficiency was not merely a function of its size, but was also a response to the urban crisis that was its birthright. Between 1940 and 1970 in the West Bronx neighborhoods from which much of the development's initial population was drawn, the percentage of whites dropped from 90 to 47 percent, the percentage of blacks rose from 6 percent to 28 percent, and the percentage of Puerto Ricans increased from 3 percent to 25 percent.[72] Crime also rose over the same period. In the Morris Heights and High Bridge zip codes, felonies increased 69 percent just in the year between 1968 and 1969. In the first ten months of 1969, the 41st Precinct, which covered the Bronx's Hunts Point and nearby neighborhoods, ranked first in New York City for reported burglaries, third for murders, and fourth in assaults.[73] A study of the elderly living on the Grand Concourse conducted by the Bronx Planning Commission found that more than a third of them had been mugged at least once.[74] The resulting sense

[69] Harold Ostroff, "The Impact of Housing Cooperatives in Urban Areas: Speech from the National Association of Housing Cooperatives, February 19, 1966," *Co-op Contact*, Spring 1966, 14–20, here 20.

[70] Kazan quoted in Eisenstadt, *Rochdale Village*, 31.

[71] Interview with Jacob Potofsky, Roosevelt University Oral History Project, August 4, 1970, 29–30.

[72] Constance Rosenblum, *Boulevard of Dreams: Heady Times, Heartbreak, and Hope along the Grand Concourse in the Bronx* (New York, 2009), 181. See also Gonzalez, *The Bronx*, chap. 7.

[73] Michael R. Greenberg and Thomas D. Boswell, "Neighborhood Deterioration as a Factor in Intraurban Migration: A Case Study in New York City," *Professional Geographer* 24, no. 1 (1972): 11–16, here 11.

[74] Kenneth H. Brook, "A Defensive Community and Its Elderly Population" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1974), 65.

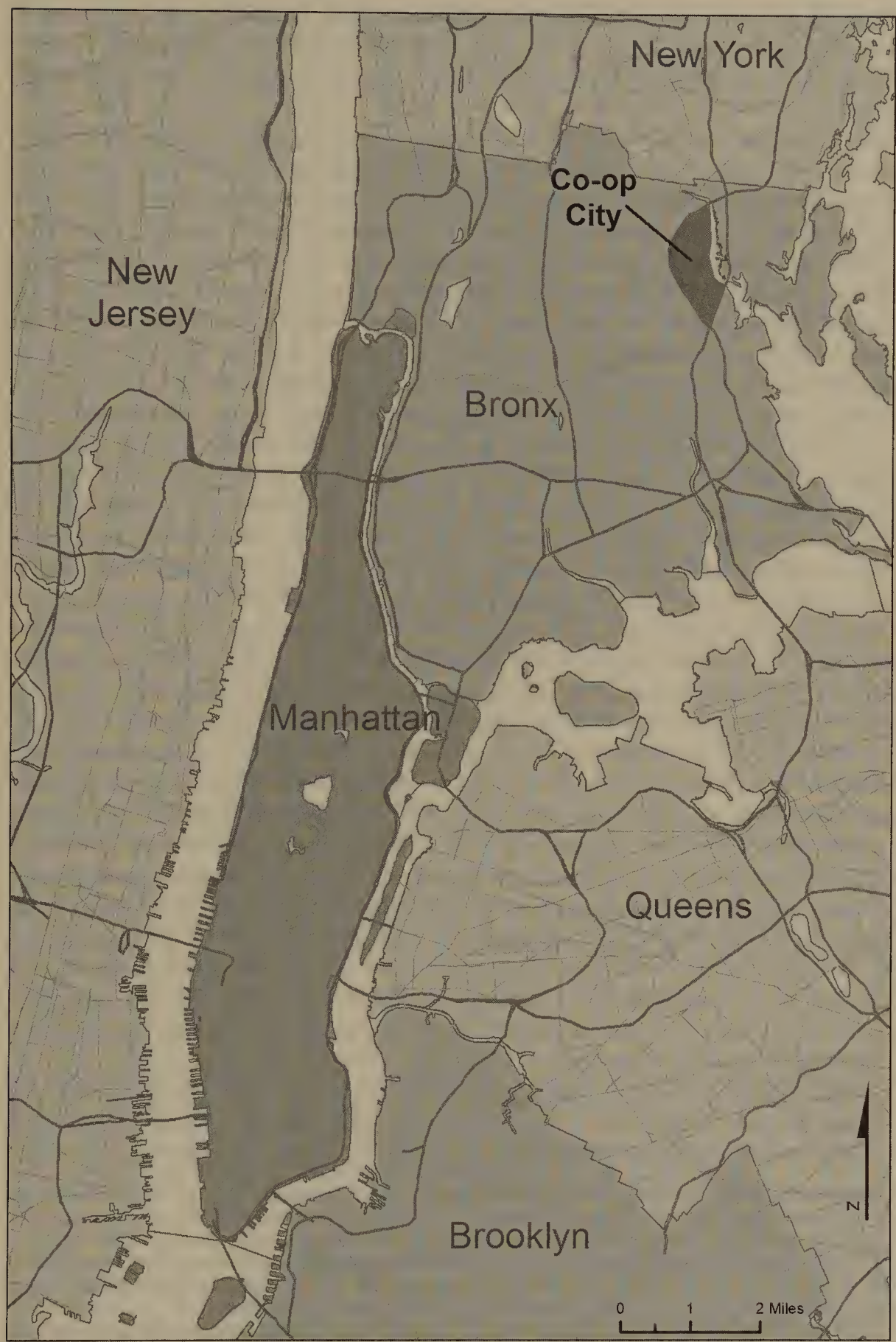

FIGURE 3: Map of New York City showing the location of Co-op City in the Bronx. Courtesy of Jason Glatz, Western Michigan University Mapping Services.

of besiegement was as much as anything the motivating factor for people to move to Co-op City. As Ostroff admitted about the development's early residents, "There is no sense in denying that a lot of people are trying to escape from . . . changing neighborhoods."[75]

This desire to escape was reflected in the paucity of linkages between Co-op City and the surrounding neighborhoods. While there were buses that connected the development to the rest of the Bronx and Manhattan, they were infrequent, and there was no subway station in the development. When the Bronx Planning Commission attempted to build a highway overpass and underpass in 1973 to give the residents easier access to other neighborhoods, they rejected it as "an affront to Co-op City and its residents" and a "blight on the community."[76] The physical isolation of the complex was simultaneously an escape from the rest of the city, which appeared to many of its residents to be descending into violence and chaos, and a way to foster a new kind of community, apart from the corrupting influence of the profit motive.

In contrast to the UHF's longstanding interest in the transformational power of residential community, the East German interest in neighborhoods was a relatively recent development. Although the importance of residential community for the development of socialism had been an explicit facet of socialist urban planning in many "new towns" of the 1950s, from Poland's Nowa Huta to East Germany's own Stalinstadt/Eisenhüttenstadt, the workplace remained the focus of East European efforts to create a new socialist society during this era.[77] This changed during the post-Stalinist thaw, when urban planners in the Eastern Bloc began to stress the importance of the microraion (Russian *mikroraion*, microdistrict), or neighborhood, as a site for the creation of a new social order. The microraion arose in the context of Khrushchev's post-1957 housing program, which also saw the shift to modernist forms and industrial construction technologies. Each microraion was a district of approximately 12,000 residents designed to be the location of the awakening of residents' socialist consciousness. Communal educational and cultural facilities were provided, with the intention that they would enhance the lives of residents, while party-government agencies would foster and channel residential energies toward the good of the community.[78] The microraion already contained many of the elements of late modernism—a desire to foster community, an (often quite intrusive) interest in the lives of residents, and the belief that social transformation should originate in the neighborhood. These aspects developed further as East Germany adapted the concept when it began its own housing program.

While the Soviet Union's housing program dates to 1957, East Germany's did not get underway until nearly fifteen years later. This belated implementation meant that the DBA began studying communities well before it began building them, starting

[75] Steven D. Roberts, "Co-op City Blend of Races Sought: Administration Is Cautious in North Bronx Effort," *New York Times*, April 30, 1967, 31.

[76] "Community Says No to Overpass," *Co-op City Times*, January 20, 1973, 1.

[77] Katherine Lebow, *Unfinished Utopia: Nowa Huta, Stalinism, and Polish Society, 1949–56* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2013); Timothy C. Dowling, "Stalinstadt/Eisenhüttenstadt: A Model for (Socialist) Life in the German Democratic Republic, 1950–1968" (Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1999).

[78] Mark B. Smith, *Property of Communists: The Urban Housing Program from Stalin to Khrushchev* (DeKalb, Ill., 2010), 116–121; Juliana Maxim, "Mass Housing and Collective Experience: On the Notion of *Microraion* in Romania in the 1950s and 1960s," *Journal of Architecture* 14, no. 1 (2009): 7–26.

with a series of sociological studies of ten GDR cities in 1967.[79] In the following years, a series of East German sociologists and urban planners, including Loni Niederländer, Georg Aßmann, and Gunnar Winkler at the Humboldt University in Berlin and Alice Kahl in Leipzig, undertook studies of the "socialist way of life" in neighborhoods across the GDR. Working from these studies, "architects and urban planners, sociologists, economists, historians, specialists in medicine, traffic, and historic preservation, and many others" at the DBA decided that they needed to develop ever more holistic models, which would meet the needs of residents.[80] With these models, they sought to analyze and plan everything, from the ideal percentages of apartments of different sizes, to the ideal ratio of residents to recreational facilities, to the ideal ratio of vehicular traffic to residents.[81] The gargantuan size of the housing program gave the DBA the opportunity to turn these studies into reality.[82]

The DBA further refined its ideas of neighborhood and community in response to the new urbanist critiques of modernist housing that were becoming hegemonic in Western Europe and the United States by the late 1960s and early 1970s. It is well known that East German architects and urban planners exchanged structural ideas and building practices with their Western colleagues.[83] Less well known is that the DBA's architects and urban planners were given an unusual amount of freedom to read Western publications on urban planning and urban community.[84] Jane Jacobs, in particular, found eager readers at the DBA.[85] Jacobs's book on U.S. cities was translated into German in 1963, and by the late 1960s had been embraced both by the New Left and by West German urban planners and sociologists, who shared her interest in citizen participation and the revitalization of older neighborhoods.[86] In the GDR, DBA architects and planners found her descriptions of the "sidewalk ballet" in Greenwich Village appealing. Roland Korn, Marzahn's original architect, hoped that each neighborhood's "distinctive elements will make new residents look upon them as 'their *Kiez* [neighborhood].'"[87] Rather than referring to Marzahn as a housing estate, a residential district, or a microraion, Korn and other architects used

[79] Autorenkollektiv, "Soziologische Forschung für den sozialistischen Städtebau—eine Studie zu grundlegenden Fragen der Städtebausoziologie in der DDR" (1972), BA-Berlin, DH 2/23534, 4.

[80] Bruno Flierl, "Gesellschaft und Architektur in unserer Epoch: Ein Beitrag zur architekturtheoretischen Forschung in der ideologischen Auseinandersetzung zwischen Sozialismus und Kapitalismus" (1972), BA-Berlin, DH 2/21729, 2.

[81] Ing. W. Rietdorf, "Sozialistische Umgestaltung der Städte und Siedlungszentren" (1971), BA-Berlin, DH 2/23503, 73.

[82] Hannemann, *Die Platte*, 144.

[83] Werner Durth, Jörn Düwel, and Niels Gutschow, *Architektur und Städtebau der DDR* (Frankfurt a.M., 1999), 481–482; Elmar Kossel, "Oscar Niemeyer und Deutschland: Die Rezeption in der DDR," in Paul Andreas and Ingeborg Flagge, eds., *Oscar Niemeyer: Eine Legende der Moderne* (Frankfurt a.M., 2003), 59–68; "Studienreise nach England" (1967), BA-Berlin, DH 2/21710. On the pan–Eastern Bloc context of architecture and building technologies, see Mëhilli, "The Socialist Design."

[84] Rowell, *Le totalitarisme au concret*, 128–137; Hannemann, *Die Platte*, 125–137.

[85] Jacobs's influence is mentioned in Hannemann, *Die Platte*, 126. See also Klaus Andrä, "Möglichkeiten und Grenzen städtebaulicher Mittel," *Deutsche Architektur* 16 (1967): 178–180; Autorenkollektiv, "Soziologische Forschung für den sozialistischen Städtebau," 12–13; Autorenkollektiv, "Soziologische Kriterien zur Gemeinschaftsbildung und Kommunikation im Wohnbereich" (1971), BA-Berlin, DH 2/23502, 33–35.

[86] Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*; translated into German as *Tod und Leben großer amerikanischer Städte* (Berlin, 1963); Klemek, *The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal*, 229.

[87] Roland Korn, "Ergebnisse und Aufgaben in Städtebau und Architektur bei der weiteren Ausgestaltung der Hauptstadt der DDR," *Architektur der DDR* 9 (September 1979): 526–536, here 530; Autorenkollektiv, "Soziologische Forschung für den sozialistischen Städtebau," 147.

the local Berlin term *Kiez*, conjuring up images of community, tradition, and rootedness. Like Jacobs, Korn and other DBA architects and urban planners heralded a community that was small in scale, rooted in neighborly bonds, and non-monotonous.[88]

For the DBA, the modernist planning that Jacobs was so critical of was problematic not because it was too totalitarian, but rather because it was not totalizing enough.[89] In the East German context of state planning and control, Jacobs's insistence on the organic development of urban space was incomprehensible.[90] DBA urban planner Alfred Schwandt believed that the East Germans had an advantage over Western readers of Jacobs, who could only "contemplate" her work, while the East Germans had the means to use "a greater integration of sociological theory and urban planning" to create the ideal Jacobian neighborhood.[91] The DBA made it clear that its urban projects were not intended to be a wholesale rejection of older urban communities, but rather were an attempt to adapt and dialectically transcend them in the new *Kieze* of Marzahn. In its special issue on Marzahn, the East German magazine *Kultur im Heim* recognized that Marzahn did not yet possess the familiar traditions of the old *Kiez*, but it stressed that they would evolve in time.[92]

Much like Co-op City, Marzahn was designed to be a "closed, relatively self-contained functional unit to serve three purposes: housing, work, and recreation."[93] The complex contains a post office, a dance club, several bars, a shopping center, swimming pools, saunas, schools, daycare centers, and an old-age home.[94] And like Co-op City, Marzahn was located on the edge of the city. The decision to build it in northeast Berlin was in part a recognition of the greater cost involved in reworking the older urban center, but it was also a result of the desire to escape the miserable living conditions and capitalist traces of the city's nineteenth-century proletarian neighborhoods.[95] However, just as the DBA simultaneously appreciated the newness of communities such as Marzahn and hoped that it could reproduce the cozy ambience of the *Kiez*, so too both the DBA and the development's residents were more ambivalent about its location than was the case with Co-op City. People who came from inner-city neighborhoods in Berlin were the most likely to be critical of Marzahn, and

[88] The desire to create a *Kiez* (also *Kietz*) or neighborhood appeared not only in the language of East German architects, but also in the regime-friendly *Marzahn aktuell* as one of the primary goals for Marzahn and other new settlements.

[89] Siegfried Kress, Werner Rietdorf, et al., "Grundlagen für die Entwicklung neuer Wohnungsformen" (1970), BA-Berlin, DH 2/23501, 22.

[90] Here specifically Autorenkollektiv, "Soziologische Kriterien zur Gemeinschaftsbildung und Kommunikation im Wohnbereich," 35. See also Heinz Graffunder, "Ergebnisse der Zusammenarbeit von Architekten und bildenden Künstlern bei der Gestaltung von Berlin-Marzahn," *Deutsche Architektur* 30, no. 10 (1981): 597–605, here 597; Wolf-Rüdiger Eisentraut, "Industrielles Bauen—ein abgeschlossenes Kapitel?," in Tag der Regional- und Heimatgeschichte Marzahn-Hellersdorf 2001, *Geschichte und Zukunft des industriellen Bauens* (Berlin, 2002), 13–22, here 18.

[91] Autorenkollektiv, "Soziologische Forschung für den sozialistischen Städtebau," 13, 15.

[92] "Leben in Marzahn," *Kultur im Heim* 2 (1986): 2–3, here 2.

[93] Vorlagen-Nr 166/73, Beschlussvorlage—Magistrat von Gross-Berlin—Grundlagen für den Aufbau des Gebietes Biesdorf/Marzahn, July 18, 1973, Landesarchiv Berlin (LAB), C. Rep. 107/1197; Georg Aßmann and Gunnar Winkler, *Zwischen Alex und Marzahn: Studie zur Lebensweise in Berlin* (Berlin, 1987), 130.

[94] "Der 2. Bauabschnitt des 1. Wohngebietes," *Marzahn aktuell* 3, no. 8 (1979): 4.

[95] On the decision to proceed with new construction instead of renovating old neighborhoods, see Eli Rubin, "Amnesiopolis: From *Mietskaserne* to *Wohnungsbauserie 70* in East Berlin's Northeast," *Central European History* 47, no. 2 (2014): 334–374, here 352.

FIGURE 4: Map of East Berlin in 1989, showing the location of Marzahn. BA-Berlin Bild 183-1989-0524-017.

97 percent of its residents reported in 1980 that they regularly traveled to the city center.[96] Marzahn's network of transit connections was considerably more developed than Co-op City's. The community was serviced by surface rail (S-Bahn), as well as trams and buses that ran frequently to central Berlin and work districts in nearby Lichtenberg. It took no more than a half-hour for Marzahners to get to the center of the city.[97]

In planning Co-op City, the UHF stressed the isolation of the development from a city it saw as beset by racial strife and capitalist exploitation. The organization's members were similarly combative when encountering the ideas of their fellow New Yorker Jane Jacobs. George Schechter of the UHF stated, "If people live out on Jane Jacobs' streets, it is because the insides of their buildings are so unpleasant."[98] In contrast, the DBA expressed a greater degree of openness both toward the city that Marzahn was a part of and toward the ideas of new urbanism. And yet the UHF and the DBA shared with one another, and indeed with Jacobs herself, substantial commonalities in how they thought about urban communities. For the UHF, the DBA, and Jacobs alike, community was the crucial category for analyzing the success or failure of urban form. Indeed, communities as envisioned by the UHF and DBA were places where people built relationships by living together and interacting with one another; this was not so different from Jacobs's urban neighborhood. The key distinction was that the UHF and DBA both prized politicized communities, mobilized to transform themselves and those around them.

The plans for creating these mobilized communities in Co-op City and Marzahn consisted of three components: the selection of residents, the aesthetic design of the development, and pedagogical and political programs. Although both developments wanted a variety of residents from all age groups, they both considered young families to be especially important.[99] In 1979, nearly a third of Marzahn's population was under the age of eighteen (with a shocking 17.2 percent under the age of seven).[100] The images that appeared in *Marzahn aktuell* and other publications repeatedly showcased children who would "grow along with the new housing district."[101] Young families gave Marzahn the image of an up-and-coming district, but they also had an ideological function. Children who grew up there would be exposed to an all-encompassing socialist way of life that would have the effect of creating superior socialist citizens.[102]

[96] Loni Niederländer, "Forschungsbericht zum 1. Intervall der Untersuchung 'Wohnen 1980—Marzahn.' Zur Entwicklung eines Neugebietes der Hauptstadt der DDR, Berlin" (Humboldt Universität Berlin, Institut für Soziologie, 1981), 59; Niederländer, "Forschungsbericht zum 2. Intervall der Untersuchung 'Wohnen 1982—Marzahn.' Zur Entwicklung eines Neugebietes der Hauptstdt der DR, Berlin" (Humboldt Universität Berlin, Institut für Soziologie, 1983), 62–63.

[97] Marianne Fränzel, "Geplant, gebaut—und bald ausgelastet," in Verein Kids & Co., *Marzahn-Südspitze*, 36.

[98] Schechter quoted in Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, "Co-op City: Learning to Like It," *Progressive Architecture* 51, no. 2 (1971): 64–73, here 69–70.

[99] Co-op City contained one- through three-bedroom apartments, designed with this diversity in mind. Marzahn contained several *Feierabendheime* (retirement homes), which were to be integrated into the life of the community. Lilo Erbstößer, "1 Jahr Danach," *Marzahn aktuell*, December 21, 1978, 4.

[100] Niederländer, "Wohnen 1980," 2.

[101] "Was gibt es Neues auf dem Bau?," *Marzahn aktuell*, January 25, 1979, 4.

[102] Aßmann and Winkler, *Zwischen Alex und Marzahn*, 111.

FIGURE 5: Children playing in Marzahn, 1981. BA-Berlin Bild 183-Z0513-020 / Karl-Heinz Schindler.

Co-op City was also interested in families with young children. One ad stressed that the development was a "Young Family's World," while another announced, "If you have children, you will love the wonderful new world of Co-op City."[103] The educational park was included specifically to attract younger families.[104] The UHF located its idealism specifically in children. Ostroff explained that in cooperative developments, "children will be educated for the purpose of being creative, to utilize leisure profitably, to enjoy life in a society based on abundance and cooperation rather than a system based on scarcity and competition."[105]

The DBA and the UHF diverged in their interest (or lack thereof) in social and economic diversity. In Marzahn, planners wished to create a microcosm of the desired new society, bringing together people from various occupations. Demographically, the state had certain quotas: 60 percent of residents should come from the working class, 30 percent should be young couples, and families with multiple children and disabled people had an "absolute priority" for housing in new developments.[106] A mix of people of different backgrounds would make Marzahn superior to capitalist cities, where living situations were income-dependent.[107] Indeed, to foster

[103] " It's a Young Family's World at Co-op City," advertisement, *New York Times*, November 12, 1967, 378; "If You Have Children, You Will Love the Wonderful New World of Co-op City," advertisement, *New York Times*, June 4, 1967, R9.

[104] Adhoc Committee to Riverbay Board, May 28, 1971, KC, box 12.

[105] Ostroff, "The Impact of Housing Cooperatives in Urban Areas," 19.

[106] Rowell, "Wohnungspolitik" (2008), 693.

[107] Aßmann and Winkler, *Zwischen Alex und Marzahn*, 128.

FIGURE 6: Children at play on the Co-op City grounds, 1972. Kheel Center for Labor-Management Documentation and Archives, Cornell University Library, Ithaca, N.Y.

egalitarianism, there were restrictions on how much the apartments could vary.[108] Of course, this diversity was not absolute, as those who demonstrated opposition to the regime were placed at the bottom of the list for a new apartment, meaning that the population that moved in tended to be more loyal to the regime than the East German population as a whole.[109]

In contrast, the UHF stressed that Co-op City was specifically for people of "modest means," caught between the expensive homes they could not afford and the increasingly poor neighborhoods they sought desperately to leave. Following Mitchell-Lama guidelines, Co-op City levied surcharges on those whose income exceeded a certain level. On the other hand, the UHF refused to allow the city to buy apartments to rent out to low-income families.[110] The organization also had an ambivalent relationship to racial diversity. When Rochdale Village, Co-op City's immediate predecessor, was built by the UHF in the early 1960s, it was planned as an experiment in integration in two senses: it consciously sought to attract white and black residents, and it was to be integrated with the surrounding, largely poor, black neighborhood.[111]

[108] Hannemann, *Die Platte*, 112.
[109] Buck, *Mit hohem Anspruch gescheitert*, 368.
[110] Joseph P. Fried, "Debate Still Swirls around Co-op City," *New York Times*, March 17, 1968, R1, R6.
[111] Eisenstadt, *Rochdale Village*. See especially chap. 9.

While Rochdale Village had been an ambitious attempt to transform New York into a more racially egalitarian city, Co-op City was designed more as a retreat from racial conflict. By 1968, when Co-op City was first occupied, race relations had declined in New York, with tensions between blacks and Jews, in particular, at a nadir. The UHF resisted attempts by community groups to reserve 33–40 percent of apartments for non-white applicants.[112] As a result, Co-op City's early residents were overwhelmingly white and Jewish.[113]

This is not to say that the UHF entirely abandoned its earlier ideals. Its leadership believed that by living together, people could overcome their racial prejudices. Co-op City officials repeatedly emphasized that the community was "an open city, open to all people with various backgrounds both racially and ethnically."[114] The much-publicized recipients of the first apartments included a black family, the "Leroy Smiths."[115] Potential tenants who expressed blatant racism in their applications were often turned away.[116] Co-op City offered a fantasy of racial understanding, one that many residents bought into. However, in the racially fraught late 1960s, the UHF's leaders were unwilling to push too far. Indeed, it is striking that while Co-op City represented a ratcheting-up for the UHF's ambitions in every other respect, this was the one arena in which they retreated.

Aesthetic planning was considerably more important for the planners of Marzahn than for those of Co-op City. The architects and urban planners in charge of Marzahn were sensitive to the issue of visual uniformity, and saw aesthetic differentiation as a means to foster community. Although cost concerns meant that the development's master plan was never realized, it originally called for artistic "organizing principles" for each of the development's three districts, in an effort to avoid "architectural monotony" and to create a sense of neighborhood belonging.[117] In contrast, the UHF seemed to take an almost perverse pride in Co-op City's lack of beauty.[118] A decision to allow bricks of several different colors along with "beige concrete blocks" was their sole concession to aesthetic fashion.[119] Admitting to the possibility that residents might find the development difficult to navigate, the the UHF also divided Co-op City into five sections, and the street names for each section began with a single letter, in order to provide a sense of belonging and orientation.[120]

For both the DBA and the UHF, teaching residents proper socialist or cooperative values was crucial to the success of the kinds of community they were trying to build in Marzahn and Co-op City. At Co-op City, such training ideally began before people even moved in. Herman Liebman, former director of the Amalgamated Housing cooperative, organized a program of orientation meetings for new residents. Each cooperator was to attend a forty-minute orientation meeting at least four times

[112] Fried, "Debate Still Swirls around Co-op City," R6.

[113] Co-op City's population when first fully occupied was 70 percent Jewish and 20 percent black and Puerto Rican. Brook, "A Defensive Community and Its Elderly Population," 89–90.

[114] Ostroff to Riverbay Board, August 24, 1972, KC, box 14.

[115] "First Co-op City Residents Selecting Their Apartments," *The Cooperator*, April 1966, 3.

[116] Kitty Braun to Ostroff, n.d., KC, box 6.

[117] Hübner, Nicolaus, and Teresiak, *20 Jahre Marzahn*, 12.

[118] "Please Tell Us," *Co-op Contact*, Winter 1966, 3.

[119] "Varied Bricks Averting Monotony at Co-op City," *New York Times*, March 3, 1968, R9.

[120] "Co-op Living: A Guide for Members," n.d., 13.

in an effort to teach them the "meaning of cooperation."[121] These meetings tapered off over the next couple of years, as the UHF more generally was forced to scale back its greatest ambitions. However, the weekly *Co-op City Times* contained article after article stressing the benefits of cooperative living. And a Department of Co-operative Education and Activities aimed to foster this spirit among residents through support for social groups, lecture series, and an annual community fair.[122] Residents voted for floor captains, building representatives, and a development-wide advisory council for each section, and they also elected five representatives to a fifteen-member Board of Directors for the Riverbay Corporation, which had been set up by the UHF to manage the development.[123] Furthermore, cooperative consumption was intended to be pedagogic. The UHF saw cooperative living and shopping as a "social instrument," to be used by residents to create an alternative economy and culture that would enable them to escape the tyranny of the profit motive.[124]

If consumer behavior—shopping at the right stores, living in the right housing—was the basis for social transformation according to the UHF, for the DBA the desire for consumer goods was but one out of a number of needs that planners needed to satisfy.[125] Instead, the DBA saw quasi-voluntary initiatives as central to inculcating community in the development. Key among these were the annual Join In! (*Mach mit!*) campaigns. Join In! was founded by the National Front in 1958, with the idea that collectives across the state would commit to "voluntary" activities to better their homeland. According to Walter Ulbricht and other SED officials, Join In! was a demonstration of socialist democracy and an active citizenry.[126] The East German sociologists Aßmann and Winkler argued that it was especially important for nurturing community in new developments such as Marzahn: "It is through such activities that citizens become happy and secure in their new living situation and that they become aware of their relationship to state and society."[127] A resident was quoted in the pages of the *Marzahn aktuell* as saying, "You don't become a Marzahner by moving here, but rather to the extent that you join in."[128]

There were Join In! initiatives for many things in Marzahn, including the building and painting of homes, the creation of playgrounds for children, and especially the planting of trees and community gardens outside of buildings and in courtyards. The National Front boasted in 1979 of 10,000 new trees that had been planted, and in 1983 of more than 700,000 square meters of green space that had been created by Join In! groups in Marzahn. Join In! was intended to be useful in several ways: it would create a community among residents working together to beautify their surroundings; residents would later enjoy the fruits of their labor in common; and the

[121] Minutes of the Annual Meeting of UHF, June 2, 1966, KC, box 6.

[122] Report of the Department of Co-operative Education and Activities, January 11, 1971, KC, box 17.

[123] Richard J. Margolis, *Coming Together the Cooperative Way: Its Origins, Development and Prospects*, Special Issue, *The New Leader*, April 17, 1972, 28; Brook, "A Defensive Community and Its Elderly Population," 118.

[124] Ostroff, "The Impact of Housing Cooperatives in Urban Areas," 20.

[125] Grotewohl, "Grundlagen für die Entwicklung neuer Wohnungsformen" (1970), 22.

[126] Jan Palmowski, *Inventing a Socialist Nation: Heimat and the Politics of Everyday Life in the GDR, 1945–1990* (Cambridge, 2009), chap. 5.

[127] Aßmann and Winkler, *Zwischen Alex und Marzahn*, 135.

[128] "Leserpost: Indem Man Marzahner wir," *Marzahn aktuell*, November 2, 1984, 8.

very process of designing and working on an initiative would lead residents to think purposefully about the community they were a part of, creating tangible benefits that others might enjoy.[129] To encourage participation in Join In! and similar initiatives, residents of a given block were often provided with funds to be used for neighborhood get-togethers after their work was completed.[130] Festivals such as the yearly Spring Festival (Marzahner Frühling), begun in 1980, were supposed to foster the development of community as well.[131]

Marzahners were expected to take part in the political life of the development.[132] This activity was publicly exercised through two bodies—the Hausgemeinschaften (Housing Communities [HGs]) and the Stadtbezirksversammlung (District Council). HGs were established in the early 1950s as a means of rationalizing residential life while also creating a sense of community among neighbors. After the inauguration of the Housing Program, they were considered a crucial link in the relationship between state and citizen in planned communities such as Marzahn.[133] In practical terms, the HGs in Marzahn were in charge of roughly the same activities as were Co-op City's building associations: organizing events and fielding complaints from dissatisfied residents.

Enthusiasm was initially high among residents of both developments, who saw themselves as living *da draußen*, in the middle of nowhere, a feeling that tended to increase the sense of communality with other "pioneers" in an unfamiliar landscape consisting of mounds of dirt and construction equipment.[134] Living in a construction zone could create difficulties, but as often as not, it was a unifying element among residents. Edeltraut Engling wrote that when she ventured outside Marzahn, others could identify her by the mud on her shoes.[135] Children played on construction debris that was left lying around and in buildings that were not yet occupied.[136]

The sheer population density of Marzahn and Co-op City contributed to the creation of a sense of community in both developments. Debra Genender, who moved to Co-op City as a child, said that her most vivid memory of growing up there was that "there was always somebody around. You'd just go outside and there would be kids outside, on the playground, in the street, kids everywhere. There were kids always available to play with."[137] Residents of Marzahn echoed this sense of being part of, and indeed sometimes overwhelmed by, a dense population. Wilfried Nünthel, who moved to Marzahn from a small village in 1981, stated that despite her initial

[129] "Leser Post: Lieber Redaktion," *Marzahn aktuell*, January 6, 1982, 7.

[130] Dagmar Pohle, "... und das Ganze auch pflegen," in Verein Kids & Co., *Marzahn-Südspitze*, 51.

[131] "Wohnlich ist es im 1. Wohngebiet," *Marzahn aktuell*, May 22, 1980, 4.

[132] Aßmann and Winkler, *Zwischen Alex und Marzahn*, 133.

[133] Paul Betts, *Within Walls: Private Life in the German Democratic Republic* (Oxford, 2010), 28–30.

[134] Matthees, "Marzahn—meine Heimat," 8.

[135] Edeltraut Engling, "Die Kann Doch nur Aus Marzahn Kommen!," in Bezirksamt Marzahn von Berlin, ed., *20 Jahre Bezirk Marzahn, 1979–1999: Festschrift—So sehe ich mein Marzahn* (Berlin, 1999), 64.

[136] Torsten Preußing, "Den Hof Gemacht," ibid., 56–57, here 56; Lynn Sjogren, interview with author, November 22, 2011.

[137] Debra Genender, interview with author, November 6, 2011.

impression of an impossibly "large number of neighbors," she gradually found friendships through politics and sports that turned the development into "a home."[138]

In both Co-op City and Marzahn, economic constraints meant that the developments failed to fulfill some of the most ambitious plans of their founding years. Neither the planned subway extension nor a waterfront park for Co-op City was ever completed. In Marzahn, material constraints led to more densely packed and smaller apartments, repeated cuts to aesthetic projects such as murals and landscaping, and less extensive and more conventional shopping and entertainment facilities. Sociologists and architects at the DBA lamented the fact that such things "created great difficulties for the evolution of the socialist way of life."[139]

The lack of community facilities was especially a problem in the early years, but it continued to plague both developments long thereafter. In 1980, only 9 percent of Marzahn residents were satisfied with leisure activities in the development.[140] While similar numbers are not available for Co-op City, it is clear that many residents found entertainment options in the development to be lacking.[141] However, they also reported a vibrant social scene based around individual buildings and courtyards. In both developments, apartment houses contained meeting rooms that could be used for children's parties or social club meetings. In Marzahn, state funds were used for barbecues, birthday parties, and other informal activities after residents worked together on community projects.[142] Residents later reported that this informal socialization was an arena where "people spoke with each other, learned to trust each other, helped each other."[143] Just as often, spontaneous encounters were the basis of friendships. Marzahners made friends with others waiting in apartment lobbies for the elevator.[144] Older Co-op City residents made friends in the laundry rooms that were located in the basement of each building, while teenagers hung out in front of buildings or, in the winter, on heated vents.[145] The relative youth of both new districts meant that parents often became friends with other parents of similarly aged children.[146]

Although many residents sought to escape racial turmoil by moving to Co-op City, it turned out not to be immune from such issues. The most heated ones related to education and the potential busing of white students from the development to surrounding schools while bringing nearby black and Hispanic students to the schools in Co-op City's new educational park.[147] When busing plans were presented at a school board meeting in April 1971, several months before the first schools were to open, one parent who attended described the reaction as a "lynch mob in the auditorium," with

[138] Nünthel, "Mein Marzahn-Erlebnis," in Bezirksamt Marzahn von Berlin, *20 Jahre Bezirk Marzahn*, 42–43, here 43.

[139] Hannemann, *Die Platte*, 127.

[140] Niederländer, "Wohnen 1980," 51.

[141] Josephine Finkelstein Acre, interview with author, November 18, 2011.

[142] Pohle, "... und das Ganze auch pflegen," 51.

[143] Matthees, "Marzahn—meine Heimat," 8.

[144] Niederländer, "Wohnen 1982," 92.

[145] Sullivan interview, November 15, 2011; Sjogren interview, November 22, 2011; Genender interview, November 6, 2011.

[146] Isolde Baumgarten, "Küche und Bad mit Fenster sagte uns zu," in Ylva Queisser and Lidia Tirri, eds., *Allee der Kosmonauten: Einblicke und Ausblicke aus der Platte* (Berlin, 2005), 30–33, here 31; Sullivan interview, November 15, 2011.

[147] Leonard Buder, "First Unit in 'Educational Park' System to Open Monday," *New York Times*, September 11, 1971, 29.

people screaming that good schools were one of the main reasons they had moved to the development in the first place.[148] The New York City Board of Education backpedaled, insisting that they would not require children from the development to be bused elsewhere.[149] Nevertheless, according to sociologist Judith Perez, the solidarity of early residents could extend across racial groups. One African American man later reflected on that sense of cohesion: "I never felt a sense of racism . . . I didn't know anyone who was on welfare or Section 8 . . . We were all 'haves,' not 'have nots.'"[150] Both black and white residents spoke positively of the development as a "melting pot."[151]

The SED faced a different challenge of its own making. The heavy presence of the Stasi secret police, who found the serialized buildings and apartments an ideal panopticon, created an environment of fear that could compel participation but not necessarily commitment.[152] A combination of apathy and outright opposition meant that informal social engagement often did not lead to political activism as the DBA had hoped.[153] Residents were often bullied into "volunteering" by the threat of blackmail, or, if not enough declared themselves willing to participate, were simply appointed. Moreover, those who joined were often more interested in building-specific issues such as cleanliness and security than in broader political engagement.[154] For some residents, the existence of a "we feeling" was independent from "what was decided by the higher-ups."[155] For others, to the degree that a politically engaged community emerged in Marzahn, it may well have been in opposition to "the thousand shortages of everyday life in East Germany" rather than in support of the East German state.[156]

Co-op City, in contrast, was the site of a vibrant political life from the outset. Organizations ranging from the Black Caucus to B'nai B'rith to the Peace Committee to the Co-op City Anglers and no fewer than three different bowling leagues sprang up within the first few years after residents moved in.[157] Mille Vogel, who moved to Co-op City in 1971, saw this as a function of the development's initial population: "When Co-op City opened, it drew all the people who lived on the Concourse, who were union-oriented, who belonged to things . . . they brought their activism to the community."[158]

If these late modernist developments were popular with their residents and were capable of fostering—or at least not hindering—a sense of community, then the reason

[148] Sullivan interview, November 15, 2011.

[149] Aronov to Board of Directors, Riverbay, April 29, 1971, KC, box 12.

[150] Judith Perez, "'Movin' On Up!' Pioneer African-American Families Living in an Integrated Neighborhood in the Bronx, New York," *Bronx County Historical Society Journal* 43 (2006): 69–93, here 83–84.

[151] Acre interview, November 18, 2011.

[152] Irmgard Steinbach, "Diese Zeiten sind Gott sei Dank vorbei!," in Queisser and Tirri, *Allee der Kosmonauten*, 45–47, here 46; Ursula Günter, "Marzahn war ein potemkinsches Dorf," ibid., 27–28, here 28.

[153] Niederländer, "Wohnen 1982," 27.

[154] Aribert Kautz, in "Wir taten es für uns," in Queisser and Tirri, *Allee der Kosmonauten*, 67–69, here 68.

[155] Wilfried Klenner, in "Auch wir bekamen irgendwann den Betonblock-Rappel," ibid., 37–39, here 38.

[156] Matthees, "Marzahn—meine Heimat," 8.

[157] Co-op City Organizations and Leaders, January 11, 1971, KC, box 17.

[158] Barbara Selvin, "A Towering Presence," *New York Newsday*, September 7, 1991, 32–33.

for their later problems must be sought elsewhere, and it is found, rather prosaically, in the realm of finance. In an ironic twist, perhaps the greatest proof of the existence of a politically engaged community in Co-op City was the action that destroyed the UHF: the 1975/1976 rent strike. Spiraling construction costs, high interest rates, labor strikes, and growing energy costs created a perfect storm of financial problems for the organization. It was forced to pass some of these costs on to the residents, so that by 1974 the carrying charge had ballooned from the originally promised $23.05/room to a projected $42.57/room in 1974, an increase of more than 80 percent.[159] This rise engendered significant opposition among cooperators, which the UHF was ill-prepared to respond to. By mid-1975, the organization was faced with a rent strike organized by resident Charles Rosen and supported by more than 80 percent of residents.[160] The rent strike lasted for thirteen months, and it broke the UHF and nearly bankrupted the New York State Housing Finance Agency.[161] In the end, cooperators won control of the development for themselves, although this proved to be something of a pyrrhic victory.

The cooperative ideal that the UHF espoused was based on communal ownership—the belief that by owning and managing something (such as a grocery store or a housing development) in common, cooperators would build solidarity with one another and achieve financial stability. It turns out that solidarity was more attainable than financial stability or material savings, and indeed, the solidarity of Co-op City's residents, 80 percent of whom participated in the rent strike, was based on a fundamentally different understanding of economics and ownership.[162] Instead of taking financial responsibility as owners in a traditional sense, they believed that as residents and consumers they added value. As Rosen explained, "The construction [of Co-op City] was only possible because of the tax-abatement incentive to builders. Every cent in taxes from Co-op City is one more cent than before. Rather than sucking the treasury dry, we are helping to fill it." Moreover, he insisted that the ability to pay be part of the state's financial calculations: "Mitchell-Lama tenants pass an economic means test each year. If we make enough to pay market value, we are legally required to pay a rent premium. If Co-op City tenants could pay the latest increase, they would have been legally ineligible to move here."[163]

Marzahn and the SED faced even greater financial problems than Co-op City and the UHF. The rent for a three-room apartment in 1980 was 123.85 marks. However, operating costs and repairs alone added up to 420 marks for such an apartment. In order to cover all the associated costs, including the construction of infrastructure and amortization of initial building costs, the rent would have needed to be 848.75 marks. In other words, the state was subsidizing 71 percent of operating costs and 84 percent of the total cost of living in a Marzahn apartment.[164] Although repeated economic crises during the 1980s led to calls for allowing rents to rise, Honecker resisted

[159] Edward Hudson, "Co-op City Tenants Charge Fraud in Sale of Units," *New York Times*, September 20, 1972, 51; "Residents Lose Suit on Co-op City Fraud," *New York Times*, September 7, 1973, 70.

[160] Minutes of Community Services Board Meeting, September 18, 1975, KC, box 17.

[161] Frances X. Clines, "A State Financing Agency Warns It Faces Bond Crisis," *New York Times*, September 13, 1975, 1.

[162] Murray Schumach, "Co-op City: A Symptom of Mitchell-Lama Ills," *New York Times*, June 18, 1975, 86.

[163] Charles Rosen, "What Co-op City Residents Want," letter to the editor, *New York Times,* January 21, 1976, 34.

[164] Marcuse and Schumann, "Housing in the Colours of the GDR," 92.

these requests, staking his and his party's legitimacy on the provision of low-cost housing.[165] Instead, the state made cuts to the plans for Marzahn, packing the development more densely with apartments, changing plans for entertainment and shopping districts, and financing 90 percent of the costs of the Housing Program through credit.[166] By the late 1980s, massive outlays for housing had taxed the East German regime past its breaking point. Like the UHF, the SED was ultimately doomed by the problems involved with financing large-scale housing.[167]

Marzahners behaved like many other East Germans during the year 1989/1990, as the Berlin Wall fell and Germany was united. Marzahn had its own "round table" where representatives of various political parties met.[168] Some Marzahners enjoyed the new political freedoms available after communism fell, while others were less sanguine about West German society. This should not be surprising. After all, Marzahn was designed as a microcosm of East German society, and by the time the wall fell, half of East Germans lived in prefabricated housing, and nearly a quarter lived in large housing districts constructed as part of the housing program.[169]

The standard story of urban modernism's rise and fall is a morality tale, in which the hubris of planners, the overreach of the state, and the sterility of the architecture were ultimately rejected by the very public they were intended to aid and educate. But the history of Co-op City and Marzahn, as well as the many other developments built in their image at roughly the same time, reveals that modernism persisted well beyond its supposed collapse.[170] Moreover, while modernist developments may have lost favor with elites within and beyond the planning establishment by the 1960s, modernism continued to evolve after this date, and modernist buildings were, sometimes, at least, quite popular with residents.[171] Recognizing the evolution of modernism, rather than its precipitous downfall, challenges broader narratives of the history of consumption during the Cold War.

This historiography largely assumes that the model of consumption that transfixed citizens on both sides of the Iron Curtain was the postwar American model, anchored by the single-family suburban home, which "seemed to promise a surefire way of incorporating a wide range of Americans into a mass consumption–based middle class."[172] Indeed, Ina Merkel, Greg Castillo, and others have claimed that

[165] Rowell, "Wohnungspolitik" (2008), 697.

[166] Buck, *Mit hohem Anspruch gescheitert*, 373.

[167] Günter Peters, *Kleine Berliner Baugeschichte: Von der Stadtgruündung bis zur Bundeshauptstadt* (Berlin, 1995), 218; Buck, *Mit hohem Anspruch gescheitert*, 377.

[168] Ernst Ollech, "Ein historisches Ereignis," in Bezirksamt Marzahn von Berlin, *20 Jahre Bezirk Marzahn*, 98–99.

[169] Christine Hannemann, in Queisser and Tirri, *Allee der Kosmonauten*, 14.

[170] See Le Normand, *Designing Tito's Capital*; David Heachcote, *Barbican: Penthouse over the City* (Hoboken, N.J., 2004); Cupers, *The Social Project*; Anthony Alexander, *Britain's New Towns: Garden Cities to Sustainable Communities* (New York, 2009); Rosemary Wakeman, *Modernizing the Provincial City: Toulouse, 1945–1975* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998).

[171] For the decline of modernism among elites, see both Klemek, *The Transatlantic Collapse of Urban Renewal*, and Suleiman Osman, *The Invention of Brownstone Brooklyn: Gentrification and the Search for Authenticity in Postwar New York* (New York, 2010).

[172] Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (2002; repr., New York, 2008), 196. On the move to the suburbs in the 1950s, see Kenneth T. Jackson,

East Germany's failure to compete with this model was a significant factor in the GDR's collapse.[173] This narrative of the triumph of American capitalist consumerism elides the fact that the late modernist alternative refashioning of consumerism in communal terms is also a part of the shared history of the Cold War. In both Co-op City and Marzahn, residents had a right to the apartments they occupied, and their ownership also gave them the right to participate in the communities built in each development, and yet they were not able to realize a profit from the sale of their apartments. Thus consumption was rewritten as fundamentally collective and participatory rather than economic and individual.[174] The popularity of this model can be attested to, in ironic fashion, by the fact that Co-op City's rent strikers asserted this very claim—that their residency in Co-op City gave them the right to an affordable home—in their resistance to the UHF. Similarly, even after the demise of the GDR, residents of Marzahn continued in many cases to own and operate their apartments collectively.[175] This model of radicalized collective consumption, rooted in privation rather than plenty, was not merely a critique of the postwar capitalist model; it echoed the politicized citizen consumer of the 1920s and 1930s.[176]

The ideology and experience of late modernism reveals the fundamental error made by critics of modernism: the assumption that all urban modernism was marked by the arrogance of Le Corbusier and Moses, who demonstrated an aesthetic disregard for the lives of the human beings who would live in their cities and an authoritarian refusal to take their needs into account.[177] If we acknowledge the flexibility and adaptability of modernism, as well as its popularity, then we reopen the question of how large-scale planning has been and can be a force for good in people's lives.

Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States (New York, 1987). On the *longue durée* of suburban living in the United States and England, see Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York, 1989). In addition to Cohen, on the hegemony and political potential/consequences of postwar American consumer society, see Lawrence B. Glickman, *Consumer Society in American History: A Reader* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1999); William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power and the Rise of a New America* (New York, 1994); Gary Cross, *An All-Consuming Century: Why Commercialism Won in Modern America* (New York, 2002). On the appeal of American consumerism in Europe across the Cold War divide, see Greg Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front: The Soft Power of Midcentury Design* (Minneapolis, 2010); Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005). See also Richard F. Kuisel, *Seducing the French: The Dilemma of Americanization* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); Richard Pells, *Not Like Us: How Europeans Have Loved, Hated, and Transformed American Culture since World War II* (New York, 1997); Martin Daunton and Matthew Hilton, eds., *The Politics of Consumption: Material Culture and Citizenship in Europe and America* (Oxford, 2001); Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern, and Matthias Judt, eds., *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 1998); John Brewer and Frank Trentmann, eds., *Consuming Cultures, Global Perspectives: Historical Trajectories, Transnational Exchanges* (Oxford, 2006).

[173] Mark Landsman, *Dictatorship and Demand: The Politics of Consumerism in East Germany* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), 186. See also Merkel, *Utopie und Bedürfnis*; Judd Stitziel, *Fashioning Socialism: Clothing, Politics, and Consumer Culture in East Germany* (Oxford, 2005); Katherine Pence, *Rations to Fashions: Gender and Consumer Politics in Cold War Germany* (New York, forthcoming); Milena Veenis, "Consumption in East Germany: The Seduction and Betrayal of Things," *Journal of Material Culture* 4, no. 1 (1999): 79–112; Jonathan Zatlin, "Consuming Ideology: Socialist Consumerism and the Intershops, 1970–1989," in Peter Hübner and Klaus Tenfelde, eds., *Arbeiter in der SBZ-DDR* (Essen, 1999), 555–573.

[174] See Smith, *Property of Communists*, chap. 5, for an exploration of how ownership functioned in the Soviet Union during this period.

[175] See, for example, the Erste Marzahner Wohnungsgenossenschaft, http://www.emwg-eg.de.

[176] Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic*, chap. 1.

[177] James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, Conn., 1998); Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*.

To be sure, Co-op City and Marzahn do not provide evidence that late modernism was the solution to the problems of the 1960s and 1970s on either side of the Iron Curtain. They were and continue to be beset by considerable problems. From the start, both developments struggled with a lack of adequate and attractive recreational and commercial space. Both the UHF and the DBA discovered that it is exceedingly difficult, and perhaps impossible, to direct a community's political life in the ways that planners originally intended. Co-op City was engulfed by the same urban crisis it sought to escape. And for all the utopian rhetoric that accompanied Marzahn's construction, it proved amenable to the same dynamics of surveillance and repression that characterized the GDR more broadly. Nevertheless, when late modernism—and indeed modernism more generally—is taken out of the moralistic teleology of its inevitable and welcome demise, it becomes clear that a more nuanced verdict is in order. Late modernist collective housing may not have been a panacea in the 1960s and 1970s, and it may not be so today. However, it is worth reflecting that the fundamental issues Marzahn and Co-op City were designed to address—namely, how to provide decent housing for people of modest means and how to create a society built on communitarian principles—remain unresolved to this day.

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Featured Reviews

Aziz al-Azmeh. *The Emergence of Islam in Late Antiquity: Allāh and His People*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Pp. xxi, 634. $140.00.

No field of Islamic history has changed more over the last three decades than the study of early Islam. Two major trends have dominated the field. One is the realization of many historians that the standard narrative of the earliest years of Islam, a narrative derived from the canonical Muslim sources, is highly problematic and in need of revision. The use of alternative sources (Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, and others) as well as the growing body of archaeological evidence has problematized the discussion of Muslim origins and suggested new ways of framing the story derived from Muslim accounts. The second development is a consequence of the emergence of a distinct and compelling new field of historical inquiry, that of late antiquity. The intense gravitational pull of the work of Peter Brown, Averil Cameron, Garth Fowden, and other pioneers of the field has drawn historians of early Islam into its orbit. It is no longer possible to account for the rise of Islam without situating it within the larger story of the late Roman Near East. Aziz al-Azmeh's new book, *The Emergence of Islam in Late Antiquity: Allāh and His People*, is a major contribution to the study of late antiquity and early Islam. Enormously erudite, it constitutes a sort of *summa* of the field, a comprehensive guide to recent studies. It also, however, tells the story of the rise of Islam in novel terms that will startle many.

The basic thesis of this complex book can be stated simply. Islam as we know it was not the sudden product of Muhammad ibn ʿAbd Allah in the seventh century of the Common Era, but had roots in a much deeper process of historical change. It was "the end product of the translation of Romanity to the East," a Roman identity that had as its foundations both a "salvific" monotheism and the pretensions of an "œcumenical empire" (4). Since as early as the second century, the Roman Empire had gradually shifted its attention eastward, a process to which the sacking of Rome in the fifth century and the subsequent break-up of the Western empire were little more than incidental. Drawing on the work of Brown and others, al-Azmeh describes that eastward turn in cultural as well as political terms. The Hellenization of the Roman Empire in late antiquity resulted, ultimately, in both Byzantine civilization and in Islam. As Fowden explains, Islam was thus "rooted in antiquity even consummating it" (al-Azmeh, 36). "Strictly speaking," al-Azmeh says provocatively, "there can be no such thing as Islamic history" (44).

Much of the book focuses on the story of what al-Azmeh calls the "genesis of Allāh," a distinct and traceable historical process "whereby a specific deity came to emerge as singular, encompassing all the epithets and functions of divinity, particularly but not exclusively in the Roman and late antique Near East" (47). One of the problems with reconstructing early Islamic history from the Muslim sources (which mostly date to a century or more after the events they describe) is that their narratives reflect later political struggles and a fully developed theology, neither of which was present at the start of the new religion. This problem is fully evident in traditional accounts of how Allah came to be the focus of Muslim worship and Islamic monotheism. The Muslim tradition had two potentially contradictory goals. On the one hand, it had to tie Allah to Judaism and Christianity, by way of asserting Islam's connections to the earlier monotheisms as well as its own historical claims to having supplanted them. On the other hand, it was also necessary to find a place in Allah's prehistory for the pre-Islamic Arabs, especially Muhammad's own tribe of Quraysh. The fully developed tradition accomplished the first goal by accusing the Jews and Christians of having corrupted their scriptures, and by emphasizing their failure to recognize Muhammad as a prophet of God. It accomplished the second through accounts which linked Allah to the Kaʿba in Mecca, and by giving him an identifiable if attenuated past in the religious history of the Arabs, for example, by depicting him as a *deus otiosus* ("idle god"), a supreme creator god who had been known to the Arabs in time immemorial but who had then receded into the background.

Al-Azmeh's approach to the problem of the "genesis of Allāh" is thoroughly historical and anthropological. The process whereby a cult embraced by Muhammad

and his followers focused specifically on a particular deity that they identified as the *only* deity was long and complex. Reminiscent of Hellenistic patterns of syncretism, it also remained to some extent independent of them. It required no "assumptions of an *Urmonotheismus*" (76) and was not yet complete at the time of the Prophet's death. On the contrary, it stretched over the whole of the period that the author calls "Paleo-Islam," lasting from 600 C.E. down to the end of the Umayyad period.

The emergence of Allah depended in the first place upon political conditions. Late antique universalism generally "sought political-cultural domination in the context of empire and this universality was intimately connected to the imperial office that constituted its lynchpin" (95). That premise had been true for the late Roman and Byzantine empires and, in a chapter on "Arabia and Arab Ethnogenesis in Late Antiquity," al-Azmeh shows how it gradually became true for the Arabs as well. Here al-Azmeh situates the story of the Palmyrene kingdom and the Roman and Sasanian vassal states of the Ghassanids and the Lakhmids (for which he prefers the terms "Jafnids" and "Nasrids") within a larger tale of the gradual absorption of Arabia into the Hellenized, Romanized Near East. The "induction of Arabs into the imperial system of Late Antiquity" relied on certain "pathways of trade" and various scattered "nodes and hubs of communication and control" (115), principally the Iraqi and Syrian borderlands as well as an axis extending from northeast Arabia through to Yemen. This system had started to fray in the sixth century, until it was "reanimated" by Islam. The end result was the perpetuation of the late Roman imperial structure, albeit in a changed form, in the Medinan caliphate.

Understanding the story of the "genesis of Allāh" requires more than an acknowledgment of its political character; it also demands that we emphasize cult over theology. The religious scene in pre-Islamic Arabia was "a cluster of local cultic practices with little if anything by way of extra-cultic elaboration in terms of myth or of theology" (204). Pre-Islamic Arabian religion is a notoriously obscure subject, and despite the enormous range of evidence and recent studies from which al-Azmeh draws, he is constantly warning his reader against "over-interpretation" of the evidence, and especially against a teleological interpretation which sees the mature Islamic monotheism as simply a novel manifestation of Jewish and Christian theology or as the resurgence of a primitive "Semitic" monotheism. So, for example, he dismisses the idea that the Arabic invocation *Allahumma* indicated "an incipient monolatry or even, according to some, monotheism"; it was simply "a generic, intensified and superlative affirmation of devotion, used for a variety of deities and for any deity," one which had "no theological presuppositions or implications" and was "perfectly consistent with the structures of polytheism" (231). Similarly, al-Azmeh insists that Allah was from the beginning a proper name, a specific deity, "the tutelary deity of Muḥammad and the noumen brought into association with the Black Stone in the south-western corner of the Meccan Kaʿba, not the Allāh of what in the fullness of time was to become Islam" (291). The emergence of that Allah took time, a long time, and went through distinct stages. True to al-Azmeh's emphasis on cult over theology as a framework for historical analysis, he interprets much of the evidence, such as pre-Islamic inscriptions reflecting worship of a deity known as *al-Rahman* (one of the most common names of God in the Qur'an and in the developed Muslim tradition) or *Rhmnn*, as suggesting not an emerging monotheism but simple monolatry. That monolatry may have in some way prepared the ground for Islam, but it also lasted for several years into the Prophet's career: early Qur'anic verses, that is, suggest a very unformed (and, from a later Muslim perspective, incomplete) understanding of the deity reflected in Muhammad's ecstatic utterances. Recognizing all this allows al-Azmeh to avoid projecting later Islamic beliefs and interpretations onto the process by which Allah was formed.

Very often, the question underlying this book—when and how did Islam emerge?—has been approached through the prism of Islam's relation to the older Near Eastern monotheisms. For example, Abraham Geiger's 1833 monograph on the subject asked, "What Did Muhammad Take from the Jews?" Like most contemporary historians, al-Azmeh rejects such a reductionist formulation. The assumption "that monotheism has a continuous, linear and almost natural history" (248) is unnecessary; could not Arabian monotheism have emerged on its own, by its own rhythms, from the religious materials available in Arabia, and in conjunction with political developments there? He is skeptical, therefore, of the "facile excitements of hypercriticism" (xv) that dismiss the Arabic sources due to the difficulty posed by them—which this reviewer took to be an allusion to Michael Cook and Patricia Crone's *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* (1977), which sought to tell the story of the rise of Islam using exclusively non-Arabic sources. But the question of Islam's relation to Judaism and especially Christianity does not disappear in al-Azmeh's analysis; it simply becomes part of the larger story of Islam's emergence in late antiquity. The Arabs, he says, "were subject to the trickling down of religious goods coming from territories to the north, north-east and south, in closer touch with metropolitan centres and religions" (249). But the Arabs' full embrace of late antique monotheism required a "major political and social upheaval," something that occurred first in Syria, southern Iraq, and Yemen, and then finally in all of Arabia through the rise of Islam (250).

Eventually, of course, Allah did emerge, and Muhammad and his followers began to articulate a distinctive identity. This "emergence of Allāh and His promotion to indivisible primacy during the lifetime of Muḥammad and thereafter was largely an indigenous process that eventually utilised Biblical paradigms, in very complex ways, as conceptual and mythimetic schemata of scripturalist redaction" (279). In origin, Allah was simply "an opaque and obscure being, invoked on occasion, alongside other, more deeply rooted and locally enracinated

deities." Only gradually did he become "a transcendent, cosmogenic and cosmocratic deity during the lifetime of Muḥammad" (283). This process is reflected in the text of the Qur'an, whose earliest verses may be monolatrous but do not suggest a developed monotheism. It is also manifested in the early history of Muslim ritual, with its "Abrahamisation" and growing "emphasis on the position of the Quraysh and Mecca" (373). Al-Azmeh stresses the length of time it took for distinctive Muslim ritual practices to define the faith for its adherents. One consequence of this reading is skepticism toward the view of Muhammad's religious movement as being "fired by an intense and militant piety, and by apocalyptic fears" (407). All that, al-Azmeh says, would come later.

This book is, among other things, an attempt at a history of the Qur'an—something which the field of early Islamic studies currently lacks. Chapter 7, on "The Paleo-Muslim Canon," is consequently one of the most important in the book. "A constituent element in the cumulative markers of Paleo-Islam," the author says, "was the establishment of a formal scripture out of Muḥammadan revelations" (431). Al-Azmeh rejects the extreme position of those, such as John Wansbrough, who argue that the Qur'an was redacted into its final form much later. The Muslim scripture lacks "tell-tale signs of later composition, especially exuberant and triumphalist indications reflecting the afterglow of the Arab conquests, and the text shows no attempt to harmonise the linguistic register or to tidy up sequence and content" (469). However, the crystallization of the Muslim scripture was a long and drawn-out process, one that was "inextricably connected" to the emergence of Paleo-Islam, and one that continued well into the Umayyad period. Al-Azmeh gives careful consideration to what a "book" meant to those who encountered the early Qur'an, and what the injunction to "recite" (the word *qur'an* translates as "recitation") meant to the late antique Arabs who heard it. Nonetheless, the full and accurate story of the Qur'an's emergence is not entirely clear; the book under review makes valuable contributions to the project without offering a final synthesis. Whatever that synthesis turns out to be, it will likely be built upon al-Azmeh's insight that it was the community that constituted the book, rather than the book that constituted the community (431).

Unfortunately, this immensely learned and insightful book may not receive the wide readership it deserves simply because many will find it unreadable. The prose is dense, even convoluted; Latinate expressions and neologisms abound; sentences often wind from here to eternity. Still, those readers who persevere will be amply rewarded.

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Brian A. Catlos. *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c. 1050–1614*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Pp. xix, 628. Cloth $155.00, paper $39.99.

As Brian A. Catlos rightly observes at the start of this work, medieval European society can often seem, at first glance, to have been remarkably homogenous. With the exception of small pockets of Jewish population, he argues, "the West" is popularly deemed to have been "a land defined by Christian religion and culture" and thus "essentially uniform in terms of religious identity" (xi). To be born into this world was, for most, automatically to become an adherent of what we would now define as the Catholic faith, and a part of the Latin, or Roman, Christian community. Over the last half century, historians have become fascinated by the role of medieval Europe's religious minorities—be they Jews or heretics—and its societal "outsiders," from lepers to prostitutes. This work has tempered notions of Western sociocultural homogeneity, revealing a more variegated picture and the tendency for Latin communities to express their collective identities in contrast or opposition to the "other."

Catlos makes a clear and, it would seem, self-conscious decision to position his book within this broad trend of modern historiography by declaring his intention to present "a new narrative of the history of medieval and early modern Europe from the perspective of Islamic minorities" (i). His expressed aim is to integrate Europe's Islamic communities into the broader tapestry of Western history. As such, his work does not offer a grand reappraisal of relations between Islam and the West between the eleventh and the seventeenth centuries. Instead, it seeks to confine itself to surveying and assessing the experience of Muslims living under Latin Christian rule in Europe and beyond, and to tracing the impact of these Islamic minorities on the Latin world.

Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c. 1050–1614 makes a significant contribution to our understanding, particularly when dealing with the history of Iberia, adding depth and specificity to some of the ideas explored in Richard A. Fletcher's *The Cross and the Crescent: Christianity and Islam from Muhammad to the Reformation* (2004). Catlos's work serves in some respects as a useful companion piece to David Nirenberg's *Neighboring Faiths: Christianity, Islam, and Judaism in the Middle Ages and Today* (2014). Nonetheless, this is an imperfect and at times even frustrating piece of work. Part of the problem relates to the volume's design and what appears to be a degree of equivocation about its intended audience. Catlos states that he set out in the first instance to write a "general survey" of "Muslims in Latin Christian society," but as his research progressed his approach seems to have become more sustained, serious, and

ambitious (515). Perhaps as a result, his book sits rather uncomfortably in the territory between an undergraduate textbook and a full-blown research monograph, never really fulfilling either remit. Catlos presents a largely synthetic and synoptic view of his subject by incorporating a huge range of modern scholarship. As a specialist on medieval Iberia, having published a notable monograph on Christian-Muslim relations in Catalonia and Aragon between 1050 and 1300, entitled *The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050–1300* (2004), he is most comfortable and competent when dealing with material related to what might be regarded as his native territory—Iberia. In many ways his research expertise is appropriately suited for his current subject, given that the overwhelming preponderance of relevant primary and secondary sources focuses upon the Iberian experience. But, because Catlos's topic requires a comparative approach that surveys material from across the Latin Christian world, he is forced to reach beyond Spain and Portugal, and as the distance from this epicenter increases, his hand becomes less assured.

Catlos's book offers an informed and thoughtful synthesis of modern scholarship on Iberia, and presents a number of valid and persuasive arguments related to medieval Sicily, but largely mishandles the Near and Middle Eastern dimension of his subject. As a result, some of his overarching arguments and conclusions do not ring true. At a more fundamental level, the synthetic nature of Catlos's methodology raises significant questions about the depth and originality of the analysis he is able to offer. As he rightly observes, a long-standing problem within this field has been the distorting effect of engrained bias within modern scholarship. This has often prompted scholars to offer polemical or ideologically driven interpretations of fragmentary and "ambiguous" evidence (519). But Catlos's failure to combine his synoptic overview of secondary historiography with a sustained, direct, and critical engagement with the primary sources limits his own ability to question some accepted wisdoms and paradigms.

As Catlos acknowledges in the introduction, his true intention was to present a general survey, so he purposefully selected sources for the convenience of the general readership. Catlos affirms at the start of his bibliography that "given the nature of this book," he has decided "to cite primary source translations" (540). However, in order for this book to stand up as a deeply researched and profound meditation upon the experience of medieval Muslims living under Latin rule, the author would have had to work closely and systematically with (at the very least) Latin and Arabic sources in their original, untranslated form. Due to Catlos's decision to rely on translations, he has occasionally missed important opportunities to mine precious evidence.

There is also a nagging sense that the primary sources consulted by Catlos have not always been subjected to a sufficiently rigorous or penetrating critical assessment. Quite understandably, fairly frequent reference is made to the fascinating twelfth-century travelogue composed by the Iberian Muslim pilgrim Ibn Jubayr. His firsthand observations of Muslims living under Latin rule in the "Crusader" kingdom of Jerusalem and Norman Sicily are presented, but Catlos never pauses to consider the forces that might have shaped Ibn Jubayr's account and, by extension, the validity of his testimony. The frequently repeated argument, first made by Claude Cahen in 1934, that Ibn Jubayr's text should be treated as propaganda designed to shame Iberian Muslim rulers into reforming their own behavior is ignored. Law codes also feature prominently in *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom*—from the Concordat of Nablus in 1120 to the *Siete Partidas* issued by Alfonso X of Castile and Leon and beyond—but Catlos generally takes this material at face value, rather than pausing to consider whether evidence of regulation and proscription reflects a controlled society or one in which disorder and transgression were rife. This uncritical approach has a direct bearing upon Catlos's construction of the experiences of Mudejar (free Muslim subjects).

The structure adopted in *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom* also requires comment. Catlos divides his book into two roughly equal parts. The first of these is shaped into a series of narrative chapters focused on the different regions in which medieval Muslims lived under Latin Christian rule. These appear to be designed to familiarize readers with the long history of the Iberian *Reconquista*, as well as the Norman and Hohenstaufen domination of Sicily and the Crusaders' subjugation of the Holy Land (while also offering a brief excursion into medieval Hungary), and to set the scene for the overarching analysis presented in part II. Subject specialists will find few original insights in the opening pair of chapters covering Iberia between the mid-eleventh and mid-fourteenth centuries, while the rather fragmentary narrative might also frustrate history students or general readers. In contrast, Catlos's introductory chapter on medieval Sicily is exceptionally well-handled, offering a coherent and insightful account that should become the starting point for anyone approaching this subject.

Unfortunately, this quality is not sustained in the sections covering the Levant. Occasional slips in detail are perhaps inevitable in a work of this scale and ambition, but in covering the history of the Crusades and the crusader states, Catlos makes too many errors, undermining the integrity and authority of his arguments. Dates are frequently misrepresented: ʿAlī ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī is said to have been preaching in Damascus in 1107 when, in fact, he had died in 1106; Ridwan of Aleppo could not have been threatening the principality of Antioch in 1115 because he too was already dead, this time two years earlier; and the famous "Crusader" castle of Krak des Chevaliers fell in 1271, not 1281. Notable figures are also misnamed: the first king of Jerusalem is identified as Baldwin of Bouillon—seemingly an amalgam of the king's actual name, Baldwin of Boulogne, with that of his brother Godfrey of Bouillon. Perhaps, more significantly, at an interpretive level *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom* does not adequately or accurately reflect modern historiography in this field. Catlos presents a

caricature of the history of crusades that serves to exceptionalize this component of his overall study. In his account, the crusaders are almost always fanatics, driven by greed, either for glory or plunder, and their conquests are deemed to have been almost uniquely violent and interruptive. The "near-catastrophic" advent of Latin (or Frankish) rule in the Levant is supposed to have created a sociocultural milieu detached and distinct from that witnessed in Sicily or Iberia (161). This picture downplays evidence of pragmatism in the Crusaders' approach to the subjection of Near Eastern Muslims, while also failing to offer a clinical comparison of Frankish violence in Syria and Palestine with that enacted by Christian conquerors in Sicily and Iberia. As a result, the Latin East is set apart when it might more appropriately maintain its place within a pan-Mediterranean picture.

Arguably, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom* only hits its stride in its last two hundred pages. Here, in part II of his work, Catlos adopts a far more innovative and analytically satisfying thematic structure, exploring the nature of Mudejar experience under the broad headings of Thought, Word, and Deed. These sections are primarily devoted to the close examination of Muslims living under Christian rule in Iberia, with intermittent asides or comparative references to the likes of Sicily or the Levant. Catlos even seems to tacitly acknowledge that his real concern is the history of Spain and Portugal by adopting the label Mudejar (normally specific to regions such as Castile and Aragon) as his coverall term for subjected Muslims across the medieval world. His attempt to organize material into a coherent structure is not always successful: there is some repetition of topics and questions, and occasionally one gets the impression that he is amassing and presenting a broad spectrum of evidence without the perspective to offer persuasive insight. Regrettably, he has not been well served by his copy editors, as many of the cross-references made here to the underpinning material in part I are incorrect. Nonetheless, when judged on more limited terms—as a contextualized examination of both the lives and experiences of Iberian Muslims, and of the reaction of Iberian Christians to these Islamic communities—the second half of *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom* has considerable merit.

Catlos's examination of the critical issue of identity is adept and perceptive. He constructs a nuanced and persuasive picture that suggests that devotional creed functioned above ethnicity, language, and social class as a marker of identity. He also has a keen eye for local variation, noting how the agency of environmental factors—such as geography, topography, and hydrology—combined with political fragmentation to produce a diverse range of communities, and concomitant variegation in practice and experience. Catlos draws together the material assembled in part II to present a series of concluding arguments in a brief, but valuable postscript. Having comprehensively refuted any suggestion that Latin Christendom adopted a unified, programmatic approach to subjected Muslims, he makes a powerful case for the importance of flexible and often "informal" interactions forged and conducted at a micro-local level. He leaves it to this relatively late stage to incorporate and enlarge upon one of the most influential theories developed in his earlier scholarship—the notion of *conveniencia*. Catlos has long maintained that the established historiographical paradigm of *convivencia*, or "living together," must be discarded, in spite of its ideologically attractive emphasis upon the ideals of altruistic toleration and mutual respect. His proposition, effectively restated here, is that pragmatism and shared interest ruled the day, such that the systems and approaches allowing Christians and Muslims to interact were born of convenience.

Catlos rightly remains cautious about drawing facile parallels between the Middle Ages and the modern world, likening the picture of medieval experience he has assembled to "a distant, shattered mirror" (517). Nonetheless, there is an unavoidable currency to many of the themes and ideas he explores. In this age of mass migration and diaspora, questions about the relative value of multiculturalism and integration persist, and current events in the Near and Middle East, and beyond, have brought the history of relations between Islam and the West into sharp focus. Against this backdrop, scholarly interest in the medieval encounters between Christians and Muslims will likely increase, but the serious study of this phenomenon presents an extraordinary challenge.

To truly master and then advance this field, one would need to evaluate a diverse array of primary texts in their original Latin, Arabic, or European vernacular forms (and, ideally, be able to draw upon a range of material in other languages including Greek, Armenian, Syriac, and Hebrew), while remaining alive to evidence gleaned from archaeology and the study of material culture. One would also have to critically interrogate the vast corpus of recent scholarship exploring the history of contacts between Latin Christians and Muslims throughout the Middle Ages—achieving real expertise, at the very least, in the modern historiography of the *Reconquista*, the Levantine Crusades, and medieval Sicily. Catlos has made some progress through this most daunting program of study and the book he has produced represents a valiant attempt to wrestle with many of the essential questions of Christian-Muslim interaction across a swath of space and time. *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom* sheds new light upon such vexed issues as the nature of human identity and the impact of faith upon cross-cultural interaction, offering findings and arguments that will be of interest to scholars of many different periods and regions.

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BENJAMIN SCHMIDT. *Inventing Exoticism: Geography, Globalism, and Europe's Early Modern World*. (Material Texts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015. Pp. xix, 412. Cloth $85.00, e-book $85.00.

Inventing Exoticism: Geography, Globalism, and Europe's Early Modern World reminds academic historians to consider the value of the book, rather than solely focusing on how the interpretations gleaned from the texts can facilitate further research. While images and objects seem peripheral to the task at hand, Benjamin Schmidt reveals the significant role they play in understanding history.

This big book is elegantly laid out and lavishly illustrated, with 24 color plates and 179 black and white images. Schmidt gives one bravura demonstration after another, usually on the same or facing page with the illustration, of how to look at pictures, compare them, and show how successive artists drew on and distorted their predecessors. Schmidt wants scholars to pay attention to books as *objects*, sometimes objects of display or casual browsing rather than sustained information. Here the historian will be crossing a bit of a disciplinary boundary into discussions more advanced among scholars of art history; see, for example, the excellent special issue on "Objects in Motion in the Early Modern World" *Art History* 38 (September 2015). There will be times when the reader will think that a point has been made and some detail or a third example could have been cut, but the reader needs to really look deeper in order to grasp Schmidt's argument. Flipping back to endnotes is less of a pleasure; footnotes along with the text and pictures probably were not feasible, but the notes contain quite a few bits of sustained exposition and reference to other scholars that should have been in the text.

The agenda of the book is lucidly set out in an introduction of twenty-four pages. Between about 1670 and 1730, a spate of big books was published, predominantly in the Netherlands, which depicted a new sense of the world outside Europe. In these books, collaborators often mixed together elements of culture and nature from various parts of the world in order to construct an exotic image that was picturesque but in no way an example or a threat to the superiority of European civilization. These books emphasized exciting pleasure at the expense of coherent or usable evidence. Schmidt makes a very convincing case for the importance of these European books that delivered an interactive world, and the prominent role played by the Netherlands' publishers, with its sophisticated book industry and lack of any systematic censorship, to disseminate these works. The wider "Why Holland?" question remains just out of focus in discussions in the introduction, chapter 1, and the epilogue. Dutch independence was fully recognized in the treaties of 1648, thanks to alliances and the fine Dutch fleets and regiments. Continued threats were episodic: two trade wars with England and a very frightening French invasion in 1672. The United Provinces were globally overextended, with some important losses—Brazil, Taiwan, Manhattan Island—and one small gain with world historical consequences at the Cape of Good Hope. The long struggle for mastery of Java and seas around it led to the development of successful plantation economies in the area and even in Ceylon/Sri Lanka. Rich men, with wide interests in trade, filled rooms of their fine houses along the great canals of Amsterdam with Italian paintings but also Ming porcelains, cabinets of ivory and tropical woods, and colorful tropical bird skins. After the Dutch struggle for freedom subsided, publishers found it easier to expand editions into English, French, German, or Latin, either by drawing on the resources of their own society or sending texts for translation or plates for reuse to business associates in England. Dilution of Catholic-Protestant antagonism facilitated drawing on rich Jesuit sources.

Four long chapters take up different analytic themes. Chapter 1, "Printing the World: Processed Books and Exotic Stereotypes," covers the business of bookmaking. Schmidt's first illustration and first set of alert comments are from the 1720s. A splendid title page of a big volume of prints shows representatives of Asia, Africa, and America in magnificent costumes presenting, respectfully but not with "simpleminded subservience," their exotic treasures to an elegant female European (3). The chapter continues with a focus on books published by the firm of Jacob van Meurs, whose agency and intelligence were just as vital as those of the authors of the texts. Van Meurs's development of the format of these books can be traced to his publication in 1663 of a big history of Amsterdam by Olfert Dapper with a title page showing people from afar paying homage to a fine female figure representing the great city. His great breakthrough into the distant lands genre was his publication in 1665 of Johan Nieuhof's big book about the Dutch embassy to Beijing in 1655–1657. Nieuhof had been a member of the embassy suite and had sketched the cities and other landscapes that evolved through several stages into the prints in the book. Europeans already had published quite a few eyewitness descriptions of China away from the coast, but nothing comparable to these images. By the time they were printed some odd exoticisms appeared, such as palm trees in north China and camels in the south. The variety of layouts of walls, roads, and rivers in the city views, reminiscent of what Nieuhof saw, are impressive.

Van Meurs and Dapper established a partnership to create big books about distant lands that would continue through five volumes. The first, on Africa, published in 1668, was the first comprehensive survey of European knowledge. It contains exoticisms, especially in a very striking title page, throughout its accounts of the many small societies seafarers encountered on the west coast

of the continent. It provides a remarkable amount of orderly information in a systematic format that I like to call Dapper's "ethnographic questionnaire." (For more examples and discussion see John E. Wills Jr., "Author, Publisher, Patron, World: A Case Study of Old Books and Global Consciousness" *Journal of Early Modern History* 13, no. 5 [2009]: 375–433.) Just two years later, Dapper and Van Meurs published a massive account of Dutch relations with China, including naval battles and an embassy to Beijing, of which many of the texts are excellent copies of East India Company documents still preserved in the archives. The embassy of Pieter van Hoorn (1666–1668) had an artist in the party. The image of the Wu Gate in the Beijing Imperial Palaces is much closer to the real thing than that in the Nieuhof book. The next volume, on "Asia," covers what we now call "South Asia": India, Pakistan, and their neighbors. The "ethnographic questionnaire" is not as clearly employed as in the Africa volume. The images derived from Hindu myths are exotic in spades, but the summaries of those legends are strikingly lacking in exceptional rhetoric. Dapper and Van Meurs went on to publish two volumes on the Near East, where Dapper's substantial learning in Greek was very useful, and the tone of the comment on Islam is ambivalent but much less bigoted than most European writings of the time.

In 1678, a young man took Van Meurs to court for nonpayment of an agreed marriage portion for a Van Meurs daughter, and accepted payment in the form of three thousand unsold copies of these books, including the Africa, China, and South Asia volumes, at a modest price. Van Meurs must have thought he had a good business model, and certainly had found a nice outlet for his printmaking skills, but even allowing for unsettled conditions in the 1670s it does not seem that sales had lived up to expectations. Even so, other publishers liked the model; three of them joined to publish three more Dapper volumes, on the eastern Mediterranean and the Greek lands, but with much less care in assembly, format, and illustration than Van Meurs had shown. The Dapper-Van Meurs volumes were not the beginning of a coherent genre of publishing. There followed illustrated editions of single-author voyages, Roman Catholic publications critical of Dutch biases, and in the 1700s some big collections of many individual voyages, but nothing quite like the single-volume illustrated summaries of all that could be known about a distant land.

Chapter 2, "Seeing the World: Visuality and Exoticism," focuses on the "pictorial turn" of geography seen in the Van Meurs books and continuing thereafter (83). The mystique of the eyewitness is strong throughout the early modern literature on distant lands, and is powerfully connected to other new forms of looking, including telescopes, microscopes, and dissection. In the best prints, one has a sense of being there that no text can match. Rather than following a traveler day by day, the image presents the whole surprising scene at once. Some images seem to have more explicit empirical content, like the meticulously portrayed seashells from Georg Rumphius's great work on eastern Indonesia and Nicolaes Witsen's plate of objects from Inner Asian graves (116–117). When a really skilled artist was an eyewitness, the visual turn moved beyond these ambiguities, as with Cornelis de Bruijn's famous images of Persepolis, as well as his images of Jerusalem and a collection of chameleons.

Chapter 3, "Exotic Bodies: Sex and Violence Abroad," shows how descriptions of rape, sadism, and torture, common in Catholic descriptions of Protestant violence and vice versa in the histories of European wars down to 1648, migrated thereafter to descriptions of Oriental harems and despotic tortures in distant lands, including beatings on bare buttocks and really stomach-turning flayings. Did these images sell a few books to people with unusual sexual tastes? Schmidt mentions some homosexual undertones but does not develop the theme very much. Here I can add some evidence, based on the physicality of a book. Just over fifty years ago, reading the manuscript records of Dutch relations with China for my dissertation, with a young family, small income, and uncertain future, I was able to buy from the great antiquarian house of Martinus Nijhoff a defective copy of the Dapper and Van Meurs China book. Paint had been slopped on several pages. One page showing a "bastinado" on bare buttocks had been cut out; on another, a circular piece showing the buttocks had been neatly razored out. (Schmidt reproduces these pages on 317 and plate 10.)

Chapter 4, "Exotic Pleasures: Geography, Material Arts, and the 'Agreeable' World," the longest section, presents exotic images being transmitted beyond the world of the book to the cartouches of maps and a range of decorative arts from porcelain to tinware to tapestries. While Schmidt reveals the importance of the cartouche beyond its text, his argument that "the cartouche was the quintessence of the map" (232) is not convincing, and requires further discussion on users' comments on the accuracy of a printed map and on corrections in successive editions. Schmidt ends the chapter by returning to the series of big volumes from the 1720s from which he drew his first illustration, Pieter van der Aa's *La galerie agreable du monde*, that are almost entirely collections of pictures with very little text. These must have been very expensive investments; WorldCat shows surprisingly small numbers of surviving copies. Do we see here a long trend, from the mix of visual information, visual pleasure, and informative text in the Dapper and Van Meurs volumes to Van der Aa's total focus on images that give pleasure? Schmidt will not let us off that simply. He has given us images and alert analysis of another set of high-end consumption objects, four compositions of a central painting surrounded by sixteen smaller paintings, each set of scenes from a continent, done by Jan van Kessel in 1664–1666 when Dapper and Van Meurs were working so hard to get texts and scenes from Africa and China out in reliable form. Ornament, pleasure, exoticizing, and accumulation of reliable knowledge were intertwined in these varied productions.

A final comment on the physicality of a book: Is there a prize for most striking and stimulating dust jacket of

the year? If so, I nominate this one, of a painting by Jan van der Heyden dated 1712. The light reminds me of one of those very long Dutch summer evenings. Above the nice marble mantel is a small painting of the death of Dido. To one side are a number of Japanese weapons, an elegant chest with panels of ivory and tropical woods, and a nice small polychrome Chinese porcelain pot on a shelf of the chest. Hanging by wires in front of the painting is an armadillo skin. All these varied surfaces are meticulously rendered. Two books are open on a shelf covered by a Middle Eastern carpet. One is open to a passage and map on one of the first great victories of the Dutch fight for independence at Bergen op Zoom. The other is a Dutch Bible, open to the first chapter of Ecclesiastes. "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity . . . There is nothing new under the sun." This represents a magnificent example of the themes covered in the book; unfortunately this painting is scarcely mentioned by Schmidt. Did the University of Pennsylvania Press find it? More than 340 years after Olfert Dapper and Jacob van Meurs, do we have once again a striking case of publisher's agency?

So Schmidt's book, in addition to its remarkable scholarship, intellectual energy, and sharp-eyed attention to detail in the wonderful illustrations, brings us back to a theme of even wider importance than the exoticizing of the non-European other as a major element in the discourse of European exceptionalism: Do not forget the book as an object. Do not forget the people who conceived the volume, assembled texts and images, set type and illustrations, bound books, and sold them. Thank your publisher.

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Martha Hodes. *Mourning Lincoln*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. 396. Cloth $30.00.

Martha Hodes's book coincides not only with the sesquicentennial of Abraham Lincoln's assassination but also with the advent of serious challenges to the emancipationist perspective on the American Civil War. For emancipationists, Lincoln's primary goal and northern soldiers' driving passion was the destruction of slavery. Unionists, in contrast, believe Lincoln went to war to defeat secession. They conceive emancipation as an instrument in the struggle against the Confederacy, just as Lincoln himself conceived it. The Unionist perspective prevailed until the American civil rights movement, during and after which the emancipationist perspective became dominant. *Mourning Lincoln* speaks to this revision. Hodes, in fact, declares, "black experiences are central to the story I tell" (276). Whether they were central to most Americans' reaction to Lincoln's death is another matter.

The various reactions to Lincoln's death, as they appear in more than a thousand personal letters, diaries, and related sources, are the vehicles of Hodes's analysis. The frame of her analysis, however, is troublesome. She opens each chapter by personifying its ideological extremes. At one end are the experiences of abolitionists Albert and Sarah Browne of Salem, Massachusetts. They seek racial justice as they grieve the death of their daughter. At the other end is Rodney Dorman of Jacksonville, Florida, a passionate Confederate of mean and pitiless disposition, whose "venom knew no bounds" (212). Whatever Hodes's personal convictions, the pro-northern/anti-southern leaning of the Browne-Dorman dichotomy is patent.

Hodes's data raise the problem of representativeness. The president's murder precipitated shock, grief, and anger among Republican, pro-Lincoln northerners. But for the most radical Republicans, his death was a "godsend" (91), for it allowed them to initiate their program of vengeance and social revolution in the South. Democrats who supported the war but were indifferent to slavery and loyal pro-slavery Democrats also wrote letters and kept diaries, but the author says relatively little about them. Hodes seems to depend largely on loyal Republican testimony.

Southerners' letters, along with those of northern Copperheads who actively worked against the federal war effort, expressed pleasure at the death of the "tyrant" (71, 79). Three-quarters of southern families owned no slaves, but they hung crepe on their homes and businesses and attended public obsequies. Such displays, as Hodes demonstrates, were simply efforts to appease the Union military. How slaveholders' letters and diaries differed from theirs in unknown.

Hundreds of thousands of Americans in the North and South alike were indifferent to secession or unity, freedom or slavery. Readers will not find their letters and diaries in Hodes's sample. However, the testimonies that Hodes selects, although partial, represent the viewpoints of a significant portion of the northern and southern population, which makes her book so useful. Quotations from this sample pepper the book, infusing it with richness and concreteness while laying bare the conflicting vocabularies of grief and joy.

The exhilaration felt by those attending General Robert E. Lee's April 10th surrender provides a frame of emotional reference affecting the way all Americans experienced Lincoln's death. News of it hit like lightning. But would the grief for Lincoln have been so great if he had died, as did Franklin Roosevelt, while the public's attention focused on a war still raging? Would Lincoln's two-week funeral have evoked as much emotion if he had died seventy days after being shot, as did James Garfield, or after eight days, as did William McKinley, or if he had died in office of a natural cause, like John

Tyler, William Henry Harrison, or Warren G. Harding? Hodes says nothing about the conditions underlying the reaction to Lincoln's assassination.

The people's feelings, as Hodes observes, were expressed not only in letters and diaries but also structured within them. This part of her analysis is brilliant. She observes definitive markers—underlinings, shroudings, spaces, and announcements of a changed topic—to separate thoughts about the death of the president from household, business, and other routine affairs. Such practices effectively separated the realms of the extraordinary and the mundane.

Hodes's data limits her analysis of the duration of public woe and how it differed among northern and southern population subgroups. This is a pity given her inspiration to pursue Lincoln's death because of her vivid memories of John F. Kennedy's, not to mention Jacqueline Kennedy's use of the Lincoln funeral as a model for her husband's service. The type and range of emotions evoked by Kennedy's death differed from Lincoln's, but race and region shaped public reaction in both cases. Hodes could have consulted the National Opinion Research Center's (NORC) survey of the reactions to the Kennedy assassination since they are relevant to Lincoln's.

Two findings have special relevance. NORC's questionnaire included fifteen common symptoms of grief. Since African Americans considered Kennedy as a civil rights champion, they checked these symptoms far more often than did whites. Notable, too, is NORC's regional finding: southerners, including those who voted *for* Kennedy, grieved less than northerners. But when NORC replicated its survey two to five days *after* the funeral, the grief symptoms almost vanished! Only at a greatly attenuated level did racial and regional differences remain. That the public's grieving for Kennedy was so temporary reminds us, as Hodes does not, that the emotional effects of Lincoln's death and funeral were short-lived. His renown continued to be eclipsed by George Washington's through the last third of the nineteenth century.

Hodes's sensitivity to the subtleties of sadness expressed by her antislavery writers is more evident than in her reading of happy southerners. Although southern attitudes changed and southern peace movements multiplied during the last year of war, the reader finds no southerner admiring Lincoln and personally saddened by his murder. Only the prospect of a lenient reconstruction, according to Hodes, made southerners sorry to see him go. Also, Hodes appreciates northerners' private troubles mitigating their grieving for Lincoln but she finds something abnormal among southern planters grieving less over his death than their personal losses, which often included slaves but, in a society utterly devastated by war, could not have been confined to them. Hodes dwells more on the immorality of slavery than the concrete situation of the majority of southerners who owned no slaves yet wrote about the death of the man who they thought caused their misery.

The emancipationist bent of Hodes's mind is visible in her decision to bypass southerners' complaints about measures that Lincoln carried out. He pursued the war harshly enough to cause the death of one military-aged male in four; refused prisoner exchange; and confiscated sea-borne clothing, food, medical supplies, and other necessary civilian goods from Europe. He allowed troops to burn Atlanta to the ground, leaving the vast majority of its population homeless. He failed to censure Sherman's army after it supplied itself *entirely* by confiscating civilian necessities as it moved virtually unopposed toward Savannah.

However imbalanced, *Mourning Lincoln* at least urges the reader to see the president's sudden death from the standpoint of opponents as well as supporters. Assassination evoked theodicy on both sides. Hodes's chapter on "God" shows northerners and southerners alike encountering the surprise of Lincoln's death by looking heavenward. Belief in divine intervention was deeply rooted in the culture of the late eighteenth and early to mid-nineteenth centuries, and its ruling premise was that God aligned worldly actions to His will. The president showed rebels too much leniency, thought Robert Browne. "Maybe that is why God had taken him away right after Union victory" (96). Such was "the view taken by almost every public speaker" throughout New England (106) and, according to eulogy collections, the rest of the North. Southerners, who purported to be more religious than their northern counterparts, thought they knew why Lincoln had died: God cut him down. This belief appears in their letters; but the author emphasizes more gloating and expressions of hate than divine intervention. That the "Imperial Ape" (78) had it coming to him, in Hodes's view, summarizes the meaning of his death throughout the South.

Hodes explains that a portion of the northern population attributed the assassination to slave-holders, the Confederate government, and/or Davis. Some blamed the anger of a single man, John Wilkes Booth. The agency ultimately responsible for Lincoln's assassination, however, was divine. Northern reasoning, much of it, was premised on Lincoln's Christ-like character. He was a mild and forgiving man eager to reunite the nation "with malice toward none and charity for all" (112 [Lincoln's second inaugural address]). Hodes notes this irony more than once: Lincoln's Christian willingness to forgive and forget was the very trait which caused God to replace him with a more punitive president. This Radical Republican God "allowed" Booth to murder Lincoln in order to prevent a lenient president from interfering with northerners' seeking their rightful revenge. Lincoln, as the Radicals believed, would have respected states' rights, including the southern "Black Laws," which would soon control and exploit the emancipated. He would have betrayed loyal northern fighters by treating their killers as friends. Lincoln's leniency, thus, explained his death.

The coincidences of this death were astonishing, and Hodes captures them all. Lee surrendered his army on Palm Sunday; Lincoln, murdered on Good Friday, was spiritually resurrected as religious leaders explained the

meaning of his death on Easter Sunday. He drank of the cup God had given him. Days later, the president's funeral train added political lineament to the religious mood, bringing the majesty of the state to American cities and towns. Hodes handles this part of the story nicely. Her account differs from others, which generally adhere to chronology: viewings of Lincoln in Washington, the train cortege, removal of the body for viewing at successive state capitals and large cities, then entombment. Hodes uses a different lens. Funeral rites both induced and reflected sorrow and, through what social psychologists call a "conformity effect," made it seem widely shared. During the first days of mourning, Hodes notes, individuals saw their own grief in the words and faces of their neighbors; later they found it in the remains of the president himself, encased in symbols that made visible the sanctity of the Union and the hundreds of thousands of lives spent to save it.

Hodes, thus, accomplishes her goal: to dissect the murder of a president from the standpoint of its observers. Their *interaction*, however, enlarges her phenomenological observations. Society's capacity to deify men, Emile Durkheim observed, is most evident during social upheavals, when information flow increases and communication (embodied here in letters and diaries) becomes more frequent and focuses sharply on a single object. A tide of individual sorrow carries the people to an extraordinary level of collective emotion. The result: a climate of grief which transcends, then intensifies, personal sentiments. This effect was more evident in the North, where citizens mourned together openly, than in the South, where public displays of joy were forbidden. From Hodes's account, one may infer that Lincoln's passing was mourned in the North more that it was rejoiced in the South.

Two further points may be added: before the advent of mass media, public drama constituted a major form of diversion, and when this diversion, this "effervescence" of concentration and emotional arousal, was over, participants dispersed, returned to their quotidian routine and, withal, their quotidian moods. But even as men and women necessarily devoted more time to their daily labors, Hodes reminds us that they continued to feel the currents of death. Soldiers still died from wounds and camp disease; family members and friends, from natural causes. However much the public drama of Lincoln's death numbed their private pain, the latter's relevance surpassed that of the former. Hodes puts matters in needed perspective. In their letters and private writing, individuals sought the meaning of personal loss more intensely and urgently than Lincoln's fate. In death as in life, the world of the family trumps the state. "[C]ataclysmic events" in Hodes's words, "never come to pass apart from daily life, but only in the midst of it" (171).

Overall, Hodes covers a wide range of material: the compassion of New England's Mr. and Mrs. Browne; the malevolence of southerner Dorman; the question of whether a defeated South should be treated mercifully or harshly; what a future without Lincoln would look like; and whether Lincoln's death, notwithstanding the ongoing ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment, would lead to reenslavement. Given white southern resentment over emancipation, Frederick Douglass's fears were most realistic: as emancipated blacks were no longer chattel, southern property laws no longer protected them from unprovoked white violence. The result, Douglass predicted: "fiercer and intenser hate than ever before" (218).

Many observers in 1865 perceived Lincoln's grandiose funeral independently of the sorrow it embodied, manifesting the country's new majesty and power. Hodes's "Nation" chapter has little to say about this. She notes that "[p]rivate lives have all become interwoven with the life of the nation" (213) but says nothing about the new character of the nation itself. In contrast, the speeches of many ministers and public figures recognized that Lincoln's funeral marked a new national consciousness and esteem, one that had little to do with race or slavery. For eighty-five years, Americans revered and modeled their lives on the great heroes of the American Revolution. Now, a new war produced new heroes whose feats equaled their forefathers'. To preserve a nation, they now knew, required more effort than to create it.

Hodes's final chapter takes us to the aftermath of Union victory: the fate of the assassin and his conspirators, the passage of the equal protection and voting rights amendments. By 1870, however, northern whites, including the pious Browne family, lost interest in racial equality and voted radicals out of office in favor of candidates who were preoccupied with the gathering sway of an industrial revolution. The 1876 compromise election of Rutherford B. Hayes ended Reconstruction, "redeemed" the South, and set the stage for the reestablishment of white supremacy (268, 270). Consequently, blacks found themselves abandoned before, not after, the late-nineteenth-century regional reconciliation. In the opinion of many emancipationist scholars, including David Blight (*Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* [2001]), reconciliation downplayed slavery and involved northern acknowledgment of the South's racial worldview and Jim Crow social system.

One may now return to the fundamental question raised in the first page of this review: how did Lincoln's primary war goal and its political context affect the varied meanings of his death. Hodes may have made every effort to sample randomly among whites and blacks, northerners and southerners, but her sources led her to conclusions diametrically opposed to those of other historians, including Gary Gallagher. Gallagher is a useful foil to Hodes because her data and interpretation suggest emancipation to have been the key purpose and achievement of the war. In contrast, Gallagher's *The Union War* (2012) brings an equal, if not more massive, body of evidence pointing to secession as the war's immediate cause; reunification, its result. This review is not the place to compare Gallagher's and Hodes's work, but one must recognize the author's failure to acknowledge, let alone confront, results which challenge her and her

many colleagues' understandings of Abraham Lincoln's death. As Hodes sees it, Lincoln's contemporaries mourned or reproved him more as a Great Emancipator than as a Savior of the Union.

On balance, however, no scholar can fail to profit from Hodes's prodigious research and her efforts to describe Lincoln's death from the viewpoint of ordinary men and women of his time. Moving back and forth between texts and contexts, as Robert Darnton observed, is the only way to make contact with alien mentalities. To dig for the multiple meanings of letters and diaries in a society which sees itself in the hands of God is to work in an alien world indeed. In this world, Hodes has roamed far and wide. She has worked uniquely from the bottom up. She has not traveled everywhere but far enough to deserve her colleagues' admiration and attention. Better than anyone I know, Hodes has enriched our knowledge of the well-trod story of Abraham Lincoln's assassination and mourning rites.

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Stuart B. Schwartz. *Sea of Storms: A History of Hurricanes in the Greater Caribbean from Columbus to Katrina*. (Lawrence Stone Lectures.) Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015. Pp. xxvii, 439. $35.00.

Only in the last half century have humans been able to accurately forecast weather disasters. However, even without the somewhat vague precision of today's weather satellites, peoples of the Greater Caribbean, since its initial human settlement, have dreaded the expected arrival of the hurricane, whose season commenced with summer and remained a threat often until Christmas. Among both indigenous and colonial societies, the time of the summer solstice began with rituals offered to ward off what were among the most harrowing and destructive of natural phenomena. Hurricanes might level every human construction in their broad paths, killing thousands and leaving the survivors, especially the poor, to best fend for months without shelter, without food, and too often without help. Of all the New World's novel features, hurricanes unambiguously announced that this was indeed a New World. In Europe, Christians had employed their church bells, on which they engraved phrases such as *Fugo fulmina* (I drive away thunderbolts), to break up maleficent storm clouds; in the Caribbean, the hurricane carried the bells and their towers away. In the aftermath of a storm, colonialists questioned if civilization was even possible on the islands and coasts that lay along the hurricane's well-worn paths.

Considering the hurricane's destructive powers and frequent visitations, as many as five thousand storms in the last five hundred years, it is surprising that historians have paid them little attention as direct objects of study until recently. Hurricanes are not absent from Caribbean historiography but they have not been scrutinized for their social, cultural, economic, and political implications. However, as Atlantic hurricanes have become not more frequent but more powerful since 1995, the number of storms reaching category 4 and 5 doubling over previous decades, and with a number of major strikes on the U.S. coastline receiving frenzied media attention, the recent past has challenged the notion that hurricanes have largely happened to other people in other times and other places (296). Stuart Schwartz's pioneering article on the 1899 San Ciriaco Hurricane in Puerto Rico, published in the *Hispanic American Historical Review* in 1992, might be taken as a starting point for the recent increase in historical interest.

Most early literature on hurricanes tended toward chronology of the storms themselves, their immediate tolls in death, dollars, and damaged infrastructure, and of the progress of meteorology in understanding and predicting such events. More recent work has pushed the boundaries of analysis to consider their broader implications, disaster's collateral consequences. As with J. R. McNeill's *Mosquito Empires* (2010), which argues for the impact of microbes on the geopolitical contours of the Greater Caribbean, and Geoffrey Parker's *Global Crisis* (2013) on the Little Ice Age's seventeenth-century political and military calamities, recent hurricane studies demonstrate this new direction in scholarship to go beyond the repetitive accounting of wind speeds, barometric pressures, and storm surges. Louis A. Pérez's *Winds of Change* (2001) considers the long-term economic consequences of recurring storms in mid-nineteenth-century Cuba that shaped the transition to monocultural sugar and formed a central feature of Cuba's national and cultural identity. Sherry Johnson's *Climate and Catastrophe* (2011) notes the role of hurricanes in not only reforming Spanish colonial trade policies, which had to be bent in order to secure food and materials for hurricane victims, but also in influencing the courses and rates of American revolution.

Schwartz's *Sea of Storms: A History of Hurricanes in the Greater Caribbean from Columbus to Katrina* seems remarkably circumspect in the context of these recent works. His questions and analysis are purposely confined to the immediate social and political responses to the storms themselves, turning the concern back toward the natural disaster rather than its distant rippling effects. Schwartz examines the long relationship between hurricanes and the colonial and national societies that were forced to suffer, engage, understand, and mitigate them. The book's conclusions, then, are more immediately plausible, less determinist, and more actionable, and the book is no less ambitious for these self-imposed

conceptual bounds. Schwartz's aspirations are less an attempt to see where disasters might lead than to harness the hurricane to write the history of a coherent region. The author dusted off his copy of Fernand Braudel's *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World* (1949) as a model of how a shared geography and environment (what Braudel referred to collectively as "climate") shaped and even homogenized a region despite its obvious political diversity and ethnic divisions. And yet Braudel, not to mention Parker and others, generally limit their temporal borders to a single century—or even just a half century. Schwartz here tackles half a millennium, which required a further thematic narrowing. The Caribbean has a handful of potential overarching themes around which one might write a regional history—slavery, colonialism, immigration, and disease, for examples—but hurricanes offer a fresh approach. An entirely satisfying history of an entire region, especially of a region in the *longue durée*, may be impossible, but Schwartz synthesizes the stormy Caribbean's commonalities, continuities, and ruptures with an often brilliant concision and illuminating eye.

The work is most impressive as a comparative study examining themes as persistent as the storms themselves: the cosmological meanings and natural causes of hurricanes, comparative developments in meteorology; changing notions of the state's role in preparedness, charity, and relief; slavery's pervasive implications; and the role of U.S. imperialism. While the majority of the work addresses the Spanish Caribbean, which significantly pioneered state-led disaster relief and storm prediction, Schwartz also gives full attention to the literature and sources of the British, French, Dutch, and Danish islands. The U.S., as both colonial agent and disaster victim, is also fully developed, and Schwartz notes that despite many cultural and political divisions, the hurricane was a shared phenomenon, and many, including rivals, often worked together in the efforts to forecast storms and even engaged in charitable efforts that reached across enemy lines, as it were.

The most fascinating set of characters in the book form a catalogue of storm opportunists. Disasters are often associated with looters, and planters certainly feared the anarchy of angry slaves in chaotic times, but such concerns were usually overstated. Looters were mostly hungry, and slave violence post-storm was rare. Storms beat people down rather than raised their consciousness, and the poor and enslaved, Schwartz points out, became even less "legible" in disasters. However, once the winds had died, better positioned individuals sought all kinds of advantages: parish priests leveraged the storm's chastisement to increase souls in the pews and to persuade slaves to baptism; planters petitioned colonial powers for tax breaks, debt clemency, tariff-free slave imports, and increased control over labor; insurance companies raised premiums; and colonial administrators, national politicians, and populist dictators practiced very public relief programs to consolidate or advance their political power. Schwartz observes wryly that even recently in the U.S., crony capitalists, no-bid contractors, and backroom dealers engaged in substantially more theft in the years after a storm than victims commit in the initial aftermath. While storms did spark altruistic cooperation and even heroism, these were often short-lived, and Schwartz's many cases suggest that if the storms exposed social fissures and highlighted inequalities, in the end hurricanes tended to harm the weak and more fully ensconce the powerful.

There seem to be two conspicuous omissions in an otherwise capacious text, one geographic and the other topical. Schwartz notes early on that because southern Caribbean polities, including Trinidad and Tobago, Curaçao, the Guianas, Venezuela, and Colombia, are little affected by hurricanes, or not at all, they will be excluded. Likewise, Brazil, while sharing much with the Greater Caribbean in its historical trajectory, also falls outside the hurricanes' path, and will not be examined. Placing the southern Caribbean out of bounds puts the claim to a comprehensive regional history in some doubt, and neglecting storm-free states, possibly even Brazil, robs the study of a potentially useful comparative control. Some examination of the states that did not encounter destructive hurricanes might have enhanced the work's comparative strengths. Did Colombia or Curaçao, as cases without hurricanes, experience the transformative evolution in ideas about the merits of disaster relief, and did they exhibit a contemporary or belated development of the welfare state? Did Venezuela, in a similar timeframe, secularize the providential interpretations of the causes of natural disaster when it did not suffer hurricane strikes, whose consistent seasonality suggested storm origins that were something other than God's wrath or will? And did Brazil with reportedly fewer natural and climatic disasters but serious recurring regional droughts produce a meteorological scientific community on a schedule and scale similar to that of Cuba?

The influence of hurricanes on architecture might have also served as a significant point of comparison across the broad region. Matthew Mulcahy's *Hurricanes and Society in the British Greater Caribbean* (2010) devotes a chapter to the storms' impact on British colonial architectural forms. Plantation homes were built low to the ground, builders experimented with curved walls, and materials evolved away from Northern Europe's timber, clapboard, and shakes toward the use of brick, stone, and roof tiles, following a pattern set by the Spanish. Some went further, planters in South Carolina building round storm shelters. Church builders largely gave up on steeples and tall bell towers, and they employed cruciform floor plans that reduced the length of unsupported walls. Still, short memories and an imprudent belief that storms were diminishing in frequency and force resulted in many building in the latest European styles that usually proved vulnerable. Mulcahy also shows that repeated destruction promoted constant rebuilding and even replanning of urban centers. In what ways did architecture and cities evolve in the Greater Caribbean, and how did hurricanes give Caribbean civilization its characteristic appearance? More specifically, did governments, which by the eighteenth century began to see

a role for the state in the provision of public relief, make any effort to regulate how, and more importantly where, buildings were built? Mulcahy, whose study ends in 1783, does not address building codes, but a few cities in Europe and the U.S. had implemented them, in some cases as early as the seventeenth century, primarily to reduce the threat of urban fires. Certainly by the early twentieth century, such codes were common. When and where were they applied to hurricanes, and what did they entail? A 2003 study found that building codes in Cuba and the Dominican Republic were state of the art while in the eastern Caribbean they remained substandard. What historically explains this divergence, and what impact, if any, have codes and their enforcement had on disaster mitigation, both in lives lost and damages incurred?

If there is a repeated lesson from five hundred years of hurricanes in the Greater Caribbean it is that societies have not generally learned from nor have they been willing to prepare for them. If our ability to predict and track storms has improved, and if our willingness to act as states to relieve the victims with aid, which, if still contested, has evolved substantially in the last three hundred years, we have done remarkably less to prevent deaths and damages from the storm itself. Parker, who considers this failure a fault of civilization's short memory, found only one global exception in the seventeenth century: in Japan, the Tokugawa dynasty, by totalitarian means, seemed to have a sufficient response to repeated famines driven by climate change. Likewise, Schwartz finds one Caribbean exception, in post-1959 Cuba. Fidel Castro may have seen the political advantages of providing relief during Hurricane Flora in 1963, which sat over Cuba for five days. He declared war on nature, contending that revolutions were stronger than acts of God, and then made rigorous preparations for the inevitable next invasion. Cuba lost twelve hundred people to Flora, but in subsequent hurricanes the mortality fell to single digits due to diligent forecasting, frequent drilling, and minute preparations for evacuations that included up-to-date lists of the elderly, infirm, and even pets. In Hurricane Ivan (2004), Cuba effectively evacuated more than one million citizens out of harm's way to prearranged shelters with medical staff. There were no fatalities. In contrast, the following year, more than eighteen hundred people died in poorly prepared New Orleans, a city that failed to maintain levies and to evacuate its most vulnerable. Still, Schwartz condemns, there are those who hold to a hands-off approach to disaster and argue that the best way to evade the hurricane's death and damage is through the vehicle of rapid economic growth.

Schwartz's final chapter examines the contemporary disasters that have sparked our growing historical interest in the Atlantic's cyclonic storms, and he observes that the peccatogenic (produced by sin) causes of natural disasters that were popular before the eighteenth century have returned in the form of environmental transgressions. Both the storms and the questions they raise for civilization have shown remarkable continuities, but with global warming, which may make storms more powerful and, with rising seas, more destructive, the answers have become more urgent, Schwartz concludes. For some of our contemporary environmental concerns, half a millennium seems just the right amount of context.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

François Hartog. *Regimes of Historicity: Presentism and Experiences of Time*. Translated by Saskia Brown. (European Perspectives: A Series in Social Thought and Cultural Criticism.) English ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 2015. Pp. xix, 245. Cloth $35.00, e-book $34.99.

In this short and elegant book, François Hartog proposes a deceptively simple argument for an intrinsically complicated subject matter. The subject of the book is the history of different "regimes of historicity," i.e., the ways in which the relationship between past, present, and future was understood at moments of crisis in history. The argument goes roughly like this: until the French Revolution, the past was seen as informing the present. In the modern era, approximately between 1789 and 1989, the present and the past were conceived in terms of the future. In contrast, our contemporary experience of time is essentially "presentist." The present regenerates the past and the future only to valorize the immediate. In our "crisis of time," the present has become "omnipresent."

Hartog is perhaps the most important historian of historiography today. *Regimes of Historicity: Presentism and Experiences of Time* builds on his previous books, only two of which have been translated into English: *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History* (1988) and *Memories of Odysseus: Frontier Tales from Ancient Greece* (2001). *Regimes of Historicity* itself travels through time to visit moments of historical crisis "as they have arisen whenever the way in which past, present, and future are articulated no longer seems self-evident," from the ancient world to contemporary France (16). Along the way, Hartog briefly discusses notions of time and history by Claude Lévi-Strauss, Marshall Sahlins, Primo Levi, Hannah Arendt, and Reinhart Koselleck, among others. Like Koselleck, Hartog is interested in the temporal *conditions* of possible histories. Still, his intervention with this book is not primarily theoretical or historiographical. Unusual for a historian, *Regimes of Historicity* argues most sharply and convincingly where it reflects on the "presentism" of our time, "the sense that only the present exists, a present characterized at once by the tyranny of the instant and by the treadmill of an unending now" (xv). It is the contemporary crisis of time that directs Hartog's explorations of past regimes of historicity.

The book is divided into two parts. Part I begins with a chapter on Fiji and Hawaii in the 1840s as represented in Marshall Sahlins's *Islands of History* (1985). Hartog draws on Sahlins to describe how, in the British conquest of the Pacific islands, European ways of understanding the relation between past, present, and future clashed with the fundamentally different Maori "heroic regime of historicity" (29). Next, in a brief and dazzling chapter, Hartog moves back in time to explore encounters with historicity from Homer's *Odyssey* to Augustine's *Meditations*. The chapter closes with a discussion of the fundamental transformation of the order of time through Christianity, "stretching time between an *already* and a *not yet*" (153). By breaking time into two, a temporal space of anticipation between an eschatological present and an awaited Second Coming of Christ and the Last Judgment, Christianity introduced an accelerated notion of time and future-orientation into history. Hartog ends this first part with a chapter on François-René de Chateaubriand, Constantin-François Volney, and Alexis de Tocqueville, who all articulated a crisis of time in postrevolutionary France. This crisis of time, in particular the belief that the notion of *historia magistra vitae* has become problematic, can be discerned in their travel writings from America as well as in their fascination with ruins.

Part II jumps from the early nineteenth to the late twentieth century and to what Hartog views as the two defining expressions of our current crisis of time: the obsession with memory and heritage. Hartog reevaluates Pierre Nora's monumental *Les Lieux de mémoire* (1984) as both "an expression of this crisis in our relation to time as well as an attempt at providing a solution" (144). Nora's project was part of a larger cultural transformation of history into memory that began in the 1980s, but it also attempted to reflect this crisis of time and national history. The chapter on heritage forms perhaps the most original contribution in Hartog's book. It begins with a conceptual history of "heritage" or patrimony, again moving back in time and across space, from the Old Testament to Meiji Japan, only to paint more clearly what is

new and unprecedented about the rising tide of heritage. The eclectic set of examples Hartog explores in this chapter includes not only historiography but also postmodern architecture, with its preference for historical façades; contemporary international criminal law, which operates outside statutory time limitations; and the transformation of the natural environment itself into world heritage. In these examples, we no longer encounter the future as a promise but as a threat. "The future," according to Hartog, "is not a radiant horizon guiding our advancing steps, but rather a line of shadow drawing closer, which we ourselves have set in motion. At the same time we seem to be caught on the treadmill of the present and ruminating upon a past which simply won't go down" (191).

Of course, such a bold and sweeping account, more diagnosis than history, can be easily criticized. Hartog himself is aware that historians have to deal with a plurality of different regimes of historicity operating at the very same time, the *Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen* (the simultaneity of the non-simultaneous). To clarify the consequences of this insight, Hartog could have included a more densely researched case study rather than simply drawing on Sahlins's work to show how different layers of time are present at the very same moment. Moreover, Sahlins and Koselleck, Hartog's most important sources of inspiration, have both been criticized for their deeply Eurocentric understanding of time and history. Written by a historian of ancient and modern historiography, *Regimes of Historicity*, too, is heavily centered on European experiences of time. If we think of these reflections as a travelogue, the time traveler himself is unmistakably late-twentieth-century French. This clearly demarcated viewpoint, however, makes this book so interesting for readers across fields and disciplines.

Regimes of Historicity appeared first in French in 2003, but not much has changed since. To the contrary, Hartog's trenchant critique of presentism seems even more salient now. *Regimes of Historicity* should be required reading for anyone interested in the past, present, and future writing of history.

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Dirk Philipsen. *The Little Big Number: How GDP Came to Rule the World and What to Do about It*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 398. $29.95.

What's in a number? For Dirk Philipsen, quite a lot. His book, *The Little Big Number: How GDP Came to Rule the World and What to Do about It*, explores the history behind Gross Domestic Product (GDP), a metric that is supposed to express the total quantity of goods and services produced within a country. Philipsen argues that the "GDP has mutated from useful *descriptive* tool to *prescriptive* be-all and end-all," and he investigates this transformation (13). Philipsen shows, as many others have, that GDP does not account for environmental degradation, inequality, or social alienation (among many other things). He decries policymakers' reliance on the flawed metric, and he criticizes the way in which the pursuit of economic growth—often measured by GDP—has imperiled the natural world and human life. He envisions his book as a "sound original history and a call to action" to draw attention to GDP's flaws and help people imagine alternative ways of measuring and defining well-being (16).

The book is split between a historical explanation of GDP's rise to prominence and a wide-ranging denigration of the metric's flaws and misuses in current policymaking. Chapters 1 and 2 cover a vast historical terrain, analyzing briefly GDP's antecedents from its eighteenth-century origins of classical economics to the National Bureau of Economic Research's early efforts to quantify economic activity in the 1920s. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 examine the Great Depression in the U.S. and show how that crisis inspired policymakers and intellectuals to search for ways to refine their economic accounting techniques. Philipsen recounts how American economist Simon Kuznets helped develop the first constructions of Gross National Product (GNP), the forerunner to GDP, which provided policymakers with a tool to grasp the depths of the Depression and to formulate a plan to pay for World War II. Chapter 6 touches briefly on the postwar years, noting how the international standardization of GNP helped to bring the metric into common use across the world. Philipsen's historical analysis ends there.

Chapters 7 through 10 contain Philipsen's contemporary criticisms of GDP and its many misuses. Chapter 7 reveals how the calculation of GDP elides important environmental and social considerations. Chapter 8 explores some of the contemporary critics, from environmentalists who lament the metric's treatment of ecological loss and pollution to feminists who chide its lack of accounting for work done outside the economy (such as household labor). Chapters 9 and 10 rehash many of the problems of living under GDP and explore why the measure remains so popular. In chapter 11, the concluding section of the book, Philipsen reiterates his call to action. He turns back to Kuznets, who warned against relying on GNP as a measure of human well-being and welfare. He concludes with a wide-ranging list of policy solutions, which range from ditching GDP, providing all citizens with a basic income and right to employment, limiting working hours, and implementing new ecological accounting techniques to guide more environmentally sensitive development.

Philipsen's book joins a growing chorus of critical voices that lament the widespread use of GDP. Scholars and writers such as Diane Coyle, Lorenzo Fioramonti, and Zachary Karabell released very similar books over the past two years. Philipsen's book does not diverge much from any of these accounts, though he is less sanguine than Coyle about trying to fix GDP. Philipsen also follows the work of historians, anthropologists, and political theorists who have historicized the rise of statistics in everyday life (Theodore Porter, Dan Bouk), the emergence of "the economy" as a calculable entity (Timothy Mitchell),

and the pursuit of economic growth and economic productivity in the post–World War II era (Charles Maier), though unfortunately Philipsen does not directly engage or cite any of these scholars.

Though few of his criticisms are new, his volume nicely summarizes and articulates GDP's flaws. Philipsen's book, however, raises questions for historians. For one, a key claim of Philipsen's book is that GDP has spanned the world and reshaped how societies define and pursue their development. But Philipsen's historical analysis largely ends with the standardization of national income accounting in the 1950s. So, how did GDP take off across the world? The author might have examined how GDP shaped specific development strategies and the extent to which *thinking* in terms of GDP translated to actions on the ground. Moreover, there were many critics of GDP and its use from the metric's inception. Philipsen acknowledges Kuznets's early warnings, but from the 1940s onward there were extensive international conflicts about how to standardize national income accounting, what GDP should include, and whether non-Western countries should rely on GDP. Why did GDP, as currently defined, triumph in those conflicts? In addition, Philipsen criticizes the "logic" of GDP, which is a vague way of imputing tremendous power to a metric. At times, it seems he argues against much more: the economics discipline, economic reasoning, neoliberalism, rising inequality, and economic growth based on fossil fuels, to name a few. Thinking in terms of GDP (the "logic" of countries trying to raise GDP) may exacerbate each of these separate issues, but Philipsen might have done more to connect and explain how GDP relates to the origins and evolution of these other trends.

In sum, this book nicely summarizes the many critiques of GDP. Philipsen's knowledge of economic theory, statistics, econometric accounting, and history is impressive. It is hard not to conclude after reading the book that there are very serious flaws in the way that many people measure, define, and seek to pursue economic growth. While it would have benefited from greater historical analysis of the post-1945 world, it offers many insights that should encourage undergraduates to rethink many basic assumptions about contemporary economic life and better understand why reliance on the "big little number" should worry us all.

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Orit Halpern. *Beautiful Data: A History of Vision and Reason since 1945*. (Experimental Futures.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2014. Pp. ix, 342. Cloth $99.95, paper $27.95.

How has a rhetoric of "beautiful" (elegant in the mathematical sense as well as the graphical) data come to have potent ideological force in the last sixty years? Orit Halpern suggests that aestheticization has played a crucial role in legitimizing data visualization and graphical modes of reasoning since 1945. She argues that technological transformations have changed vision research as artificial intelligence altered our conception of bodies, brains, and the management of culture. She attributes these changes in part to the proliferation of intellectual activity built on diagrammatic and schematic visualization across a wide variety of disciplines (cybernetics, design and systems theory, computational processes, and statistical thinking).

Halpern selects an array of figures in city planning, government data management, and other activities to consider the general shift in the relationship between the terms "vision and reason" in her subtitle. The examples are indisputably significant. Charles and Ray Eames were crucial to mid-twentieth-century design (broadly understood as a set of analytic principles, not merely implementation techniques). Their canonical works are still cited as approaches to thinking about issues of scale, pattern, project, and form. They extended the early-twentieth-century formalist "language" of graphics (with their roots in abstract art and later applied aesthetics epitomized by the Bauhaus curriculum in the 1920s and 1930s) into broad theoretical and practical application. Norbert Wiener's wartime research in cybernetics had a widespread impact on the development of feedback mechanisms integral to "smart" systems in many domains. In the 1940s, Warren S. McCulloch and Walter Pitts engineered the first experiments in neural networks, which were meant to bootstrap responses in electrical circuits into emergent capacities. In second-order cybernetics their work has been incorporated into the design of complex systems. These figures contributed research that combined new models of intelligence with engineering capacities augmented by computational systems to produce the systems that are an integral part of constructing (intellectually as well as literally) our contemporary world.

The book begins with a chilling description of the city of Songdo, Korea, designed from the ground up as a data-driven and data-producing environment. In "a landscape where bandwidth and sustainability are fantasized as organizing life through a proliferation of interfaces to the point of ubiquity" a government-corporate partnership monitors every aspect of existence: traffic flows, changes in atmosphere, every social and financial transaction, streets, windows, homes, and smokestacks (4). As Halpern points out, the promotional rhetoric of such projects is shot through with valorizations of this fully "intelligent" system as an "elegant" solution to management and control in the twenty-first century. Her observation of Songdo leads to a crucial question: "[H]ow did perception, understood as a capacity to consume bandwidth, come to reorganize life itself?" (5).

As studies in "reformulation of observation and knowledge" (17), Halpern's chapters examine four aspects of current culture as outcomes of the historical connections between technical developments and artistic practices (both broadly construed). Her first study concerns cybernetics and temporality; the second, attention and distraction conceived in relation to visualization; the third,

rationalization of cognition; and the last, a notion of "biopolitical governance" tied to statistical and data management. Halpern puts many concepts into play. She qualifies both "vision" and "reason" as areas of research, of lived physical perception, and of studies in cognition, and as metaphors for the organization of knowledge. Concepts this large can be unwieldy, and hard to link to specific historical events. For instance, at the beginning of chapter 3, Halpern suggests that the postwar realization that "rationality was not reasonable" has "vanished from the cultural record" (148). But has it? The intellectual traditions of skepticism on which she draws have long and persistent histories. In the last half century, suspicion of reason and rationality has long been the norm in communities of critical design practice, poetics, aesthetics, visual art, digital media studies, and cultural studies, especially among the scholars who provide Halpern's intellectual framework (e.g., Michel Foucault, Lisa Gitelman, N. Katherine Hayles, Brian Massumi, etc.).

The book's main argument, however, focuses on changes in cultural values and ideology. For example, she proposes that "the cybernetic reformulation of reason produced new forms of measurement and methods in the social and behavioral sciences, encouraging a shift toward 'data-driven' research adjoined to a valorization of visualization as the benchmark of truth, and as a moral and democratic virtue" (148). In a move typical of Halpern's approach, she claims this chapter "is not a theory of 'psychosis' but rather a historical investigation into the cybernetic relationship to temporality that suggests that cybernetic concerns with how time would be organized in circuits was fundamental to the reformulation of intelligence as rational and produced a new epistemology of pragmatic behavioralism, embodied and affective logic, and nonliberal agents that continue to inform contemporary practices in fields ranging from neuroscience to machine learning to finance" (148). This is a lot to juggle.

Causal connections between technological innovation and cultural change are hard to prove. The connection between data-driven research and the development of diagrammatic instruments for intellectual work in schematic visual documents for planning, design, or other research is neither direct nor instrumental. The schematic drawings used for circuits, traffic flows, organizational systems, or data structures were not invented in the post-1945 period any more than statistics and "political arithmetic." They all have long histories. Despite very few innovations in graphical expressions in the last decades, the interest in visualizing processes and making non-visible aspects of cultural experience legible through graphic form has expanded exponentially. The consumability of eye-candy-like, data-driven visualizations that appear in public art, private galleries, and published compendia is evidence of their seductive success as ideological instruments. Halpern wants us to reflect upon the implications of such aesthetic legitimation and ways we might resist the force of data displays that are integrated into the management infrastructure of technologized culture.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD/TRANSNATIONAL

Pedro Machado. *Ocean of Trade: South Asian Merchants, Africa and the Indian Ocean, c. 1750–1850*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Pp. xv, 315. $79.00.

Pedro Machado's *Ocean of Trade: South Asian Merchants, Africa and the Indian Ocean, c. 1750–1850* is an in-depth study of the commercial world of the Bania (*Vāniyā*) maritime merchants of Diu and Daman (ports on the Gujarat coast) in a period that is generally understood in the literature as that of European imperial and commercial domination and in which indigenous South Asian networks of trade were greatly undermined by or subordinated to a European-dominated capitalist world economy. Divided into five chapters, an introduction that sets the historiographical context for this study, and a brief conclusion summing up the main arguments, the book challenges this conventional view and calls for a more nuanced understanding of the history of the Indian Ocean world economy and the interaction of colonial-imperial and indigenous structures of trade within it. Machado explores the dynamics of the flourishing Bania maritime trade between Diu and Daman and Mozambique from 1750 to 1850. This trade was based on the exchange of Gujarati textiles for African ivory and slaves. The book underscores the centrality of Bania merchants and Gujarati textiles in the Mozambique-based maritime trade of the southwestern Indian Ocean. Cotton textile from Gujarat, Machado argues, served as a currency in the East African economies, and all commercial transactions were mediated by it. What contributed to the predominance and success of the Banias in this trade was their access to textile production centers of Gujarat, especially Jambusar, and to the capital and credit markets of Surat. By controlling the supply and distribution of Gujarati textiles in coastal East Africa and the hinterlands, the merchants played a crucial role in the region's export trade, and also secured supplies of ivory and slaves, for which there was a substantial demand in Gujarat and western India. Machado examines the nature and structure of Gujarat–East Africa trade and highlights the role of family and community networks and contracts and partnerships with the African and Portuguese merchants in the successful commercial enterprise of the Banias. The Banias' predominance in this trade, however, ended by the 1840s when the slave trade declined and a shortage of tusk reduced the ivory trade. Moreover, the role that the Gujarati Bania merchants of Diu and Daman had formerly played was then taken over by another group of merchants, the Bhatias of Kuchh and Kathiawar in north western Gujarat.

Ocean of Trade is as much a book on East Africa and its maritime trading world as it is on Gujarat and the Banias. About half of the book (especially chapters 4 and 5) is devoted to East Africa's export economy. Here again the author examines the complex web of coastal and trans-regional trade and the involvement of American, Portuguese, African, Arab, and Gujarati Bania merchants

in it. Machado uses an oceanic framework to study the interdependent nature of the world that these merchants inhabited. The book illuminates how the Bania trade in Gujarat textiles and the credit and transportation facilities that they extended to other merchants undergirded the transoceanic slave trade from East Africa in the early nineteenth century. The book makes a salient contribution to scholarship by highlighting the significant Bania participation in the East African slave trade during this period, an aspect of the trade that has eluded scholarly inquiry. Another important dimension of this trade, which Machado underlines, is the Bania merchants' active involvement in exporting slaves westward to the Cape and across the Atlantic to Brazil. He thus challenges the view that the Indian and the Atlantic Oceans were distinct zones of slaving and slave trading.

Ocean of Trade succeeds in questioning many of the assumptions in the past and current historiography and proposes some major revisions. First, it rightly calls for including East Africa in the discussion of the Indian Ocean maritime trade in general and of the trade and economy of Gujarat in particular. As the book shows, East Africa played a significant role as a market for Gujarat textiles and as a supplier of ivory, slaves, and silver to the economy of Gujarat and Western India. Second, the book makes a compelling argument that the significant economic role of Diu and Daman must be taken into consideration in any discussion of the maritime trade and economy of Gujarat in the period of British colonial expansion and consolidation in the western Indian Ocean. Third, it calls for an appreciation of the significance of the Bania trade networks with East Africa in the Indian Ocean slave trade as well as for a more integrated, instead of a narrow regional or oceanic, approach to studying slavery and slave trading. Finally, the book approaches the history of this period by appreciating the strengths and limitations of deep-rooted networks of merchants and commodities crisscrossing the western Indian Ocean. These networks not only outlived political regimes but they also in many ways shaped the structures of imperial finance and economy in the region.

While the reader acquires a more or less rosy picture of the Gujarati Banias and their trade in East Africa during this period, the book falls short on situating this trade in the broader context of Gujarat's overall maritime trade. The trade in African ivory, for example, is examined without any discussion of how this trade affected or was affected by ivory imports from elsewhere. Similarly, with the exception of Mandvi, there is no discussion of the volume and value of Gujarat's trade with East Africa from Surat, Bombay, and other ports and how those trading networks competed with or complemented those of the Banias of Diu and Daman. This may be attributed to limitations of space in the book and by no means affects the significance of the work and the contribution that it makes to the literature and the historiography.

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James A. Baer. *Anarchist Immigrants in Spain and Argentina*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2015. Pp. xviii, 240. $55.00.

Anarchists in Spain and Argentina were a highly visible part of the political landscape in the decades after 1890, as in other European and American nations. James Baer's book delineates the rise and fall of anarchist factions in these two countries, interwoven as they were, from their heyday in the years before 1900 until their eclipse around the end of the Spanish Civil War in the late 1930s. While historians often recognize the coupling of Atlantic migrations and political movements in this era, Baer successfully presents *Anarchist Immigrants in Spain and Argentina* as the seamless story of currents of people, ideologies, and political institutions in perpetual motion. The book, in Baer's telling, "follows the lives, careers, ideas, influence, and travel of dozens of individuals who moved between these two countries" (1) and who "formed a critical nucleus of militants who bound the two countries in an ideological relationship that profoundly affected the history of both nations" (2).

Baer reaches deeply into oral histories, archival, periodical, and other sources to cover the many facets of this topic. He combines the personal migration stories of anarchist figures such as the Spanish-born activist Diego Abad de Santillán (1897–1983) with the broader context of immigration, labor, intellectual, and political histories. Abad de Santillán, a working-class rebel who emigrated as a child to Argentina, personified the major currents described in the book. He is by no means the only figure closely examined in the book, although his story plays a central role in the later chapters.

Following a rich introduction establishing the study's scope and putting it in context of existing works on migration, political mobilization, and the individual's relation to the state, Baer organizes the book into nine chronological chapters that trace the movement of anarchists from Spain to Argentina and back again. The first two chapters set the scene in terms of the anarchist movements in their national political settings, and document the original anarchist flight at the end of the nineteenth century. The movement quickly consolidated on new soil, but conservative political backlash in Argentina resulted in deportations beginning in 1902, initiating phase one of many anarchists' return migrations, as described in chapter 3. The next two chapters discuss the developments in Spanish and Argentine anarchist organizing, and the eventual defeat of the anarchist movement in Argentina in 1930. In the years after World War I, anarchist groups on both sides of the Atlantic experienced setbacks by political violence and internal schisms. Chapter 6 covers the 1930 coup in Argentina and a new wave of crackdowns on anarchists, further migrations for Abad de Santillán, as well as his ideological shift away from factionalism. The final three chapters document the rise of the anarchist rebellion (with significant Argentine leadership) in Spain in the early 1930s. These chapters emphasize the anarchists' leading role in the Spanish Civil War, the engagements and outcomes of the war itself, and finally, yet another

flight to Argentina, this time by Spanish refugees from Spanish fascism.

The book is strengthened by Baer's successful development of a transnational model that gives equal weight not just to each national anarchist group, but also to the dynamic process resulting from close and frequent ties between the two. Such an approach is particularly appropriate for a study of anarchism, an ideology that typically rejects both nationalism and the nation-state. Moreover, Baer addresses outcomes in Spain, such as the anarchists' leading role in the Spanish Civil War, the main topic of chapter 7. His contribution to Argentine history lies in the analysis of the anarchist movement there as a fusion of Spanish, Italian, and local ideas. This rich mix resulted in a strong political movement in the first decades of the twentieth century (followed of course by violent political backlash). In emphasizing the history of these anarchist movements as a dimension of immigration history, Baer also adds a new dimension to José Moya's study of Spanish immigration to Argentina, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850–1930* (1998).

Two brief critiques must be addressed. First, while Baer does a thorough job contextualizing the demographic and political histories of Spain and Argentina in these migratory times, the book underemphasizes other dimensions of social and cultural context. Second, women anarchists garner only a brief discussion (107–112); I also found myself wondering about the scant mention of Eastern European and Russian Jewish anarchists in Argentina. Certainly Spanish, Italian, and Argentine anarchists worked together with their Eastern European comrades, especially in polyglot Buenos Aires.

This book has much to offer. Its fine weaving of the ties between personal histories of South Atlantic anarchists and international intellectual and political flows should appeal to students of history and political science, as well as to specialists researching the history of radical political movements and transatlantic immigration in the twentieth century.

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Megan Threlkeld. *Pan American Women: U.S. Internationalists and Revolutionary Mexico*. (Politics and Culture in Modern America.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. Pp. 246. $45.00.

The tensions between U.S. women's internationalist ideals in the early twentieth century and Mexican women's nationalist aspirations lie at the heart of Megan Threlkeld's *Pan American Women: U.S. Internationalists and Revolutionary Mexico*. This close, meticulous, and evenhanded organizational history examines U.S. women's efforts to advance inter-American cooperation among women and to further hemispheric peace between the world wars. Threlkeld focuses on the work of national-level U.S. women's organizations in Mexico. Through a careful examination of four groups that were most active in Mexico during the interwar years—the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the League of Women Voters (LWV), and the Inter-American Commission of Women (IACW)—the author highlights the flawed and ultimately failed efforts of these organizations and their leaders to organize Mexican women.

The failure was not for lack of trying. Challenges to the success of gendered diplomacy with Mexico in these years were many. Decades of imperialist and exploitative U.S. economic and foreign policies helped inspire the strongly nationalist Mexican Revolution, which began in 1910. The philosophies of women internationalists like Carrie Chapman Catt, Jane Addams, and Doris Stevens focused on "human internationalism" in an era when Mexican women were politically inspired, instead, to embrace ideas and reforms that focused on their homeland. Some women internationalists, like Hull-House founder Addams (later president of WILPF), believed that women's natural propensity for personal interaction—across national boundaries—could lead to the end of war. Torn between a desire for collaboration and imperialist sensibilities, U.S. women internationalists tried to forge gendered bonds with Mexican women. They assumed that their interests were universal and shared. However, U.S. women were unable to dissociate themselves from their national identities and from their assumption of national superiority over Latin Americans. It was this inability that ultimately proved their undoing. "To Mexican women," Threlkeld concludes, "internationalist rhetoric often seemed like old patterns of U.S. hegemony in a new guise" (3).

Interested in both the U.S. women's internationalist platforms as well as the feminist agenda, Threlkeld explores the ways that imperialism showed up in both movements. She demonstrates how Catt's efforts to export the women's suffrage movement to Latin America were reminiscent of earlier feminist efforts to "civilize" non-Western women. Although Threlkeld points out that ideas of scientific racism were not unusual for the time, imperialist feminists like Catt harbored and expressed racial stereotypes that hindered her from building a successful Pan American movement of women. Imperial feminism replicated patterns of Western colonialisms by assuming universal measures of women's status and progress. Yet, as Threlkeld shows, the Latin American feminist movement was robust and dynamic, and Mexican feminists chose to chart their own paths to advancement.

Pan American Women includes a close appraisal of the 1922 Pan American Conference of Women, held in Baltimore, Maryland, and organized by the LWV. Threlkeld argues that the league's (and Catt's) insistence on singlehandedly shaping the program and message of the conference marginalized the Mexican and Latin American delegates, and was characteristic of many of the interactions between U.S.-based women internationalists and their Mexican and Latin American counterparts. Of the four national-level U.S. women's organizations at the heart of this book, only the Mexican YWCA successfully survived the 1920s. It did so because it established itself

firmly within local contexts, and allowed local members to shape the organization to fit their own needs and desires, rather than imposing on them an agenda and a formal structure.

Threlkeld would have strengthened her narrative by offering a description of U.S. feminist infighting, especially between the National Woman's Party (NWP) and the LWV over the Equal Rights Amendment, earlier in the book. This tension between equal rights feminists and social feminists in the U.S. spilled into the global arena and is what ultimately led to the unseating of NWP leader and former radical suffragist Stevens as chair of the IACW. A panel of twenty-one women established to study the status of women in Central and South America, the Caribbean, and the U.S., the IACW also investigated all proposed legislation affecting women. Founded in 1928, the IACW marked a new stage in women's internationalism, a more politicized and savvy phase.

Stevens, whose relationship with Catt was strained at best, brought with her a dramatic activist spirit and an unbending belief in equal rights, which she exhibited in the eleven years (1928–1939) she headed the commission. The high point of Stevens's IACW leadership was the adoption of the Equal Nationality Treaty in 1933, a significant victory for U.S. women internationalists. The treaty, crafted by the IACW, made the law on nationality identical for men and women, which guaranteed the right of married women to nationality independent of their husbands and the right of mothers, equally with fathers, to transmit nationality to their children. However, in 1939, the LWV and its allies successfully colluded to replace Stevens as IACW chair with a U.S. State Department appointee, who was much less activist in approach. As Threlkeld concludes, by 1939 there were not many more institutional and organizational connections between U.S. and Mexican women than there had been in 1915.

In recent years, scholars have paid more attention to the history of U.S. feminism from 1910 to 1940, and *Pan American Women* is a valuable addition to this literature. It reminds us that early-twentieth-century U.S. feminists looked beyond their own borders in their desire to advance women's rights. Eager to create inter-American networks on the basis of gender, their efforts in Mexico, as Threlkeld convincingly argues, are salient to the understanding of U.S. women's internationalism during this period. The failure of U.S. women internationalists to respectfully engage with Mexican women is not particularly surprising: it parallels early-twentieth-century U.S. feminists' inability to build egalitarian coalitions with African American women at home. Yet their shortcomings remind us of the dangers of imperial feminism, of neglecting to disentangle feminist goals from nationalist politics, and of assuming that women's goals—across difference—are common and shared. Failure is illuminating, as Threlkeld astutely notes, and there is much to learn in this well-researched and insightful book.

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Christian W. McMillen. *Discovering Tuberculosis: A Global History, 1900 to the Present*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 338. $40.00.

This history of the attempts to control tuberculosis (TB) is a must-read for those currently involved in medical research and public health, and not just in the field of TB. Indeed Christian W. McMillen makes it clear that this is his target audience when he lectures them in his conclusion: "Thinking historically can mean a method of approaching the study of the past that argues for reaching beyond merely memorizing facts," urging them to take context and contingency into account. But, he adds, "I'm not really interested in having public health people or doctors and so forth act like historians and do historical research. They have enough to do" (227). Yet he clearly does expect them to read his book, as they should. The material that he draws on for this study consists primarily of scientific writings, medical surveys, and trials conducted by major research organizations such as the British Medical Research Council (MRC) and the World Health Organization; and McMillen provides a valuable unpacking of these sources and their impact. He clearly shows the medical community how understanding history and wider social and political factors matters.

His chapter on BCG (Bacillus Calmette-Guérin) vaccination is a case in point. A controlled trial of the vaccine among American Indians in the late 1930s revealed an 80 percent efficacy rate, a figure that continued to be trotted out in support of the vaccine indiscriminately, with little reference to the specific trial conditions and their transferability, in the following decades. Introduced into India in 1949, BCG met with public resistance, an example of a clash between Western and non-Western medical cultures. Nevertheless, this anti-BCG campaign had little impact on the steady forward march of the vaccine, as McMillen explains, demonstrating the "power of the hope and faith," despite the clear doubts that, he says, should have spelled the "death sentence" for BCG (112, 118).

There are important lessons in McMillen's chapter on the introduction of antibiotics to TB treatment. Here he turns his attention to Kenya and the important research conducted there from the 1950s to the 1970s. He found that drug resistance was recognized as a problem already in the 1950s, but warns against attributing this to patient compliance in taking drugs. He convincingly argues for a multiplicity of causes that prevented patients from accessing drugs continuously; the social and political environment mattered. He also notes that while much of the research on antibiotics was pioneered in East Africa and India from the 1950s to the 1970s, those areas benefited the least; in his words, "developing countries were living laboratories but clinically moribund" (167).

The next section, on the HIV/TB pandemic, makes for grim reading. In this section, McMillen tells of the checkered history of Isoniazid preventive therapy, or chemoprophylaxis, which has finally become approved treatment for HIV/TB infected people, although still with some reservations. He also writes of the "blind" faith

placed in the new "magic bullet" called DOTS (directly observed therapy short course) in the 1990s and the problems that ensued because of it. He describes "the combined neglect of both the HIV/TB pandemic and multidrug-resistant TB" as "one of the greatest public health tragedies of the last generation" (209, 223).

Parts II and III, covering the period 1935 to the present, could have been subtitled "Faith, hope, and despair," as McMillen demonstrates how, despite a massive amount of scientific research, campaigns to prevent and treat TB relied primarily on notions of faith and hope. These sections also tell a harrowing story of failure; as McMillen notes in his conclusion: "the history of TB control is arguably an example of regression" (226).

In his conclusion, McMillen is at pains to point out that he is not blaming anyone for the failures. While he claims there are no "culprits," there are clearly heroes and villains in his story, with Wallace Fox, head of the MRC TB unit, approaching hero status, and S. Lyle Cummins villain status: Cummins appears in part I ("Discovery, 1900–1945"), and we learn that he "did more than perhaps anyone to promote the notion of race-based resistance [to TB]" (19). McMillen mentions on pages 7 and 22 that we will "hear much more" of Cummins, and on page 25 he acknowledges that his "influence is hard to underestimate." Yet, frustratingly, we are not told who Cummins was—his official position, his institutional affiliation, why he was so influential. He was apparently more significant than B. A. Dormer, "South Africa's top TB expert and soon to be chief tuberculosis officer" (43)—but why?

This is an important study of TB research and its impact, but I would not describe it as "global." The first section (1900–1945), concentrating on North American Indians and with references to developing countries, almost implies that TB was not a problem in the Western world, which it clearly was at that time. McMillen mentions that currently China has the world's largest number of TB cases, estimated at 11 percent of the global total (206), and yet China hardly features in the narrative apart from a few scattered references. The focus of the book is on indigenous peoples and developing countries and even then it is selective. Nevertheless, the study holds many important lessons for current public health policy and efforts to control TB; as McMillen writes, the story has not ended.

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ASIA

Svetlana Gorshenina. *L'invention de l'Asie centrale: Histoire du concept de la Tartarie à l'Eurasie*. (Rayon histoire de la librairie Droz, no. 4.) Geneva: Droz, 2014. Pp. 702. $73.20.

Debates over the origins, meanings, and interpretations of designations of geographical, geopolitical, and ideological spaces should be familiar to most scholars. But "Central Asia" (*l'Asie centrale* in French, *Sredniaia Aziia* in Russian, *Mittelasien* in German, and a host of additional terms in these and other languages) is a relatively recent addition to our vocabulary and therefore has not provoked as much deliberation as have, for example, "Europe" or "Africa." In fact, "Central Asia" came into usage (in Russian, primarily) only in the mid-nineteenth century, but not many agree on what exactly the term means. In this hefty volume, the author's "Central Asia" corresponds to the territory of the former "Central Asian" Soviet republics (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan), northeastern Turkey, the northern parts of Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and India, as well as Xinjiang, Mongolia, and the southern reaches of Siberia (22). One could argue that such an expansive definition could lead to predictably complex conclusions.

Svetlana Gorshenina traces the history of this vast region's portrayal by outsiders—almost exclusively by Europeans (including Russians)—and what their descriptions of "Tartary," "Turkestan," the "Land of Gog and Magog," and "Transoxiana," to name but a few designations, supposedly meant. Arranged chronologically, the book transports the reader as far back as Achaemenian times (sixth century B.C.E.) and resurfaces in the twenty-first century. The first half (roughly three hundred pages) of the book deals with the premodern era (that is, pre-nineteenth century) and relies mainly on the author's extensive and impressive research of contemporaneous maps and cartography. Gorshenina demonstrates convincingly the resilience of old traditions in Europeans' tangible representation of the world. She portrays the European reliance on and departure from Ptolemy's map of the world and the Arab-Muslim geographical explorations that followed, to associations of the vast lands to the east with eschatological occurrences and prophetic predictions (e.g., about Gog and Magog). In the aftermath of the thirteenth-century Mongol Empire and the dispersal of "Tatar" peoples (Turks and Mongols, mostly), the region acquired a more widespread and a remarkably enduring identification with Tartary. "Tartary" dominated travel narratives well into the nineteenth century, although the term was not static and carried "ethnic" connotations for some, political associations for others, and a mix of wonder and suspicion for all. By the eighteenth century, most scholars and explorers would distinguish between a Russian Tartary, a Chinese Tartary, and an independent one.

Only with the (separate) voyages of the Russian general Egor Meyendorff and the Prussian naturalist Alexander von Humboldt in the first decades of the nineteenth century did a new term—Central Asia—come about, influenced by the perception of political and "ethnic" characteristics of the region (by Meyendorff) and by the scientific observations of the region's allegedly distinct geography (by Humboldt). The term and its supposed equivalents (Middle Asia, the Center of Asia, the Heart of Asia, High Asia, Inner Asia, etc.) found new denotations—often with much variation—with the publication of contemporary lexicons, geographical dictionaries,

and encyclopedias (materials that complement the cartographic sources). Increased travel and continued exploration, as well as the growing popularity of Oriental Studies, an emphasis on the study of origins, and the increasing weight of a more "scientific" lingo also influenced the understanding of the nomenclature.

However, essential differences still prevailed: for some, "Central Asia" included Mongolia and Manchuria; others extended the region's boundaries into Tibet and beyond the Himalayas; yet others included Persia and Baluchistan. But whereas in previous generations these variations could coexist with little dispute, the nineteenth century was an era for debates and controversies, with Russia, given its proximity to—and eventual inclusion (conquest) of—the region, as the scene for the liveliest discussions. Some advanced the idea that "Central Asia" should remain limited to the territory that Russia had just subjugated, but others argued that the centrality of "Central Asia" was really a Eurasian centrality and fit with Russia's imperial—and "civilizing"—mission and its place in the world. Not surprisingly, the advent of acknowledged political boundaries (of Iran, Afghanistan, the limits of the Qing and the Russian empires, etc.) also had an effect on terminology. Russia's imperial position also dictated the usage or rejection of such terms as Turan and Turkestan, both implying a degree of association with Turks and Turkic peoples, who Russia typically viewed with mistrust.

The demise of the empire and the rise of the Soviet Union brought about the region's national delimitation and the creation of new Soviet republics (1924–1936), but also hastened the emergence of new ideologies such as Eurasianism (which sought to distance Russia from Europe), nationalism and nation-building, etc. Thus, in the early Soviet era, "Central Asia" referred to the Soviet republics of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, and the southern parts of Kazakhstan. Other understandings followed, but seem to remain, to this day, dependent on political, national, and nationalist agendas in addition to—albeit to a lesser extent—the role of area studies, professional associations, and science. But here, too, the definitions of what constitutes "Central Asia" vary greatly. Gorshenina asks what clear criteria we should seek when we aim to define a region. Skeptical of environmental and geographical determinism and acknowledging that linguistic and cultural criteria only serve to showcase an "ethnic mosaic" and multiple centers of prominence, the author recognizes that we are at a theoretical impasse. The "terminological chaos" that the author has demonstrated so well in this book seems to confirm this impasse but perhaps also leads to more freedom of research and interpretation.

As mentioned earlier, the choice of what constitutes "Central Asia" ties also to the terminological chaos. If one were to choose differently, one could emerge perhaps with a different conclusion. An engagement with indigenous ("Central Asian") sources and an assessment of the degree to which European visions of the region were influenced by encounters with the locals and with their written and oral perceptions and testimonies is missing from an otherwise well-researched, nuanced, and very accessible volume. But this may be a subject for a future endeavor.

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Brett Sheehan. *Industrial Eden: A Chinese Capitalist Vision*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. 327. $45.00.

With China's economic rise and increasing tensions between government and private enterprise, interest in the history of Chinese family businesses and capitalist entrepreneurs has resurfaced. Brett Sheehan's *Industrial Eden: A Chinese Capitalist Vision* traces the Song family and their industrial corporation that grew out of a small hairnet business, which survived five different authoritarian regimes from the late Qing empire to the post-Mao era. Sheehan weaves the different strands of source material, ranging from family archives and personal interviews to local and national history, into a masterful tapestry of a case study exploring the volatile relationship between Chinese capitalists and authoritarianism in twentieth-century China.

With all the previous scholarly attention to family businesses in Shanghai and Hong Kong, it is refreshing to read a story anchored in north China. Shandong province, the initial home base of the company, represented a difficult business environment. Semicolonial conditions and warlord regimes thwarted the province's development until the rise of the Guomindang party-state in 1927. The business founder Song Chuandian was influenced by his Western mission-school education and pursued a career in teaching before starting a small lace and hairnet production. With good entrepreneurial instincts, Song recognized the new business opportunities in Shandong province conditioned by modern rail transportation, its connections to commercial hubs, and the availability of cheap labor. In the fragmented political climate of the early republic, he also chose to enter a political career as president of Shandong's provincial assembly, resulting in considerable advantages for his business. However, Song's political career was short-lived once Chiang Kai-shek established his own political order in the north. Because he had Song's assets and the company confiscated, the family moved into the protected space of the foreign concession in Tianjin.

Although the story concentrates on the Song family during five successive regimes, the structure of the book consciously moves the narrative away from the biographical approach to each generation and the concurring life cycle of the family business. As the book's title indicates, Sheehan focuses on the family's business leaders not only as pragmatic respondents to various political and economic crises but also as visionaries who wanted to contribute to the transformation of society and nation. Song Feiqing, leading the family's Dongya wool business in the second generation, managed the company's transformation from a hodgepodge import-export business in Tianjin into the largest manufacturer of wool knitting yarn in China with considerable commercial success. Combining

traditional Chinese concepts of hierarchy and filial piety with Christianity in the pursuit of scientific modernity, Song implemented his ideas of an "Industrial Eden" as the cornerstone of Dongya's human resource management and public image in the 1930s and 1940s. The promotion of state-sponsored nationalist consumption and production created a strategic opportunity for marketing Dongya's wool products and its management philosophy at the same time.

Sheehan's narrative takes us through the Japanese occupation, which did not destroy Dongya's businesses as it did many other Chinese enterprises. The company was able to shift its production to war-relevant items such as jute, wool, and gunny sacks while Dongya managers demonstrated a remarkable flexibility in adapting to and circumventing raw material shortages. In fact, wartime challenges allowed Song Feiqing to practice his ideas of scientific management and welfare capitalism with even greater success. However, once the war was over, the "protective bubble" (143) of Dongya's Industrial Eden evaporated; labor unrest and hyperinflation plagued the company, rendering the business eventually uncompetitive. The last chapter traces Dongya's post-1949 development and Song Feiqing's decision to leave China for good in 1950. As Sheehan argues convincingly, due to his departure, Song Feiqing's legacy as a capitalist entrepreneur and visionary became a matter of changing ideological agendas. Political campaigns used the "capitalist" label to define and redefine political enemies during the 1950s and 1960s and to rehabilitate former entrepreneurs in the post-Mao era.

Sheehan has written an engaging business history that improves our understanding of firms, industries, businessmen and their complex relationship with the government in China. Comparing Dongya's variety of business practices and their diverse origins with firms in other national contexts, the author reminds us that the Song family's ventures should not be considered a representative prototype of Chinese business with specific Chinese characteristics. Although a symbiotic relationship between capitalists and government in China is not surprising per se, Sheehan's analysis also reminds us that capitalist entrepreneurs often proactively engaged in politics and even came to expect the visible hand of the state in authoritarian regimes.

One wonders whether the author's conceptual use of the developmental state in framing several chapters adds much to the discussion of authoritarian regimes in China, especially since his argument centers on the capitalist entrepreneurs' perspective. The Song family's business leaders demonstrate the rational, adaptive, and collaborative nature of capitalists engaging with states of varying authoritarian and extractive nature. The capitalists' strategic flexibility combined with new visions of social paternalism and scientific modernity created an Industrial Eden even during occupation and war until hyperinflation and a new political order introduced terminal trouble in paradise.

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Yong Chen. *Chop Suey, USA: The Story of Chinese Food in America*. (Arts and Traditions of the Table: Perspectives on Culinary History.) New York: Columbia University Press, 2014. Pp. xvii, 292. Cloth $35.00, e-book $34.99.

Q. Edward Wang. *Chopsticks: A Cultural and Culinary History*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Pp. xix, 190. $29.99.

Two new books, one by Yong Chen and the other by Q. Edward Wang, trace the evolution of Chinese foodways over time and place. Chen explores the history of Chinese food in America while Wang examines the emergence and spread of chopstick culture in Asia and beyond. Weaving together tales of transnational exchange between cultures, the authors help elucidate the processes that influenced the transformation of culinary habits and culture around the globe.

In *Chop Suey, USA: The Story of Chinese Food in America*, Chen traces the introduction of Chinese food in America, its rocky ascent into popularity, and its overall significance to Chinese American history. *Chop Suey* also includes insightful reminiscences and engaging stories from the author's own life including recipes from his favorite childhood dishes. Chen's central argument is that individual Chinese immigrants, marginalized and struggling to survive in an unwelcoming and often hostile society, facilitated the "colossal transpacific migration of cuisine" (1). In their role as servants, cooks, and restaurateurs, Chinese immigrants helped many Americans live up to the ideal of abundance and leisure by enjoying the privilege of eating out. Effectively, "chop suey was the Big Mac of the pre-McDonald's era." Chinese food appealed to American consumers' demand for convenience and service (4). Chen contends that the rise in the popularity of Chinese food in America "is one of the greatest epic stories of cultural exchange in world history" (1).

In the first three chapters, Chen describes how the increase in the popularity of Chinese food may be attributed to a number of factors, including the geographic and socioeconomic growth of the U.S. into an empire of consumption. Consumers seeking a better lifestyle desired freedom from the labor of cooking. An expanding middle class relied more frequently on domestic servants, and especially Chinese servants, to prepare their food. Chinese immigrants found themselves frequently forced into service sector jobs as a result of anti-Chinese prejudice. The labor of Chinese immigrants in restaurants seemed like a natural extension of their work in domestic service. Chinese food then was in essence an "empire food."

Another major factor contributing to the increase of Chinese restaurants in America was the effort of individual Chinese Americans in "transplanting, preserving, and promoting their cuisine" (2). In so doing, these food entrepreneurs faced powerful opposition from Americans who clung to stereotypes about Chinese immigrants and their foodways. Especially in the 1860s and 1870s, anti-Chinese commentators attacked the foreign food habits of Chinese immigrants using their unique eating customs as evidence of their unassimilability and otherness. Still,

restaurateurs persisted in marketing their businesses, and over time attitudes toward Chinese food began to change.

As a process of cultural globalization, the interest in Chinese food was fueled by curiosity about other cultures. The emergence of Chinatown as an exoticized tourist destination helped popularize the novelty of the Chinese restaurant. While upper- and middle-class Anglo-Americans were traveling the globe in search of exotic adventures, less affluent Americans sought to discover the world in their own backyard. Lower-middle- and working-class people ventured into Chinatown on slumming expeditions and in the process they discovered and learned to love Chinese food. Chinese restaurateurs responded by "appropriating attempts to exoticize their culture" and began to promote and market their food (122). Chen argues, however, that Chinese food never really appealed to the social and political elite since it never achieved much social respectability. Instead, marginalized Anglos, African Americans, and Jews were the initial patrons of Chinese restaurants and primarily responsible for helping to popularize the food in America. By offering an affordable dining-out experience, Chinese restaurateurs provided families with the opportunity to emulate the lifestyle of the privileged elite and to participate to some extent in America's consumer culture. Eventually, Chinese restaurants began to move into non-Chinese neighborhoods, expanding their service to a wider market.

Chinese cooks responded to the desires and tastes of their American customers by creating unique new dishes that were Chinese in their cooking methods but shaped by the preferences of the customer. Americans preferred convenient, simple, and inexpensive Chinese dishes, rejecting China's haute cuisine. Chop suey, for example, was a stir-fry style dish of Chinese origin made popular by the efforts of Chinese Americans to market their food. Similarly, Chinese cookbooks helped contribute to the rise of Chinese cuisine in the U.S. while giving voice to individual Chinese Americans.

One of the most important points made by Chen is his insistence that Chinese immigrants were not merely victims. Instead, he argues that Chinese servants, cooks, and restaurant owners enjoyed a small part of America's economic prosperity. In one of the most interesting and revealing sections of the book, Chen examines Chinese-English phrase books to reveal the ways in which Chinese cooks and servants empowered themselves to negotiate their salaries, advocate for themselves, or say no to Anglo customers and employers. Chen defines Chinese restaurateurs and cooks as "empire stewards" for their role in "extending American democracy." Through their work in the service sector, the Chinese have helped "the United States to fulfill its promise of an abundant life to more and more people" (43).

Chen also notes the role of food in the formation of a Chinese American identity. Chinese immigrants in America enjoyed the familiarity of Chinese food and worked to maintain their food habits. Chinese restaurants played an important role in maintaining those food traditions and in providing spaces for Chinese men and women to congregate and socialize. Through their collective efforts to recreate the cuisine of their homeland, Chinese immigrants established a cultural space for themselves that contributed to a collective sense of Chinese American identity. By marketing their cuisine to the larger American population, Chinese cooks carved out an economic niche for themselves in a consumer-driven economy.

A similarly gastronomically themed book, *Chopsticks: A Cultural and Culinary History*, explores the cultural significance and the history of chopsticks in the culinary traditions of China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam. Stretching from the ancient times to the present era, the book considers the functional history of how and why chopsticks came into popular usage, the impact of chopsticks on the foodways of Asia, and the larger cultural significance of chopsticks in Asian cultures.

Wang meticulously examines the historical and archaeological evidence to identify when and why chopsticks emerged as an eating utensil. Archaeologists have discovered the earliest example of chopsticks in ruins dating between 6600 and 5500 B.C.E. These early utensils most likely served as tools in both the preparation and the consumption of food. However, chopsticks were not used in isolation. Dagger-shaped spoons apparently predated chopsticks and were used as the primary eating tool before the introduction of chopsticks, at which point both instruments were used in tandem for many centuries. The preference for eating with utensils rather than using one's hands began to occur in China around the fourth century B.C.E. The popularity of hot food over cold food may have contributed to this change. Millet's dominance over rice as the primary crop in some regions also led to the use of spoons. Less sticky than rice and more frequently cooked as porridge, millet's liquid consistency meant spoons were preferable for consuming it. By the Han dynasty (206 B.C.E to 220 C.E.), stone mills facilitated the production of more wheat foods in the form of noodles, dumplings, and pancakes, and this, together with greater rice consumption, meant chopsticks emerged as the primary eating instrument in North China. Wang argues that South China most likely had used chopsticks much earlier since rice had been the staple crop in that region.

Chopstick usage spread from China outward, paralleling a general expansion of Chinese culture during the Tang dynasty (618–907 C.E.). Vietnam, under the influence of Chinese rule, was apparently among the earliest neighbors to adopt chopsticks. Japanese aristocrats, enthusiastically embracing elements of Chinese culture, acquired chopsticks as early as the seventh century. Koreans adopted the chopstick even earlier than the Japanese and were influenced by the proximity with North China. As in ancient China, Koreans preferred the use of the spoon but gradually began to use both spoon and chopsticks as a pair. The Mongol invasion of Korea led to the reintroduction of meat into Korean diets after a prolonged period influenced by Buddhism's preference for a meat-limited diet. Metal utensils therefore came into

popular usage, since meat preparation required more durable tools. In this cultural exchange, the nomadic Mongols began using chopsticks alongside the spoon, knife, and fork.

The notion that using chopsticks is more civilized than eating with forks, knives, or one's hands is a common cultural belief in Asia. From the third century on, the use of utensils predominated in China. Eating with one's hands was looked on with distaste. By the Ming era (1368–1644), Chinese diners began to eat at tables and sit on chairs rather than on the floor. The use of a table facilitated the emergence of communal dining customs allowing individuals to try different dishes from communal bowls. Dining etiquette varied from region to region and country to country. For example, the proper manner of lifting one's bowl (or not) to prevent dropping food varied extensively.

Chopsticks have also served important cultural or symbolic functions. Chopsticks became a popular gift in Asia as a symbol of affection. Common gifts provided to couples at weddings or exchanged between lovers, chopsticks symbolize the couple's inseparableness. Other customs rely on chopsticks as a metaphor for life. For example, in some regions of Northwest China when a bride leaves her family home she tosses a pair of chopsticks on the floor as a way of saying goodbye to her old life. The material used in the construction of the chopsticks can also be a sign of the status of the user. Gold, silver, ivory, jade, or ebony chopsticks connote wealth and prosperity.

In the modern era, the necessity of cost-efficient and disposable utensils has contributed to the rise in plastic, wood, or bamboo chopsticks. Hygienic concerns about reusable chopsticks have in part fueled this trend. Recently, however, concerns about environmental waste have led to efforts to reuse or recycle disposable chopsticks in order to reduce waste. The expansion of Chinese food around the globe has led to the extension of the cultural sphere of the chopstick.

Both Chen's and Wang's research have significantly contributed to our understanding of the global history and importance of Chinese foodways. These meticulously researched scholarly works are especially significant in examining the transmission of food habits across cultures and considering how the processes of empire building and globalization influence culinary traditions around the world.

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Jeffrey W. Alexander. *Brewed in Japan: The Evolution of the Japanese Beer Industry*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014. Pp. xii, 303. $30.00.

Barak Kushner. *Slurp! A Social and Culinary History of Ramen, Japan's Favorite Noodle Soup*. Boston: Global Oriental, 2014. Pp. xix, 289. $30.00.

George Solt. *The Untold History of Ramen: How Political Crisis in Japan Spawned a Global Food Craze*. (California Studies in Food and Culture, no. 49.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2014. Pp. xvii, 222. Cloth $60.00, paper $34.95.

In the 1980s, influential North American chefs and taste pioneers ushered in the first wave of serious interest in Japanese cuisine in the U.S. and Europe, inspired by the publication of a monumental cookbook by a leading Japanese chef Shizuo Tsuji (*Japanese Cooking: A Simple Art* [1981; repr., 2012]). Tsuji's work, in the hands of his non-Japanese readers, such as M. F. K. Fisher and Alice Waters, among many others, made the then-exotic cuisine of Japan accessible to discerning chefs and diners, as Japanese influences began to gradually appear in culinary forms such as Franco-Japanese cuisine, nouvelle cuisine, and so forth.

This was (and is) high-end stuff! But the appeal of Japanese cuisine outside Japan has just kept spreading, becoming ever more populist with its growing popularity. The Japanese government estimates there are now roughly fifty-five thousand restaurants outside Japan that serve nominally Japanese cuisine (interviews with officials of Japan's Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, June 2015).

The academic study of Japanese cuisine and foodways in anthropology, history, and sociology has expanded greatly in tandem with the global Japanese culinary boom during the past twenty or so years. Significant recent scholarly studies in English include: Eric C. Rath, *Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Japan* (2010); Eric C. Rath and Stephanie Assmann, eds., *Japanese Foodways, Past and Present* (2012); Merry White, *Coffee Life in Japan* (2012); Kristin Surak, *Making Tea, Making Japan: Cultural Nationalism in Practice* (2012); and Frederick Karl Errington, Tatsuo Fujikura, and Deborah B. Gewertz, *The Noodle Narratives: The Global Rise of an Industrial Food into the Twenty-First Century* (2013). Slightly earlier academic works on Japanese cuisine include Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, *Rice as Self: Japanese Identities Through Time* (1994); Theodore C. Bestor, *Tsukiji: The Fish Market at the Center of the World* (2004; and Katarzyna J. Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine: Food, Power and National Identity* (2006). The Tokyo-based food writer Elizabeth Andoh has also authored many influential cookbooks, such as *Washoku: Recipes from the Japanese Home Kitchen* (2005) that have greatly enhanced foreign appreciation of traditional Japanese cuisine.

The three books reviewed here are historical studies that add significantly to this growing body of literature. They deal with ramen, ramen, and beer, and primarily focus on the history of production and consumption from the late nineteenth century to the present. The studies individually are important contributions to Japanese culinary studies, and together they expand the scope and detail of historical research on the social contexts of Japanese food consumption and production, also shedding light on the wider social history of twentieth-century Japan.

Ramen is a typical quick meal for lunch, or after a long day at the office or a late evening of reveling. Ramen accounts for an astounding 26 percent of all meals eaten outside the home in Japan, served up in roughly thirty thousand restaurants (the largest single category of food purveyors), according to Kushner (3). And beer is ramen's almost automatic accompaniment.

So these two consumables are an every person's ordinary fare (here, the gender of every person skews heavily toward males). As ramen has become more and more popular in recent years, it has become a centerpiece for Japan's *B-kyū gurume*, B-class gourmet cuisine, perhaps emblematic of an "anti-gourmet" movement of populist resistance to Japan's highly aestheticized high cuisine, *washoku* (traditional Japanese cuisine), recently recognized by UNESCO and heavily promoted by Japanese government.

Chronologically, George Solt's *The Untold History of Ramen: How Political Crisis in Japan Spawned a Global Food Craze* is the most focused of the three books reviewed here. His first chapter looks at the origins of ramen in Japan, dating back to the Tokugawa period (1603–1868). However, the following chapters concentrate on ramen since 1945, examining how economic and food policy decisions of officials of the Allied Occupation (1945–1952) led to ramen's emergence as a key staple of working men's daily fare in the 1950s and 1960s, with broadening appeal across social class, gender, and generation throughout the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first centuries.

Jeffrey W. Alexander's *Brewed in Japan: The Evolution of the Japanese Beer Industry* presents the history of the Western-style beer brewing industry from the 1870s to the present day. His central concerns are the mid-twentieth-century corporate reorganizations and consolidations in the brewing industry, which were largely concluded in the 1960s and 1970s.

Barack Kushner's *Slurp! A Social and Culinary History of Ramen, Japan's Favorite Noodle Soup* tackles the *longue durée* of noodle history in East Asia, set against historical narratives of East Asian trade, cultural diffusion, and the violent nineteenth–twentieth-century realignments of cultural, political, and economic relationships between Japan and its East Asian neighbors. Kushner's study ranges from noodles in China dating as far back as 2000 B.C.E., through Japanese ancient and medieval culinary practices, and developments over the past 150 years involving what we now consider to be ramen, and on to depictions of ramen in popular culture today.

Of course, these three histories intersect and intertwine at many points, from which the reader may triangulate phenomena of a particular era: perhaps the two most interesting and significant intersections occur around the arrival of Western influences on food and consumption in the Meiji era (1868–1912), and the social, economic, and political upheavals of the immediate post–World War II years during the Allied Occupation of Japan, when food was scarce and Japanese industries in all sectors were struggling to recover from wartime devastation.

Solt's and Kushner's books are directly comparable topically, noodle to noodle. In other respects, Solt's and Alexander's are also comparable in terms of methodological and thematic perspectives, centered on economic history and industrial studies. Solt confesses at the outset that he is not a devoted ramen aficionado and actually prefers another form of Japanese noodle, *soba*, made from buckwheat (8). Despite, or because of, his preferences, Solt is able to present ramen clearly in a social and cultural history of the meaning of food and labor in national consciousness, particularly from the 1930s onward through the postwar period. On the other hand, Kushner suggests throughout his book that he is a passionate, exuberant consumer, if not an outright champion of ramen, and his preferences lead him to trace ramen's existence across a vast swath of Japanese history and in a wide array of social and cultural contexts. Personal tastes aside, the two books inevitably cross much of the same terrain, especially in the twentieth century.

But great differences in approach are evident at every historical period. For example, both authors address the popular belief—included in school history textbooks—that ramen was introduced (invented?) by the historical figure Tokugawa Mitsukuni, also known as Mito Kōmon, with the tutelage of a Chinese Confucian scholar Zhu Shunshui (or Shu Shunsui) who came to Japan in the mid-seventeenth century. Although both Solt and Kushner conclude that this is a largely fanciful origin myth, Solt deals with the entire episode in less than two pages (15–17), whereas Kushner covers this in over eight pages (71–79), including a description of the Mito clan's garden in Edo (Kōrakuen), a brief history of the fall of the Ming dynasty (which propelled Zhu to seek a new life in Japan), and the rigorous education of a Confucian scholar preparing for the Ming examination system (which Kushner argues means that a gentleman of Zhu's standing and accomplishments would be highly unlikely to become a cooking coach for a powerful Japanese lord).

Succinct or expansive, tied to close readings of primary documents or making use of the enormous variety of secondary material, following chronology very closely or making broad transitions, the two authors provide readers with a choice of flavorings and condiments with which to slurp the same noodles.

Brewed in Japan: The Evolution of the Japanese Beer Industry is a meticulously documented account of the history of a particular industrial sector—beer brewing—from the late nineteenth century to the early years of the twenty-first century. Alexander takes us through this history starting with European influences during the Meiji period, including the introduction of beer amidst many other Japanese adaptations of Euro-American products and practices. Although a critic of the times complained that beer tasted like "bitter horse piss wine" (9), the beverage nevertheless became popular and the nascent Japanese brewing industry worked hard to maintain "German authenticity" through the 1930s. From the 1930s, the cartelization of the industry reflected the governmentally controlled command economy up to and through World War II. Alexander examines the promotion of beer as the "taste of home" in the 1950s and 1960s (that is, dropping the "German authenticity" image important before World War II), and the consolidation in the 1950s and 1960s of the then-expanding beer market into the hands of only a few leading companies. He devotes a chapter to the Okinawan beer industry and its dependence on American military bases. And he looks at transformations in Japanese brewing since the 1970s, including, on

the one hand, innovative creation and marketing of many new brews by the major corporations (some readers may recall the success of "Asahi Super-Dry" and the charming beer cans of the 1990s that warbled like nightingales as the beer poured out), and on the other hand, the development of artisanal brewing (*jibiiru* or local beer) after craft production was legalized in 1994.

Alexander pointedly stresses that his is a business history, and he pays careful attention to the trajectories of well over one hundred brewing companies and brands from the 1870s until the present. His analysis of the competitive factors and waves of cartelization takes these dozens and dozens of breweries through the consolidations of the mid-twentieth century (before, during, and after World War II) that result today in five major brands—Kirin, Asahi, Ebisu, Sapporo, and Suntory (plus, in Okinawa, Orion)—dominating the huge national market; Japan's annual beer consumption was 43.1 liters per capita in 2013.

But he emphasizes, "beer industry sources also include important details on such themes as living standards, social trends, women, war, leisure, urbanization, and popular culture." Along the way, in what he describes as "chiefly an industry and product history" (5), his study contributes to understanding the social and cultural history of Japan (especially urban Japan) since the 1870s, including such things as: the development of mass advertising; consumption (of beer and of food generally) during the very lean years of the Occupation period; or the popularization of roof-top beer gardens (especially with women) from the late 1950s onward.

But these topics are encountered largely through analyses of the ups-and-downs of breweries and their strategies for achieving market share. As stated, *Brewed in Japan* is an industry study, and the book includes thirty-three tables and nineteen figures that document trends in beer production over the past 140 years; an appendix provides information on 124 beer brands from 1878 to the present.

Alexander's approach, however, does not focus much on the social life of beer—what many consumers would consider its most important aspects: cold suds on a hot night, or lubricating a late-night confessional with colleagues, not the consolidated statements of the beer business.

All three authors carry forward a theme that runs through much of the academic literature on Japanese cuisine: that the development, refinements, and marketing of foods and beverages in Japan reflect a deep concern—among producers and consumers alike—with origins and establishing a sense of authenticity that is linked in large part to notions of national cuisine and national gustatory preferences. For specialists in Japanese economic history or the political economy of twentieth-century Japan, these three books fit nicely into well-accepted perspectives on social, political, and economic institutions and trends that shaped twentieth-century Japan. These include the important role of government industrial policy, the emergence and consolidation of industrial cartels, and of course the development of mass markets, particularly from the 1960s onward, and the subsequent elaboration of consumption patterns as significant markers of social identity.

The authors' collective strengths are to anchor food studies in detailed documentary historical research, and perhaps even more importantly to add the ramen-and-beer perspective (akin to American "meat and potatoes" points of view) to understanding contemporary Japanese food and beverage production and consumption. By doing so, these books help move academic studies of Japanese cuisine from often overly aestheticized portrayals into the daily grind—what real women and men eat and drink every day!

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Emily Anderson. *Christianity and Imperialism in Modern Japan: Empire for God*. (SOAS Studies in Modern and Contemporary Japan.) New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014. Pp. xiv, 314. $83.99.

Emily Anderson's new book examines the profound transformation undergone by members of the Japanese Congregational Church (*Kumiai kyōkai*) as they adapted their theology and ideology to the new realities of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The book joins a large body of scholarship, both on the intersection of empire and religion, and on the trials faced by Japanese Christians during the Meiji reign (1868–1912). Much of that previous work focused on the clash of worlds: either the moment of mission encounter or the conflict between mission Christianity and existing religious and political interests. In contrast, Anderson presents the Japanese Christians not as converts but as missionaries in their own right. The moment of encounter was internal to the Christians themselves, as they came to embrace ideas of social reform, modernization, and national destiny alongside those of religious conviction.

The content chapters follow a fairly well-established chronological arc, proceeding from the reformation of domestic social institutions in the mid-nineteenth century, through Japan's reimagining of its relationship to both Asia and the West, and finally through the stages of continental expansion and experimentation that culminated in the 1932 formation of the Japanese client state in Manchuria. The first two content chapters examine how Christians faced the question of political loyalty during the late Meiji period. The first of these tests was the crisis created by the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890), a ritualized document that blurred boundaries between the political and religious, and prompted Christians such as Kashiwagi Gien to refute old criticisms of Japanese Christians as a domestic fifth column. When such concerns resurfaced during the war against Christian (albeit Orthodox) Russia (1904–1905), prominent voices such as Pastor Ebina Danjō responded by dispelling any hint of divided loyalties: the war represented Japan's sacred duty to bring civilization to the benighted East, and the duty of Christians was to their nation. Three subsequent chapters look to a different sort of expansion: the sacred mission to bring Christ to the Japanese diaspora in

California and Korea, to use Christianity first to civilize and absorb the residents of Korea, and later to neutralize the Korean resistance to Japanese rule that had coalesced in Korea's 1919 independence movement. The book's final two chapters echo the question of how Christianity informed and inflected the choices of the 1920s and 1930s, examining two separate movements: one for Tolstoyan agrarianism, and another to create Christian settler villages in Manchuria—two reactions to the reality of military adventurism that, while opposed, nevertheless shared a conviction that Christianity would play a crucial role in shaping Japan's larger destiny.

These stories each present unique insight into the internal complexity of a period that is all too easily seen as an inexorable march toward militarism. They run parallel to the march to empire, but are not bound by it. Rather, Anderson shows how choices such as the mirror images presented in the final two chapters—expansion through settler colonization, or a conscious retreat from empire to a "small country"—were inflected by particular readings of Christianity. Indeed, the title is somewhat misleading: the book is less deterministically concerned with empire than with the full field of internationalism. With this broader perspective, Anderson is free to follow the concerns of Christians beyond a binary of supporting or resisting empire to entirely new destinations, such as the Christian vice leagues that operated among Japanese communities in California and Shanghai.

The book portrays a group that is remarkably intimate. The Congregationalists were few in number, but also quite closely connected—many of the book's figures knew each other, some of the more prominent families intermarried. Anderson uses sources such as personal notebooks and diaries to great effect, allowing her to see into the world of such easily overlooked figures as minor missionaries and Japanese agrarian settlers.

At the same time, there are some surprising omissions from the text. Even though this book aims to move away from the interaction between missionaries and converts, it still would have benefited from more information about the foreign Christian community. Western missions remained a vital force in Japan throughout this period, and would certainly have been an important point of reference against which the Congregationalists would have defined themselves. For similar reasons, it would have been useful to understand how the Congregationalists understood themselves in relation to other Japanese Christians, particularly the numerically strong and politically prominent Catholics. Crucially, Japanese Catholics maintained a very different relationship with western missions, as well as foreign loyalties that would eventually cause them significant political difficulty. A bit more perspective on these issues, particularly as they were understood at the time, would have helped to frame the uniqueness of some of the ideas put forward by people such as Ebina.

In sum, Anderson's book is a solidly researched and sympathetically written work of scholarship that shows how Christians shaped their ideals to engage the many challenges of Japan's modern transformation—most crucially their ability to imagine a role for Christianity to lead the nation into different visions of the future, including those roads that were ultimately never traveled.

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OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

James Revell Carr. *Hawaiian Music in Motion: Mariners, Missionaries, and Minstrels*. (Music in American Life.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2014. Pp. ix, 217. Cloth $95.00, paper $25.00.

The previous decade has witnessed a surge of exceptional work in Hawaiian history, prompting ever-greater numbers of U.S. historians and American Studies scholars to take note. From Noenoe K. Silva's 2004 exegesis of Hawaiian-language documents in *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* to Adria L. Imada's *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire* (2012), this body of scholarship features, among other attributes, some of the best recent explorations of the relationship between colonialism and expressive culture. Ethnomusicologist James Revell Carr contributes to this conversation in his dynamic study of how nineteenth-century Hawaiian mariners and seafaring foreigners crafted a fascinating web of musical entanglements not only within the Hawaiian Kingdom, but throughout the globe.

Although Captain James Cook was killed by Kānaka (Hawaiians) at Kealakekua Bay on the island of Hawai'i in 1779, European and soon, American mariners began visiting the Hawaiian Kingdom with increasing frequency. Recognizing the local sandalwood and bêche-de-mer (a variety of sea cucumber) as highly sought after trade goods in China, the kingdom soon integrated more deeply into these networks of commercial Pacific trade—fueled by mariners who might spend years at sea while accumulating a flux of cargo for the exchange of new goods at every port. When in port these sailors, whalers, and merchants often exercised little social restraint. As a consequence, they generated upheavals within the Hawaiian populous as well as the ire of recently arrived New England missionaries, whose order of the day evolved from harvesting souls to prohibiting hula performances and, by extension, criminalizing those Hawaiians unwilling to labor in the fields of their denominations' fast-growing sugar plantations.

Desirous to obtain complete control over Hawaiian lands in order to fortify their fortunes, descendants of the first U.S. missionaries illegally overthrew Hawai'i in 1893. Carr's *Hawaiian Music in Motion: Mariners, Missionaries and Minstrels* suggests that while the political and economic actions of the foreigners grew increasingly dissonant from the expectations of their host kingdom in the decades leading up to the overthrow, their musical cultures syncretized, and at times, harmonized in a manner that has escaped the chroniclers of both nineteenth-century Hawaiian and U.S. music history. While the political consequences of the overthrow casts a long shadow

over nineteenth-century Hawaiian historiography, Carr sees the period as one of immense musical fecundity.

Carr's passionate study, and his principal contribution, begins and ends with musical analysis—through this effort he carefully unfolds the binding relationship between music and history. His father served for twenty years as the director of the Mystic Seaport Museum in Connecticut. Coming of age singing sea chanteys, Carr's personal interest in this topic was sparked by the title of a quite common chantey, "John Kanaka." Though the title might suggest, simply enough, that the song is about a Hawaiian sailor, thousands of whom, we learn, worked on foreign commercial vessels in the 1800s, his analysis of the song's lyrics and melodic origins in chapter 2 reveals instead a much more complicated and uncertain past—one that exposes the degree of multicultural fluency that such seafaring labor engendered. According to Carr, "sailors were tethered to their homelands through their ships, their nicknames, their journals, and their songs, yet as they traveled around the globe their tethers became interwoven with those of others, creating an intricate net of culture" (56). Indeed, Carr's reading of widely scattered collections of sailors' journals and song fragments, combined with his intimate knowledge of the mariner's craft and attendant work songs on tall ships, yields a methodologically unique study of nineteenth-century musical culture that should attract the attention of scholars in multiple fields.

Maintaining the long-distance voyaging tradition of their ancestors, Carr demonstrates that "Hawaiians in the nineteenth century were extremely mobile and cosmopolitan, far from the image of primitive, isolated islanders popularized by the tourism industry" (3). The book's venues range from early-nineteenth-century dockside performances by Hawaiian sailors in New England to Kamehameha III's Royal Hawaiian Theatre in Honolulu, where professional blackface minstrel troupes from the U.S. entertained foreign sailors and Hawaiians alike. Carr acknowledges that any effort to ascertain the meanings these performances generated for their heterogeneous audiences remains speculative in most instances, yet his impressive documentation of the frequency and content of such performances supports his contention that Hawaiians were deeply involved, from the beginning, in the development of the modern music industry. His work, by providing a more complicated view of American colonial efforts in the islands, reveals how expressive culture could create powerful communication lines that connected Hawaiian communities, as well as social fault lines that divided foreign sailors and missionaries. Despite some off-handed yet problematic analogies (such as comparing the behavior of early-nineteenth-century American sailors in Hawai'i to "drunken frat boys on spring break" [106]), Carr's work demonstrates that historians have much to gain by studying nineteenth-century mariners and musicians, Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian alike, as well as the globally resonant cultural impact that rippled in their wake.

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Barry Morris. *Protests, Land Rights and Riots: Postcolonial Struggles in Australia in the 1980s*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2015. Pp. xii, 204. $80.00.

This small compact book was, for me, a most welcome read, especially since there has been something of a downturn in Aboriginal history in the academy more recently. After a late start, it took off in the 1970s and 1980s as historians began a deeper excavation of the archive and, with new questions, recovered the Aboriginal story and placed it within the wider story of interaction and connection across the Australian frontier. As a result, the field flourished. It was, for a time, the most productive genre of Australian historiography and led to a reinterpretation of the nation's past. Yet, by the 2000s, this had changed as the excitement and production that had characterized the earlier period diffused. Barry Morris reveals that this phenomenon was the end product of social and political changes heralded by the rise of a neoliberal polity in the last quarter of the twentieth century that sought to *recompose* the gains of the postcolonial recognition of Aboriginal people. The historical narrative was an important part of that process.

However, he does something even more important. He shows how this expansion and contraction in Aboriginal affairs played out in the everyday lives of Aboriginal people and the machinations of the state. The setting is the state of New South Wales (NSW), around the mid northwestern towns of Wilcannia, Bourke, Brewarrina, and Walgett, which had sizeable Aboriginal populations and long histories of racism and interracial conflict. In particular, he explores the context of a number of Aboriginal "riots" (Morris prefers civil disturbance or melee) in these regions in the 1980s such as the Brewarrina riot of 1986. That riot resulted in a criminal trial and became part of the deliberations of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody. It is particularly interesting because it became a national media event after Aboriginal man Lloyd Boney died in police custody due to unexplained circumstances. After his funeral, his friends and family gathered in a nearby park for his wake but hostilities developed between them and the white patrons in a local hotel. Police intervened, but confrontation ensued, spread out, and injured four police officers. A lengthy legal process followed and involved two trials (initially on the charge of riot and the arrest of seventeen indigenous people).

Before addressing the trial, Morris describes the regional decline that occurred once neoliberal economics took hold in the 1970s and 1980s. The economic decline resulted in dramatic social fragmentation, unemployment, farm closures and evictions, withdrawal of services and facilities for rural towns, and the collapse of the pastoral industry. Aboriginal communities were hit hard. But, as Morris goes on to show in his careful analysis of the trial itself, their socioeconomic conditions did nothing to change preconceived notions of Aboriginal inferiority. As the trial demonstrated, these were systemic and rehearsed in such moments of racial confrontation, nowhere more so than in the interactions with the police.

Morris's analysis illustrates how police officers constructed responses and interpretations of the events based on historic constructions of "seeing" and "knowing" Aborigines. In an extended piece of cultural analysis, the author argues that such entrenched racism fulfills a purpose. The media coverage projected an image of drunken and riotous Aborigines and these perceptions triggered the regrouping of a conservative polity worried about the gains achieved during the rights era. They provided a platform for debates about the direction of Aboriginal policy. Sure enough, within six months of the trial, a newly elected neoliberal government in the state of NSW began the work of repealing the landmark Aboriginal Land Rights Act of 1983 and mainstreaming all specialized indigenous programs. Once a neoliberal government was installed at the federal level a decade later, it followed the model established by NSW to reverse the significant gains attained in Commonwealth native title legislation.

How could such a book be a welcome read? It is a sober and somber read, yes, but one which exposes the lies and mumbo-jumbo of the neoliberal regime and its octopus apparatus, as well as its anxiety and fear, to contextualize and scrutinize its central tenets. The one resounding outcome of the war on Aboriginal recognition at the end of the twentieth century, widely endorsed, was the verdict of Aboriginal failure and a concomitant view that they could not be self-determining. This justified all sorts of policies and interventions that amounted to reimpositions of old paradigms of control and governance. Morris reveals, with some assuredness and armed with the facts, that the failure was not with Aboriginal people but with governments—settler colonial states—whose logic has been, and continues to be, to deny Aboriginal people their very legitimacy, often stealthily and frequently violently. Thank you Barry Morris.

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Jenny Carlyon and Diana Morrow. *Changing Times: New Zealand since 1945*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2013. Pp. vii, 520. $49.99.

In 1945, New Zealand was, as a visiting American academic described it, "one of the most elaborately governed democracies in the world" (1). The state intervened to protect the economy, while an extensive social security system, including state housing, subsidized healthcare, and universal superannuation, aimed to provide a decent standard of living for all of its citizens. By 2015, that elaborate system of government was in retreat. New Zealand had one of the least regulated economies in the world, and its social security system was no longer a source of local pride. The death of a young girl was partly attributed to a damp and moldy state house, while other families, unable to find affordable housing or secure employment, slept in their cars. In 1945, the leader of the country was a former radical socialist who was imprisoned for sedition during World War I because of his peace activism; in 2015, the prime minister was an ex-merchant banker who could not recall which position he took over a contentious South African rugby tour of New Zealand during the apartheid era.

These are just some of the fascinating and troubling transformations that Jenny Carlyon and Diana Morrow's new book, *Changing Times: New Zealand Since 1945*, sets out to examine. Meticulously researched and highly readable, it is the first general history of this era, and its publication is timely: for many New Zealanders, the past era of state intervention and social security is indeed a foreign country. In a series of chronological and thematic chapters, the authors bring into focus some of the most important social, cultural, and economic changes of the period. The first third of the book deals with the prosperous postwar years, when rising export prices, an insulated economy, and "cradle to grave" social security combined to create a period of "golden weather" in New Zealand. This section emphasizes continuity over change, and that era of continuity becomes the narrative foil for the transformations that preoccupy the rest of the book. The golden weather of the 1950s and 1960s gives way to chapters entitled "In Ferment," "Schisms," and "Shifting Tides." Covering social changes like the emergence of gay rights, second wave feminism, and indigenous land rights movements through the 1970s and 1980s, these are some of the book's strongest chapters. But the book is strangely equivocal on the massive structural changes wrought by the neoliberal economic turn in the 1980s and 1990s. During this period, the interventionist state was dismantled with great speed and with little attention to the human costs. A zealous free-market orthodoxy prevailed. Carlyon and Morrow document this period with care over two lengthy chapters, including some voices of dissent, but their conclusions about its impact seem timid. The price of a more "diverse, dynamic and varied society with choices and opportunities that did not exist in 1984" (342) was high and, a quarter of century on, continues to be borne disproportionately by those at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder. This troubling legacy of change needed fuller exploration.

Similarly, though this is a history of changing times, the book draws on some very conventional historical interpretations. The invocation of a "Maori renaissance" to describe indigenous activism in the late 1970s and 1980s is a case in point. Maori historians increasingly challenge this reading of their past, and for good reasons. Designating the late twentieth century as a renaissance may be consonant with a narrative of change, but it denies a much longer history of Maori cultural dynamism and activism. Indeed, the idea of renaissance is in part constructed by general histories such as this, which tend to engage with Maori history only where it intersects with a wider "national" story, effacing separate, concurrent, and intertwined Maori pasts. While this book frequently engages with Maori agency and action, with particularly strong sections on race relations and the treaty settlement process, there is no sense of a concurrent Maori history, or histories, running within or across the wider story. As with other general histories, "New Zealand" remains the default category of analysis. The impact of a "New Zealand" perspective is at once obvious and, at

times, more subtle, working its way into small textual details. It is unlikely, for example, that many Maori would agree with a quote used to conclude a section about the development of a distinctive New Zealand culture, which claimed, "we are different: but not very" (110).

Yet *Changing Times* still performs an important function. It focuses attention on an underdeveloped part of New Zealand history that continues to resonate today, and it should encourage new scholarly approaches. Just as the social freedoms won in the late twentieth century continue to expand, so too does the gap between rich and poor. *Changing Times* reminds New Zealanders that we have not always lived with such inequality.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

Malcolm Gaskill. *Between Two Worlds: How the English Became Americans*. New York: Basic Books, 2014. Pp. xxiii, 484. $35.00.

Despite its subtitle, *Between Two Worlds: How the English Became Americans* is less about the emergence of a distinct American identity than it is about the persistence of an English mentality and political culture in the American colonies, at least in the first century after the settling of Jamestown in 1607. Malcolm Gaskill examines the perspective of English migrants, masterfully evoking their experience of an incoherent, unstable world. For every pamphlet that promoted fantastic wealth there existed a corresponding tale of horrific disease and starvation. Seemingly helpful natives sometimes turned out to be murderous savages. And arguments for freedom of religious conscience coexisted with justifications for religious persecution. An exceptionalist view of American history argues that this wilderness produced a new subjectivity. According to Gaskill, however, while the risks and opportunities afforded by the colonial frontier enabled new civic identities and structures, such innovations were thoroughly rooted in an English political culture predicated on a general acceptance of social hierarchy, as well as a balance between monarchical authority and individual freedom. In fact, the encounter with the New World stimulated in colonists a kind of defensive nostalgia that hearkened back to feudal social relationships, the pure practices of the primitive church, and the values of English neighborliness.

Of course, such nostalgic aspirations were not uniform among all colonists. Nor were they activated solely upon arrival in the New World. As Gaskill amply demonstrates, emigration was often motivated by the belief that it was possible to recover in the New World what no longer existed in the Old. The book's first section, covering the years 1607–1640, examines how Virginia was promoted as a solution to chronic unemployment in England and how New England became a refuge for Puritans fleeing high-church Anglicanism. The middle chapters address the impact of the English Civil War on both sides of the Atlantic. The crisis forced English colonists to examine their allegiances to their mother country and, in some instances, to experiment with forms of government. At the same time, economic stability and commercial success promoted a greater sense of independence, even as it incited the English imperial state to assert its authority. Gaskill bookends the final section, on 1675–1692, with two outbreaks of violence in New England: the military attacks on English settlements led by the Wampanoag chief Metacom and the trial of suspected witches in Salem. Through these episodes, he suggests, New Englanders finally began forging an increasingly distinct political identity, though one enabled by English habits of assembly government and protected by the 1689 Bill of Rights.

The strength of the book rests on Gaskill's admirable ability to manage narrative structure and evidentiary detail. Events that loom large in the American imagination, such as John Smith's meeting with Pocahontas or the Pilgrims' first Thanksgiving, are woven together with incidents that paint a fuller picture of the English-speaking Atlantic world. To explain the essential characteristics of English colonization, he uses the less familiar figures of David Thomson and William Hilton, the founders of New Hampshire. To illustrate the impact of the English Civil War on colonial fortunes, he relates the story of James Drax, a pioneer planter on Barbados who petitioned parliament for relief from the colony's royalist government. He deftly portrays New England's precarious political position through the experiences of Increase Mather, who in 1688 met with King James II to complain about the colony's repressive royal governor; less than a year later, he had successfully petitioned the newly crowned King William III for greater independence and self-determination. Gaskill is a gifted storyteller with an eye for enlivening detail. We learn, for example, that Mather, when he was not meeting with kings, pined for his family and splurged on a life-size portrait of himself. Nevertheless, readers unfamiliar with seventeenth-century English history or with the lesser-known figures of colonial America may find his style more bewildering than bracing, even with the assistance of copious notes and a thoughtfully organized list of suggested additional readings. Others may chafe at a view of American history that restricts itself to the English perspective and tends to treat indigenous people, African slaves, and other European colonists as mere props or foils.

In reintegrating seventeenth-century England and early America into one story, *Between Two Worlds* explodes the exceptionalist view of Americans as a kind of "new man," to borrow J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur's famous phrase, freed from the prejudices and manners of the Old World. In its place, Gaskill presents us with a nuanced portrait of a searching and uncertain colonial people trying to make sense of an England whose changing social order and customs had seemingly left them behind.

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Kelly L. Watson. *Insatiable Appetites: Imperial Encounters with Cannibals in the North Atlantic World*. (Early American Places.) New York: New York University Press, 2015. Pp. xiii, 239. $40.00.

Insatiable Appetites: Imperial Encounters with Cannibals in the North Atlantic World analyzes the discourse of cannibalism in European colonial expansion in six easily read chapters. Focusing primarily on texts written from the late fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries, Kelly L. Watson details how European and North American writers deployed cannibalism to mark civilization and savagery. She pays particular attention to the creation of gender boundaries, arguing that stories of cannibalism reveal the tensions and power dynamics in early modern colonialism. In focusing on cannibalism's role in the definition of savagery and otherness, Watson points to the colonial project of bodily control in New World environments.

The book's introduction is straightforward, introducing sources and delineating acts of anthropophagy from the idea of cannibalism. Watson sets out that this book focuses on the latter. Given this concentration on the power dynamics revealed in cannibalism rhetoric, she guides the reader through an interdisciplinary historiography including anthropology, psychoanalysis, and comparative colonialism, alongside histories of sexuality and empire. Chapter 1 presents an overview of centuries of European print discussions of cannibals. Beginning with ancient Greek texts, Watson moves through anti-Christian writing to medieval constructions of monstrosity in travel narratives to explore how each constructed images of otherness through stories of cannibalism. This lengthy history provides a background for the four case studies of early modern cannibalism in the colonial context.

Chapter 2 focuses on the Western "discovery" of cannibals, in particular how the early European text and visual portrayals depicted Caribbean Indians in exploration narratives. Watson convincingly details the connections between uncontrolled sexual and anthropophagic appetites, and argues that (mis)classifying various indigenous groups as cannibals allowed for further institutionalization of colonial rule. Like other scholars, Watson argues that Europeans' critiques of indigenous gender norms were central to the classification and subjugation of indigenous people. Chapter 3 shifts to an analysis of documents from New Spain in order to trace the similarities between Mexican conquest narratives and Caribbean stories. Watson continues to show how Europeans discursively linked sex and cannibalism together to demonstrate examples of savage sinfulness. In addition, she focuses on the use of sodomy to denigrate indigenous social and sexual practices in these Iberian narratives.

Relying largely on *The Jesuit Relations*, chapter 4 turns to New France. Watson relatively sympathetically explains how Jesuits saw ritualized cannibalism in light of their preconceived hierarchies of indigenous savagery, and compares Catholic notions of martyrdom to Iroquois views on torture and bodily suffering. Chapter 5 explores English perceptions of cannibalism through the eighteenth century. Here Watson notes the relative absence of discussions of cannibalism in English New World travel writings. While she includes a detailed analysis of cannibalism stories that circulated at Jamestown's founding, the chapter focuses largely on the well-plumbed genre of captivity narratives, arguing that English colonists, like many writers before them, reinforced notions of masculine prowess by denigrating challengers as savage cannibals. The book's concluding chapter reviews the various gendered hierarchies enforced by discourses of cannibalism, and offers a postscript on nineteenth-century shifts away from the association of female sexual power and cannibalism.

This chronologically and geographically wide-ranging book is an enjoyable and enlightening read. It brings together occasional commentaries to form a coherent viewpoint that highlights cannibalism's connection to early modern European colonialism. It would be useful in courses on American studies, gender studies, or an array of courses on North American colonialism. Occasionally, the clear writing can veer into the overly directive ("we must pause one more time" [35]) or stiffly unnecessary ("sexuality and gender were inextricably intertwined in sixteenth-century Spain as they were everywhere" [95]). And there are moments when Watson might have pushed her analysis beyond gender's importance to more fully engage with the material power behind the discourses. Overall, however, this slender monograph provides ample food for thought by bringing together extensive evidence on the role of cannibalism in European conquest discourse. Watson offers a coherent reflection on the ways that cannibalism was a tool of European colonial projects, and in so doing, centers the body more fully in our understanding of colonial conflicts.

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Craig Thompson Friend and Lorri Glover, editors. *Death and the American South*. (Cambridge Studies on the American South.) New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 280. $95.00.

Quite appropriately, Craig Thompson Friend and Lorri Glover, editors of this volume, open the collection with a scene from William Faulkner's *As I Lay Dying*, the classic 1930 novel that uses death to illuminate the complexity of life in the American South. The plot of the novel revolves around the death of Addie Bundren and her quest to be buried in her hometown of Jefferson, Mississippi. Most notably, Faulkner uses multiple narrators to tell the story and each of the fifteen chapters introduces a new character's perspective on the quest to fulfill Addie Bundren's wishes. Similarly, *Death and the American South* presents eleven original essays that offer readers multiple perspectives on the compelling history of southern deathways. Driven by a goal to explore how death has framed southern history, the editors clarify that they are not making the case "for the uniqueness of southern death and deathways," but rather seek to consider, "what were the causes and implications of the South's defining experiences with death" (2). The book tackles a broad range of

themes, including the fraught and violent history of race relations in the South, Native American death practices, and religious conceptualizations of a "good or bad death." The strength of the volume resides in the diversity of topics covered by the individual essays, which address subjects such as: the cultural meaning of scalpings and beheadings in the early South among white colonists, Native Americans, and enslaved Africans; the politics of slave burial during the antebellum period; the relationship between yellow fever epidemics and the rise of nativism; shifting attitudes toward suicide after the Civil War; condolence literature and the rise of the modern South; African American resistance to lynching; and Cherokee graves and the changing landscape of southern memory.

Although editors Friend and Glover resist the argument that the American South has a unique relationship to death and mourning, their introduction makes a persuasive case about how southern history is central to our understanding of American death practices and, conversely, how encounters with death often shape the course of southern history. Beginning in the early colonial period, Friend and Glover argue that the "forbidding environments" of the southern colonies, which included the fatal epidemic disease that devastated local Indian communities and the brutal winters and starvation that crippled the colonists, resulted in extremely high mortality rates and a life that was defined by the management of death. In one particularly vivid example, the editor's note that only 60 of the 240 colonists in Jamestown's 1609–1610 winter survived and those who lived were so desperate for food that they sometimes resorted to cannibalism. As a result, some of the dying "dug their own graves, hoping to keep their bodies from being ravaged by wild animals—and fellow colonists" (3). Death was also pervasive in colonial slave populations where "communities did not reproduce through natural increase until the turn of the nineteenth century" (3). Significantly, the pervasiveness of death in the southern colonies deepened the region's commitment to slavery. When armed conflict with Native Americans and the spread of epidemic disease resulted in the loss of African and Native American laborers, Europeans became more invested in the international slave trade in an effort to meet the demands for labor in the southern agricultural economy.

By the Revolutionary era and the birth of the New Republic, the devastating death rates of the colonial period had fallen and the idea of "the South as a self-consciously distinct region began to emerge" (7). The development of the South's unique regional identity was instrumental in the formation of a broader sense of nationalism. In Glover's essay, "When 'History Becomes Fable Instead of Fact': The Deaths of Virginia's Leading Revolutionaries," she examines how the deaths, funerals, and public commemorations of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison were powerful public rituals that transformed these leaders into "divinities in an American civic religion intended to legitimize the nation" (7). In this way, this collection is able to illustrate how, through death and mourning practices, "the South played an important role in defining what was 'American'" (7).

Perhaps one of the greatest strengths of this collection is how the featured essays illuminate the ways in which death in the American South was "at once deeply intimate and a powerful public site" of cultural meaning (2). The scholarship presented tackles this tension between the intimacy of death and its public meanings in very imaginative ways. One particularly striking example is Diane Miller Sommerville's essay, "'Cumberer of the Earth': Suffering and Suicide among the Faithful in the Civil War South." Sommerville analyzes the suicide of Edmund Ruffin, a "fire-eating secessionist from Virginia . . . who fired the first shot of the war" when he was given "the honor of detonating the first volley at Fort Sumter" (153). Four years later, Ruffin's early glory in the Confederate forces was overshadowed by his last shot, "when on June 17, 1865, he blew his brains out with a silver-plated rifle" (153). While the simplest explanation of Ruffin's suicide can be reduced to the man's unwillingness to accept the Confederacy's loss, Somerville uses his death to explore the deeper religious meanings of his decision and open up "a discussion of how religious white Southerners viewed suicide in the wake of war and loss" (154). This more subtle analysis exemplifies the collection's goal of exploring both the psychological intimacy of death and its larger public and political ramifications.

The volume concludes with essays that address how modernity transformed the experience of the public and intimate dimensions of death and grieving in the American South. In "'He's Only Away': Condolence Literature and the Emergence of a Modern South," Kristine M. McCusker explains how the development of preprinted condolence cards displaced the traditional evangelical Christian language to express sympathy and were instrumental in modernizing mourning etiquette in southern culture. In "'A Monument to Judge Lynch': Racial Violence, Symbolic Death, and Black Resistance in Jim Crow Mississippi," Jason Morgan Ward analyzes the multiple ways African Americans resisted a series of lynchings that took place from a "hanging bridge" in Shubuta, Mississippi. Once again, the story illustrates the tensions between the public and private aspects of death in the South and how these tensions had profound political meaning. In the public arena, African American activists, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's Walter White, pushed to publicize the crimes in the modern popular press. On a more intimate front, the victims' families refused to bear the burden of burial of the individuals who were killed in an effort to force "local whites to shoulder the responsibility for the lynchings and their aftermath" (235).

Appropriately, editors Friend and Glover situate the history of southern lynching in relation to contemporary debates about capital punishment. The editors include the revealing fact that "[s]ince the U.S. Supreme Court lifted the ban on death sentences in 1976, nearly 80 percent of all American executions have taken place in the South" (13). These types of connections give added depth to this collection and create a vivid portrait of death's centrality to the history of the American South. In terms of critique, the collection does not include any

essays that focus on the gender politics of death practices in the South, which could have added another analytical framework for the topic. Nevertheless, this is a very inventive volume that is useful to scholars and students of both American death studies and the history of the American South.

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Ethan A. Schmidt. *The Divided Dominion: Social Conflict and Indian Hatred in Early Virginia*. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2015. Pp. xvi, 208. $24.95.

In his acknowledgments, Ethan A. Schmidt writes that he became a social historian out of his commitment "to care about people who struggle outside the mainstream of society and to do [his] part to make this a more just, understanding, peaceful, and communal world" (xv). That commitment is apparent throughout *The Divided Dominion: Social Conflict and Indian Hatred in Early Virginia*. In particular, Schmidt seeks to narrate Anglo-Indian violence in seventeenth-century Virginia so that readers will empathize with the perspectives of both poor whites and Indians, without excusing the violence of the former toward the latter.

In an unapologetically class-based analysis (inspired by E. P. Thompson and Gary Nash), he employs a loose definition of class as based on "conflict over differing interests." Schmidt places the ultimate blame for colonists' violence against Indians squarely on the shoulders of the elite, blaming them for fostering "the notion that unrestrained violence against Indians for land acquisition purposes by any member of white Virginia society represented the normative state of Virginia-Indian relations" (45). He wavers on the question of how consciously elites promoted this attitude, several times arguing explicitly that they did so "unwittingly" (8, 55), but at other times suggesting that they understood that their "encouragement of violent retribution" would establish a long-lasting precedent (45).

Much of Schmidt's material is not new, and his interpretations rest heavily on Edmund S. Morgan's *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (1975) and on multiple articles by J. Frederick Fausz; he acknowledges his debts to both. However, *The Divided Dominion* differs from earlier scholarship in both emphasis and chronological frame. Schmidt focuses resolutely on his argument that over the course of the seventeenth century, Virginia elites repeatedly sent the message that Englishmen were justified in killing Indians, not only as retribution, but in order to acquire land. The individual colonist doing so needed no sanction but his own. Schmidt traces this attitude from the Anglo-Powhatan Wars of 1609–1646 through Bacon's Rebellion in 1676, insisting that in order to best put Bacon's Rebellion into its chronological context, we should see it as a product of seventeenth-century violence, rather than as a precursor of eighteenth-century race relations.

Schmidt uses the failed attempt by members of the Lawne's Creek Parish to incite an anti-tax riot in 1673 as the basis for his secondary thesis, that class tension was prevalent in Virginia for at least a generation before Bacon's Rebellion, but could not rise to the level of violence by itself because ties of dependence linking poor whites to elites remained too important. However, for poor whites, the unrestricted "right" to kill Indians in order to take their land became so important by 1676 that it was the *only* thing that could spark a simmering class resentment (at least, according to the various complaints of Bacon's supporters, against taxes and fur trade policies) into the violent confrontation against elites that became known as Bacon's Rebellion.

Schmidt's arguments are stark, in part because he does not embed them in a narrative as complicated as the ones provided by other historians. His decision to pull one thread from a much more complex story will not satisfy specialists aware of the distinctions colonists' drew among the region's indigenous populations. More thorough reexaminations of Virginia's Anglo-Indian relations have appeared in much recent scholarship, including Camilla Townsend's "Mutual Appraisals: The Shifting Paradigms of the English, Spanish, and Powhatans in Tsenacomoco, 1560–1622" and Edward DuBois Ragan's "'Scatter'd upon the English Seats': Indian Identity and Land Occupancy in the Rappahannock River Valley," both in *Early Modern Virginia: Reconsidering the Old Dominion*, edited by Douglas Bradburn and John C. Coombs (2011). Readers will find fuller analysis of social tensions (and new material) in Brent Tarter's "Bacon's Rebellion, the Grievances of the People, and the Political Culture of Seventeenth-Century Virginia" (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 119 [2011]: 2–41).

However, I found myself repeatedly considering how I might incorporate Schmidt's concerns into my undergraduate teaching, and here is where I believe this book has the most to teach us. Because Schmidt states his arguments forcefully and makes it clear why they should matter to us, and has done so in a narrative both engaging and brief, *The Divided Dominion* will be effective in the undergraduate classroom.

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Abram C. Van Engen. *Sympathetic Puritans: Calvinist Fellow Feeling in Early New England*. (Religion in America.) New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 311. $74.00.

It is fair to say that twenty-first-century scholars of the literary and cultural history of early New England Puritanism might think their book will be the last word on the subject. Why? It is mainly because the wise shifting of attention away from the tiny strand between Boston and Cambridge as a point of origin for American Studies has meant a ratcheting back on monographs covering the area. But then a pithy volume such as Matt Cohen's *The Networked Wilderness* (2009) comes along or a provocative reconsideration such as Sarah Rivett's *The Science of the Soul in Colonial New England* (2011) enters the field and you realize there is much more to say. Such is one

context for Abram C. Van Engen's brilliant work *Sympathetic Puritans: Calvinist Fellow Feeling in Early New England*. But to praise a thesis that breaks new ground—which his does—is to miss the many other pleasures and insights this elegant book provides.

Through centuries of stereotypes, we have come to understand early New Englanders as cold and merciless zealots. Cue H. L. Mencken's snark, wherein puritanism is "the haunting fear that someone, somewhere, may be happy"—a quip both self-satisfied and self-serving, given that no one would mistake Mencken for jolliness personified. Impelled instead by a curious and generous question—"How did sympathy shape the culture of Puritan New England?"—Van Engen introduces his subject through definitions of fellow-feeling, affections, and, of course, puritanism (10). Understanding the latter as a way of piety, he sketches the affective life as bound up in both a person's "loves and longings" *and* a person's purposive orientation: that is, the goals of those longings (15). This historicized meaning of "affections" leads into a chapter on puritan sympathy. Tracing its meanings in medical discourses, in Desiderius Erasmus and John Calvin, and in Christological thinking, Van Engen copiously documents a puritan emphasis on fellow-feeling and compassionate bonding. The pious were to pursue a "transfer of senses and affections, an adoption of someone else's inner sorrow or joy," in acts of imagination that would later be the *modus operandi* of literary sentimentalism (37). The chapter deepens with exposition of how sympathy is structured in theories of sanctification, where it is trebly a result of anticipated grace, a sign of experienced grace, and a duty of the godly so turned (44). Close study of John Winthrop's *A Model of Christian Charity* illustrates the precept that "reciprocal affections become fundamental to communal well-being" (25–26). Subsequent chapters searchingly explain the central texts of early New England in the light of puritan sympathy: the documents of the antinomian crisis, transatlantic sermons and reports during the English Civil War, John Eliot's missionary tracts, Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative, and the writings of the Salem witchcraft trials.

Van Engen commands the history, but he animates it through the art of narrative. Chapters begin with summaries of key events that bring both drama and clarity to conflicts between, say, the elders and the antinomians during the free-grace controversy. Van Engen masters the theology, but he enlivens it with metaphor and imagery. For example, when we are thick in the reading of, say, a set of sermons and trial transcripts, he will supply an illuminating analogy, such as his casting of different conversion models through a contrast between "the pole vault" and "a hurdles race" (83). With demanding material, Van Engen makes readers feel effortlessly smart. The quality of the writing is a true service to undergraduates, graduate students, and non-specialists.

Specialists will gain a new prism on the traditional canon of early New England writing. However, they will leave with quibbles as well. Given the themes of "love of brethren" and "fellow-feeling" in this dissection of puritan sympathy, sistren and allies may wonder about the gender politics of such a construct. Van Engen analyzes home hierarchies and female expression, but underplays the exact workings of male bonding (virtual and actual) that serve male interests. So too, an entire range of feeling—of sentiment, in its neutral sense—is given short shrift: anger, envy, resentment, wrath. The opposite of reciprocating sympathy is not solely, nor even necessarily, merciless cool. Rather, it can be something actively impassioned, such as conflictual fury or retributive violence. Van Engen is closest to recognizing this more wide-ranging view of emotion in the Mary Rowlandson material. Yet even here he underplays the text's hostility, in order to emphasize the captive shutting down her capacity for sympathy (rather than turning on her capacity for antipathy).

But these are quibbles in what is a remarkable and essential work for the study of colonial literary history and seventeenth-century American Puritanism. Indeed, *Sympathetic Puritans* enacts an implicit but robust defense of the humanities monograph. Van Engen keeps the past alive for generations to come through redescription and reinterpretation of its content and form. In an age when scholarly monographs are bemoaned on all sides, this is no small matter. From readers who deride writing that lacks topicality to digerati who believe that sandboxes of data suffice, long-form narrative and long-form argument are too often dismissed inside and outside the academy. In graceful writing that rehearses predecessors while advancing knowledge, *Sympathetic Puritans* will prompt readers to look anew at the book's historical actors and time period, stimulate debates for other areas of American Studies, and facilitate discussions that will energize students at all levels. Humanities scholarship is, like marriage, an unending argument. The point is the conversation. The last word is there is no last word.

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George Edward Milne. *Natchez Country: Indians, Colonists, and the Landscapes of Race in French Louisiana*. (Early American Places.) Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015. Pp. xv, 293. Cloth $84.95, paper $26.95.

The Natchez Revolt of 1729 was one of the most devastating episodes of violence between colonists and Indians in colonial America. In many previous accounts, historians have focused on the role of French commandant Captain Étienne de Chépart, whose aggressive demands for Natchez land near Fort Rosalie soured the previously amicable relations between the Indians and the colonists, provoking a large-scale attack which resulted in over two hundred colonial casualties and the destruction of the fort. In this new book, *Natchez Country: Indians, Colonists, and the Landscapes of Race in French Louisiana*, George Edward Milne recasts our understanding of the events of 1729 by considering not just the immediate preconditions, but the entire story of colonial encounter in Natchez Country. For Milne, the Natchez's actions were not merely reactionary. Rather they reflected the Indians' revolutionary embrace of a racial discourse

through which Indians for the first time understood themselves as "red men." In reconsidering the causes of 1729, Milne thus provides a new way to think about the construction of race in early America.

Milne begins his book by exploring the Natchez, a group descended from Mississippian ancestors who organized themselves into a complex chiefdom in the Lower Mississippi Valley. As Milne shows, the Natchez and the European immigrants had a good deal in common when priests, fur traders, and early military expeditions arrived in the region in the late 1600s. They shared similar hierarchical polities, kinship structures, hereditary succession, and certain similarities in cosmology. As a result of this common ground, both groups aimed to incorporate the other into their plans, and the Natchez in particular wanted to adopt the newcomers as they did many other refugees and outsiders in the shatter zone of the colonial Southeast. As Milne shows in chapter 2, the many cultural congruencies between Indians and Europeans allowed the parties to reconcile in the wake of crises like the First Natchez War in 1716.

Whatever cultural affinities allowed the Natchez and Europeans to accommodate one another early on were challenged as the French began to establish plantations, as well as outposts like Fort Rosalie, in the 1710s. Narrating these developments, Milne creates another intriguing angle in his exploration of colonial conflict by focusing on the spatial relations between the two groups. Employing Allan Greer's notion of an "inner commons," the shared space between the intensively cultivated zones of settlement, Milne explains that Europeans and Indians used their hinterlands differently. For instance, villagers at both the St. Catherine's Concession and the Natchez Apple Village came into conflict over livestock, reflecting two competing notions of how to use the inner commons. Milne does skillful work here by using colonial maps, archaeology, and other sources to reconstruct different actors' notions of space. As these differences became clear, Milne argues, relations soured, and Indians in particular changed their understanding of the colonizing other. Fighting over space, Milne argues, the "Natchez were beginning to abandon the idea that every aspect of Louisianan colonial society mirrored their own" (100–101).

In chapter 4, Milne pushes his spatial analysis even further, deploying the Foucauldian concept of "heterotopia" to show how Indian and colonial ideas of space were deeply in tension. Reading the funeral of Natchez headman Tattooed Serpent as an expression of Native notions of sacred space, he contrasts these ideas against the newly founded village of New Orleans, a totally different kind of heterotopia now competing to determine the arrangement of space in Lower Louisiana.

In chapter 5, Milne connects his discussion of spatial conflict to his main argument about race. Increasingly aware of the many ways in which the Europeans' practices clashed with their own, the Natchez began to adopt a new way of understanding difference. Part of this had to do with slavery. Although Natchez and Europeans initially saw some congruence in their shared practices of slavery, the evolving definition of chattel and racial slavery in Louisiana, signaled most importantly by the 1724 adaptation of the Code Noir to the colony, made important differences more apparent. Soon the Natives embraced the Europeans' racial logic and began to "fashion a 'red' identity" (163). Quoting several notable Indian speeches from the 1720s, Milne shows how a discourse of "redness," along with a clear concept of inherited racial difference, gained favor among Natchez Indians in this period. In the face of colonization, and aware of their marginal place in the racial hierarchy of the Europeans, Indians saw the advantages of a broad category of difference that enhanced solidarity among the heterogeneous Native population. Milne writes, "The encroachment of Europeans encouraged the Natchez to adapt the more 'portable' discourse of racial categories to unify their disputatious villages" (163).

From here, Milne returns to the events of 1729, and reconsiders the crisis as the logical conclusion of a long history of accommodation, spatial conflict, racial formation, and, ultimately, violence. In an epilogue, he argues that the legacy of the Natchez's experience was the spread of racial thinking to other groups in the Southeast. Building on prior work by Nancy Shoemaker, Milne explains that the discourse of Indians' "redness" became an important aspect of colonial relations throughout the eighteenth century. Meanwhile, previous patterns, particularly the complex chiefdoms constructed through the adoption of diverse outsiders, ended with the rise of this racial thinking among southern Indians.

Milne's deep contextualization of competing spatial understandings in the Natchez country is powerful, and his move to connect these themes to his larger history of racial formation is quite creative. In addition, the book is nicely written, making even the most theoretical aspects of the argument clear and easy to follow. It is a valuable contribution to our understanding of the Natchez, the events of 1729, and the history of race in early America.

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Jessica Choppin Roney. *Governed by a Spirit of Opposition: The Origins of American Political Practice in Colonial Philadelphia*. (Studies in Early American Economy and Society from the Library Company of Philadelphia.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014. Pp. xiii, 252. $59.95.

Jessica Choppin Roney's *Governed by a Spirit of Opposition: The Origins of American Political Practice in Colonial Philadelphia* is a deeply researched and cogent account of political behavior in Philadelphia from that city's founding to the outbreak of the American Revolution. Looking at topics as various as the creation of Philadelphia's city government, collective efforts to ameliorate the condition of the urban poor, and the formation of fire companies, Roney traces the ways in which these private institutions shaped urban life. Concerned Philadelphians, she writes, developed the "voluntary association" as a kind of "civic technology" (4), an organizational form malleable enough to handle problems that the state could

not. Over the course of the eighteenth century, voluntary associations came to take on more politicized functions, leading to increasingly sophisticated debates over the rights and duties of white male provincials. By the 1770s, activists relied upon this model of non-state civic action as they agitated for resistance to imperial regulations and, eventually, independence from the empire. Voluntary associations, more prominent in Philadelphia than any other British colonial city, "acted as midwife to the new political order" that emerged in revolutionary America (181). Roney's book offers a provocative new account of colonial political life.

The book begins with an examination of the limitations of William Penn's American enterprise and colonizers' attempts to overcome them. Penn, Roney shows, created Philadelphia as "an act of imagination" ill-suited to the needs of the city's residents. His grid-like city plan looked elegant but hampered urban settlement and development. And while Penn's commitment to religious toleration fostered the growth of many denominations, it also gave private institutions sole responsibility for erecting churches and taking care of the indigent—tasks that the publicly supported Church of England had handled across the Atlantic. Similarly, the 1683 Frame of Government failed to provide Philadelphia with an adequate government to meet its needs. Only with great difficulty did residents secure a city charter that did so. Action proved more essential than imagination in the city's founding years.

Subsequent chapters explore the creation of the first wave of voluntary associations in Philadelphia, such as the Library Company and the Union Fire Company, founded in 1731 and 1736, respectively. Roney argues that these organizations, while drawing heavily on the strategies religious denominations used to support their coreligionists in financial distress, succeeded because they "acted on behalf of the larger community, far beyond the confines of limited mutual aid" (75). And unlike contemporary English voluntary associations, Philadelphia's associations were structured along democratic lines, governed by the consent of and subsisting on contributions from their members. They opened membership to all free white men and were thus better able to garner a broader base of support. Philadelphia's public libraries and voluntary fire companies were unique organizations in the British Atlantic world in their form and function.

The last chapters of Roney's book trace the rise of military associations after mid-century. The outbreak of imperial war in 1747 created deep fractures within whatever common civic culture existed in Philadelphia. Pennsylvania's Quaker leaders, driven by Friends' commitment to pacifism, refused to create a government-funded militia. This led Benjamin Franklin to create a private militia association in 1747, which proved popular among the public but threatening to both the Pennsylvania Assembly and the Penn family. The militiamen had seized control of something—military defense—that had been under the purview of the government elsewhere in the British world. The outbreak of the Seven Years' War led most Friends to withdraw from formal political life, paving the way for the colony's first Militia Act and for the creation of several privately funded independent militia companies by Philadelphians dissatisfied with that they considered a toothless public company. These events provoked a wide-ranging discussion about rights and obligations of citizenship. Roney argues persuasively that the Seven Years' War represented the moment when Philadelphians articulated a notion of citizenship that was inclusive and exclusive simultaneously, one in which the right to civic participation extended to all white men, but only if they were willing to assume the obligation of taking up arms for defense.

The creation of the Military Association in 1775 represented the culmination of this trend. Though organized privately, the association insisted on public support for those willing to bear arms and steep fines for those who would not. The associators nonetheless resisted the Pennsylvania Assembly's control, insisting on the right to govern themselves democratically. The legislature's cautious political stance in 1775 and 1776 left the association as the public body with the most legitimate claim to speak for the people as a whole. Ultimately, the association played a key role in the passage of Pennsylvania's Constitution, long hailed by scholars as the most democratic constitution of the revolutionary era. But, Roney notes, the associators themselves drew upon a civic tradition established over several decades by other Philadelphians.

Governed by a Spirit of Opposition makes major contributions to several historical subfields. It is the best urban history on colonial Philadelphia since Gary B. Nash's *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (1979) and ranks among the top of any recent studies of colonial British cities. By adopting such a capacious understanding of politics, grounded in an extensive analysis of non-electoral civic behavior, Roney has written one of the most comprehensive studies of political culture in colonial Pennsylvania yet. However, some gaps remain. Given the way in which the book's narrative of democratization traces the gradual inclusion of all white men into Philadelphia's civic sphere, this reviewer would have appreciated more sustained analysis of whiteness and masculinity as constructed—and contested—categories. This qualm aside, this is a highly original book that will lead historians of colonial British America to look at the political meanings of libraries, societies for poor relief, and urban police forces in a new way.

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Cassandra A. Good. *Founding Friendships: Friendships between Men and Women in the Early American Republic*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 289. $34.95.

The history of friendship is squidgy territory. The word lacks definition now, and as Cassandra A. Good's noteworthy new monograph *Founding Friendships: Friendships between Men and Women in the Early American*

Republic reveals, the word lacked definition in the early national past as well. Historians of same-sex sexuality have long looked to friendship as a site for expression of queer desires because the line between Eros and amity could be so blurry. That blurriness proves to have afflicted opposite-sex friendship as well, the focus of Good's work. However, Good argues, rescuing the history of female-male friendships from the shadow of romantic love or lust matters because it illuminates an important stage on which the women and men of the early republic worked out new, more egalitarian, gender relations that gave women increased access to the nation's political life.

Founding Friendships tackles the problem of definitions in its opening pages. Friendships, according to Good, were affectionate, reciprocal relationships that the participants themselves described by this word. Class and race also played central roles in structuring the relationships under question. The bonds that Good seeks to historicize were those shared by white elites with access to the writing and reading materials that provide the book with much of its source base. Illiterate, lower-class, and enslaved men and women may also have formed friendships in the postrevolutionary period, but their stories fall outside the bounds of this study.

In Good's optimistic retelling, friendship proved an exception to the hierarchical ordering of men and women's relations within marriage and the family. The model of friendship that governed early national culture originated as an ideal relationship between men, imagined as a bond between equals. When women appropriated the model for their own same-sex, and eventually cross-sex, bonds, they carried on that egalitarian tradition. Because republican politics emphasized the significance of voluntary bonds to upholding the new nation, the fact that women could enter into such reciprocal relationships with men had, perforce, political implications. Add to such symbolic resonance the fact that many of the men Good discusses played direct roles in government (including Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and John Adams, to name just three), and the political salience of these friendships becomes clear. Good turns her full attention to this subject in the book's final chapter, "The Power of Friendship."

How did the elite class status of the female friends of men like Jefferson and Adams affect their ability to stake claims to more equal treatment? Good argues that friendships gave "individuals' power to shape their relationships and gender roles" (5), a bold statement. Even bolder is Good's claim that friendships created a social form in which "gender was no barrier" (11). It might also be observed that wealth gave certain women the ability to transcend the ordinary limitations assigned to femininity. More inclusion of ordinary women and men in the study would have helped to prove the point that friendship, rather than class, was the determining factor in the reciprocity she observes. Good also makes the intriguing suggestion that cross-sex friendships might reveal early national gender relations at their most equal because such connections attracted the sort of men and women who "pushed at the edges of standard manhood and womanhood" (36). This certainly makes sense for figures in the book such as Judith Sargent Murray and Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, but does the same hold true for Jefferson and Adams? The question bears further investigation.

Good writes with great sensitivity about the confusing role of erotic desire within friendships, both in general and for her particular subjects. She acknowledges that friendships could be the site of erotic desire (and/or behavior), but she stresses that friendships were ideally (and often in practice), free of such dynamics. In most cases, it would be impossible to tell from letters and poems whether friends were lovers as well, since polite elites, especially women, rarely if ever wrote directly about sexuality. Good rises to the challenge of such source limitations, however, in chapter 3, "Friends and Lovers," and elsewhere throughout the book. With a deft pen she teases apart the complexities that riddled many of the relationships she features, like that of Judith Sargent and John Murray, who were friends for a dozen years before they became lovers.

Throughout the book, Good struggles valiantly against the overwhelming modern narrative that, in the words of Harry Burns from *When Harry Met Sally* (1989), "men and women can't be friends because the sex part always gets in the way." Good demonstrates that Harry's dictum was no more an inevitability in 1800 than it is today. Still, one cannot help but notice a certain gendered inequality that marked this question then as now. More often than not, responsibility for keeping a friendship on a non-sexual footing fell to the female friend rather than the male. As Madame Brillon explained to Franklin, "Perhaps there is no great harm in a man having desires and yielding to them; a woman may have desires, but she must not yield" (97). Brillon's gentle riposte spoke to a structural inequality that made gender, as a system, rise above the choices of individuals. In an age of patriarchy and minimal birth control, crossing the line from amity to Eros portended far graver consequences for women than for men. Even in friendship, equality had its limits.

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Max M. Edling. *A Hercules in the Cradle: War, Money, and the American State, 1783–1867*. (American Beginnings, 1500–1900.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014. Pp. xii, 318. $45.00.

Max M. Edling's *A Hercules in the Cradle: War, Money, and the American State, 1783–1867* examines the central role that national debt and tax policy played in the formation, survival, and expansion of the U.S. Edling argues persuasively that deft use of public credit and federal borrowing not only secured the young nation's financial stability but also made possible the nation's aggressive expansion from the early days of the republic through the purchase of Alaska in 1867. It is a nuanced and important reconsideration of the central role of national financial policy in the creation and growth of the American republic.

Building on his earlier monograph, *A Revolution in Favor of Government: Origins of the U.S. Constitution and the Making of the American State* (2003), Edling forces readers to reconsider the power and coherence of the early federal government. In *Hercules in the Cradle*, Edling explores "how the federal government acquired its capacity to finance wars and territorial expansion," and how it deployed that capacity between ratification and Reconstruction (13).

Although aspects of the struggle between state and federal power continued until the Civil War (and beyond), Edling suggests that, after 1789, "the national government replaced the state governments as the most important agent in fiscal matters" (53), and that change was far more significant in developing the nation into a world power than other scholars have recognized. In particular, the transfer of revolutionary-era debt from the states to the central government marked a dramatic shift of power to the federal level. Because the U.S. owed its origins in meaningful part to a tax rebellion, Alexander Hamilton's task as the first treasury secretary to steer the nation toward financial stability was undeniably fraught. Placing the tax burden directly on the population was politically impossible, regardless of what the Constitution permitted.

Moreover, while the U.S. sought to keep the national debt manageably small, the economic benefits of having federal credit and the ability to borrow as a way of funding war became central tenets of the American financial regime. For Britain and the other major powers of Europe, sovereign debt funded the machinery of war, empire, and conquest. The U.S. needed to develop and rely on similar methods, but without creating the massive permanent debt and burdensome tax policy common in European empires. Hamilton argued that "Foreign nations would learn to respect the United States if they saw the vast untapped resources that the government had at its command" (76). Hamilton's observation became the blueprint for American expansion: "[T]he United States grew to dominate the North American continent not because of its free institutions or its enterprising population but by its liberal use of state sanctioned and state-directed aggression and violence" (4), and more significantly, the ability to *finance* that aggression. "[T]erritorial expansion took place to a large extent through purchase and negotiation" (7) but always with the possibility for violence implied, argues Edling.

More than anything, *Hercules in the Cradle* is a story of continuity. From Hamilton's refinancing of the Revolutionary War debt to Andrew Gallatin's funding of the Louisiana Purchase and the War of 1812, through Salmon P. Chase's task of overseeing the finances of the unprecedented, massive Civil War effort, decisions made by the Department of the Treasury shaped the nation's development and expansion. Once established, the general mix of tax and debt policies created in the 1790s remained in place, even as the sophistication and scope of the conflicts and purchases expanded. Contrary to the political rhetoric of the day, the Jeffersonian "Revolution of 1800" was more a continuation than a break from the fiscal approach Hamilton pioneered. Although Gallatin espoused Jefferson's rhetorical view of debt as a threat to liberty, he did not dismantle the financial systems of the Federalist years; instead, he used debt to finance the Louisiana Purchase and built the system that would fund the War of 1812. Whereas most accounts depict the War of 1812 as an ill-advised adventure against the preeminent world power, Edling views it as an essential moment in the nation's financial coming of age. "Rather than a resounding failure," he argues, "Mr. Madison's War represents the first attempt by the United States to finance war by the sale of long-term securities . . . [which] has been the means by which all subsequent American wars have been funded" (119).

By the 1840s, Robert J. Walker, from his perch in the Treasury, offered "bold predictions of the future greatness that awaited the United States if only the nation would play its cards right" (145). As the chief financial officer of James K. Polk's vision of a bellicose, expansionist power, Walker saw the nation's ability to borrow judiciously as directly linked to its ability to grow. Edling sees this demonstration of the capacity to draw on resources in the event of war as the most essential outcome of the enormous mobilization of the Civil War years. The defeat of the Confederacy secured the stability and authority of the American state, but it also demonstrated to other empires with designs on North America that the U.S. could mount an impressive war effort. Following the war, that illustration of military capability and financial strength helped coax France to abandon its plans for Mexico, persuade Russia to sell Alaska, and influence Britain to devolve its Canadian provinces to home rule and a program of self-defense, leaving the U.S. as the undisputed dominant power in the hemisphere.

A minor shortcoming is that Edling rarely moves beyond the insular world of the Treasury. The volume shortchanges the tax rebellions of the 1790s, paying little attention to both the Whiskey Rebellion and Fries's Rebellion. Nevertheless, Edling has executed well the difficult task of drawing the significance of the complex and abstract world of fiscal policy in a comprehensive and comprehensible way. *Hercules in the Cradle* is a valuable addition to our understanding of the functioning of the early American republic and the development of the nation as a world power.

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François Furstenberg. *When the United States Spoke French: Five Refugees Who Shaped a Nation*. Paperback ed. New York: Penguin Books, 2015. Pp. 498. $20.00.

The experiences of five French refugees in the early American republic form the *fils rouge*, or guiding thread, in François Furstenberg's magnificent tapestry of the Atlantic world in the 1790s and early 1800s. The five Frenchmen all served as deputies in the Constituent Assembly, where they were prominent advocates of liberal reforms. In 1793, marginalized by the French Revolution's radical turn, they were forced to flee for their lives, first to England and then to the U.S.

This book is an astounding feat of historical craftsmanship. It manages to move effortlessly between five protagonists and two continents and from intimate evocations of an exile's ennui to reflections on revolution and capitalism. Furstenberg synthesizes and puts into conversation traditional diplomatic and economic history with more recent studies of political culture (elite and popular), sociability, urban spaces, and material culture. He also aims to break down the artificial barriers between histories of the Atlantic world and those of the North American borderlands and backcountry. As he puts it, "Diplomatic history is not generally a history of sociability, economic history is not often a history of portraiture, and the history of material culture is not ordinarily a history of politics. But the lives of the émigré *constituants* brought all those spheres and more into contact" (406). Written in a fluid and engaging style and beautifully illustrated, the book makes all this scholarship accessible to a larger audience.

The first part of the book, "The United States Speaks French," begins by tracing the émigrés' path to Philadelphia. Constantin-François de Chasseboeuf, comte de Volney; François-Alexandre-Frédéric, duc de La Rouchefoucauld-Liancourt; Louis-Marie, vicomte de Noailles; Médéric-Louis- Élie Moreau de Saint-Méry; and Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord arrived just at the moment when the French emissary Edmond-Charles Genet was trying to draw the U.S. into the war in Europe. Furstenberg places Genet's call to arms in a larger geopolitical context. In the 1790s, French statesmen considered the U.S. largely as an appendage to the West Indies. American food and shipbuilding exports were vital to desperate French efforts to put down the slave revolt on Saint-Domingue. In this way, Philadelphia became closely tied into French trade networks.

Philadelphia emerges as a character in its own right in Furstenberg's account. He describes vividly the city's diverse neighborhoods, its booming economy, deepening social divisions, and cultural aspirations. In the mid-1790s, Philadelphia absorbed thousands of refugees from the French and Haitian Revolutions, who brought with them luxury goods, art, food, newspapers, and books. At the same time, the city's new merchant elite, eager to prove its sophistication in non-British ways, embraced the manners, culture, and language of the French nobility. Expecting a land of republican virtue and austerity, the five émigrés instead found themselves fêted at the dinners, balls, and salons of Philadelphia's first families. Soon the émigrés became nodes in a close-knit transatlantic network of family ties, friendships, and commercial partnerships.

The book's second part, "The French Revolution in the West," examines how the émigrés sought to use this network for commercial and political ends. In an effort to regain some of the wealth they had lost in France, the five émigrés became involved in land speculation schemes in Pennsylvania, Maine, and New York. With their social and financial connections on both sides of the Atlantic, they hoped to channel European capital in flight of the French Revolution to investment opportunities in the American backcountry. Furstenberg provides remarkably intelligible summaries of several of these notoriously complex and often sketchily documented land ventures. He goes on to untangle the Frenchmen's role in the ongoing contest among the U.S. government, Native American nations, and the British, French, and Spanish empires for control of the trans-Appalachian West. A westward expedition led by French botanist André Michaux received generous sponsorship from the American Philosophical Society and numerous U.S. government officials, including President George Washington. However, it turned out to be the cover for an elaborate plan to bring Spanish Louisiana, and parts of the American frontier, under French dominion.

As French politics became more moderate after the end of the Terror and American politics became more pro-British with the Jay Treaty, the émigrés began to consider returning to the *patrie*. By 1798 all five had left the U.S. However, their lives remained deeply connected to the New World, most notably in Noailles's doomed attempt to reconquer Saint-Domingue for Napoleon and in Talleyrand's negotiation of the Louisiana Purchase.

There are only a few instances where Furstenberg overreaches and exaggerates the influence of his protagonists, taking the subtitle of his book too literally. For example, most of the land ventures promoted by the émigrés failed to attract European investments. It is surprising, therefore, to read Furstenberg's conclusion that "having failed at a political revolution in Europe," the émigrés were "launching an economic revolution in America" (274). The émigrés did not "shape" the early American nation. But their lives, meticulously and entertainingly reconstructed by Furstenberg, help us to better understand the confluence of political, economic, social, and cultural forces that did.

Philipp Ziesche
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William Heath. *William Wells and the Struggle for the Old Northwest*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015. Pp. xviii, 500. $34.95.

William Wells and the Struggle for the Old Northwest traces the story of the infamous Mr. Wells, a white man kidnapped and adopted by the Miami nation, who fought on both sides of the war for the Ohio from 1789 to 1794—attacking the American army and then spying for it. In peacetime, Wells helped Governor William Henry Harrison craft the infamous Indian treaties of the Old Northwest, which routinely involved shady dealings. His fickle loyalties and sharp tongue won him few friends. Indeed, Wells somehow managed to become the enemy of Harrison, Black Hoof, *and* the Shawnee Prophet at the same time; distrust of Wells was perhaps the only thing all three men shared. It takes a lot of doing to turn Wells into a hero.

William Heath has done it twice. An English professor with several novels to his credit, in 2009 Heath wrote *Blacksnake's Path*, a fictionalized version of Wells's life. With this monograph, Heath has attempted a "docu-

mented study," with updated interpretations (xiii). Documented it certainly is; Heath meticulously navigates the dense diplomatic, military, and political arrangements of the Old Northwest throughout Wells's career (1784–1812). Tracing these negotiations across the trans-Appalachian West—with its mix of oral and written cultures, surfeit of languages, shifting borderlands, muddy swamps, and shifting sinkholes—is an unenviable task. Many historians of the early national frontier pass over such details in favor of summary. Not so Heath: in one chapter, he recreates the byzantine 1793 peace negotiations between the Americans and the Northwest Indian Confederacy by examining the letters of the American secretary of war, the British governor of Upper Canada, and the communications between the Northwest Indian Confederacy and the Iroquois League, while simultaneously keeping an eye on the military correspondence between President George Washington and General Anthony Wayne. It is impressive research, and the prose and presentation throughout is novelistic—as would be expected.

Yet for all this research, *William Wells and the Struggle for the Old Northwest* hews close to established historiographical norms: "the divided heart and mind of William Wells," Heath concludes, "epitomize the decline and fall of what Richard White has termed 'the middle ground.'" Perhaps in an effort to exculpate Wells of the animadversion thrown his way by virtually everyone, Heath insists that the frontiersman was trapped and "shaped by forces he could not control" (400). In Heath's telling, it is never Wells's doing: the Indian treaties were Thomas Jefferson's idea, the Northwest Indian Confederacy was a response to Henry Knox's blundering, American land hunger drove the conflict over the Ohio Valley. Wells was merely the vector—which makes it difficult to accept Heath's insistence that all his research points to Wells's obvious importance (401). This is a frontier without agency or contingency—a fact Wells apparently knew, according to Heath. Wells's switch to the American side in 1792 was not a preference for American life or a selfish act, but "a rational choice founded in self-interest" because "Wells knew . . . American armies would invade until the warriors were defeated, and then the settlers would get the land" (154). *How* Wells knew the Americans would triumph in the wake of the worst defeat in American military history (Saint Clair's Defeat, 1791) is not explained. American conquest and Indian defeat are foreordained. Because outcomes are not at stake, the book functions mainly as a character study, providing Heath with the opportunity to exonerate Wells and emphasize his bravery and valor.

Perhaps that is Heath's point: great men deserve to be known, and Wells was a great man, of obvious importance. But if this is a "great man history," it pales next to another recent entry in that genre—Anne F. Hyde's *Empires, Nations, and Families: A History of the American Northwest, 1800–1860* (2011). Hyde, of course, went to some effort to expand her definition of who should be considered a "great man"; perhaps that is why her only reference to Wells mistakes him for William Hull (Hyde, 253). Yet Hyde's error oddly correlates with Heath's detailed narrative: if Wells merely epitomized the revolution in the Northwest, 1789–1815, why bother with him? Hyde's chapter on the Northwest does not include Heath's dense nexus of details of U.S.-Indian diplomacy; instead, she ties the fight for the Ohio south to the Osages and west to the Arikaras as well as east to the American government. Heath has no such scope, and in that sense, his work is ultimately provincial. Reading *William Wells and the Struggle for the Old Northwest* is not about watching North America change; it is about watching someone else watching America change. For those already inclined to frontiersmen narratives, this approach will probably suffice. But I doubt it will recruit many new enthusiasts for the oft-maligned Mr. Wells.

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Deborah A. Rosen. *Border Law: The First Seminole War and American Nationhood*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. 316. $45.00.

Scholars who study the history of the Southeast and Florida, in particular, have long lamented the marginalization of the region by historians of colonial and nineteenth-century North America. Such marginalization is due in large part to the mistaken belief that events in the Southeast had little impact outside the region and can shed scant light on the broader histories of colonial America and the nineteenth-century U.S. Crisply written, powerfully argued, and well researched, Deborah A. Rosen's excellent new book, *Border Law: The First Seminole War and American Nationhood*, demonstrates clearly both the centrality of events in the Southeast to the larger story of the American past, and the extent to which these events can and should inform our understanding of colonial and nineteenth-century American history.

Echoing the work of Eliga Gould, *Border Law* is a legal history that uses the series of campaigns that are known collectively as the "Seminole War" (1816–1818) to address questions of nation building, the boundaries of citizenship, identity, race, and international standing/law. Rosen argues that the U.S. used legal issues that arose from the Seminole War to: insist "that it was a full-fledged member of the European diplomatic and legal community" (2); draw legal, territorial, and diplomatic distinctions "between the Old World and the New World" (4); reject "the prevailing theory that nations had an obligation to provide protections of fundamental law universally" (5); and propose "a new approach to the application of law across territorial borders" (7). Furthermore, as Rosen contends, the U.S. used its legal justification of the Seminole War "to advance several interrelated goals: asserting itself as a formidable sovereign nation, claiming its position as the hegemonic continental power, defining itself as a white/European-heritage nation, and claiming the right to act extraterritorially to further its national interests" (8). These ideas and developments, which built on preexisting trends, would, according to Rosen, have a profound impact on

the course of nineteenth-century American history. Indeed, legal principles that emerged during the Seminole War provided the U.S. with many of the intellectual tools required to simultaneously build a westward-careening nation for whites, often violently and with little apparent regard for Spanish, Indian, or Mexican territorial sovereignty, while caring intensely about its standing among Western nations. For white Americans, such a balancing act required that the U.S. demonstrate an understanding of Western legal norms while aggressively modifying these norms to suite the task of democratic nation building in a manner that reflected the geopolitical and racial realities of nineteenth-century North America.

Based on extensive primary research in Congressional debates, military papers, court records, newspapers and pamphlets, the work of legal theorists, memoirs, and official and unofficial correspondences, Rosen's argument unfolds over the course of seven chapters. Chapter 1 provides an overview of the geopolitics of the Southeast beginning in the late eighteenth century before turning to a description of the Seminole War and related conflicts in the region (the War of 1812, Creek War, and the Negro Fort). Here the reader is introduced to the key legal issues that are systematically addressed in the remaining, largely thematic chapters. Chapters 2 and 3 focus on the diplomatic and international legal issues that arose from invading Spanish territory. Attuned as she is to both sides of a given debate throughout the book, Rosen demonstrates that the U.S. used the Seminole War and arising legal issues to establish itself as a full-fledged member of the European community of nations that was capable of securing and defining its borders. This claim required substantial intellectual creativity by American jurists, politicians, and officials since it involved an invasion of sovereign Spanish territory and the application of extraterritorial "justice." Nonetheless, membership within this legal community was an important early step in becoming the Western Hemisphere's dominant geopolitical power. Chapters 4 through 6 turn to the topics of race, citizenship, and the boundaries of legal inclusion. Not surprising, the American military regarded its Indian and black enemies and captives as racial inferiors who were not fit to enjoy the protection of international law nor the benefits of the rules of war as might be understood to exist between "civilized" nations. Interesting, however, is Rosen's contention that this distinction, which was in part based on a changing understanding of the nature of race, established a "racially inflected legal border between 'civilized' and 'savage' peoples" (209). This would be a powerful legal tool as the U.S. sought to navigate a series of potential legal and ideological inconsistencies that arose from simultaneously fashioning a republic and then democracy for whites while increasing its commitment to slavery and expanding westward onto territory inhabited by non-whites. Rosen suggests that European nations adopted this principle of racially exclusive legal universalism during the era of nineteenth-century empire building. The final chapter uses the American execution of two white Britons who were allied with the Seminoles during the conflict to explore "a new [American] view of sources of law, applicability of law, and the concept of rule of law" (207).

Ultimately, Rosen has used a case study of the Seminole War to reimagine provocatively the legal, military, diplomatic, and political history of nineteenth-century American nation building. This is a considerable feat that should impact multiple fields of historiography. Accordingly, scholars and students of the early republic and nineteenth-century U.S., legal history, borderlands, and the Atlantic World will find *Border Law* to be of great interest.

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Sean P. Harvey. *Native Tongues: Colonialism and Race from Encounter to the Reservation*. (Harvard Historical Studies, no. 184.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. 338. $39.95.

Native Tongues: Colonialism and Race from Encounter to the Reservation appears, on first glance, like a straightforward intellectual history of American Indian philology. However, author Sean P. Harvey includes several features that make his monograph relevant to ethnohistorians and students of race relations, as well as historians of ideas. The study of Native American languages, he argues, served two interrelated purposes for white Americans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Language was an imperial "technology," and knowledge of Cayuga or Cherokee or Cheyenne made it easier to negotiate away Indians' lands and indoctrinate (or "civilize") their children. Language study also allegedly proved Indians' mental deficiencies, and dovetailed with scientific racists' efforts to prove the same point through comparative physiognomy. However, actual study of and communication with Native peoples complicated both of these enterprises.

White American philologists conducted a sustained argument over the link between Indians' languages and their mental capacities. Hugh Blair and Thomas Jefferson asserted that eastern Indians' "barren vocabularies" (89) pointed to mental poverty, and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft and Wilhelm von Humboldt claimed to find in Native Americans' lexicons and syntax ample evidence of degeneracy. These opinions, however, did not necessarily dominate the field. Philanthropist Elias Boudinot believed in, and philologist John Pickering sought to prove, a connection between Old and New World tongues. If Indians were linguistically degenerate, they implied, so too were Eurasians. Commenters like Peter S. Du Ponceau and Henry Buckner, by contrast, eschewed diffusionism and considered Indian languages vastly different from European ones, but they also acknowledged the intricacy and complexity of New World tongues. Ponceau, arguably one of the most important figures in Harvey's book, praised Native American dialects for their vitality, flexibility, and "polysynthetic" structures (97). By the late nineteenth century, American scholars had reached no common conclusions about Native languages except to

agree that Indians should, as a precursor to assimilation, learn English.

American Indians, however, recognized the link between language and cultural power, and they made a considerable effort to preserve their indigenous tongues. Some insisted on using their own language in treaty negotiations, which obliged whites to place themselves in the subordinate position of students. Others followed the Cherokee linguist Sequoyah's lead in creating speech in written form, what he called "catching a wild animal and taming it" (129), either on their own or with the aid of sympathetic missionaries. Sequoyah created his famous Cherokee syllabary, John Summerfield produced an Ojibwe grammar, the Crees generated a unique alphabetic script, and the Odawas, Mesquakies, and Ho-Chunks developed their own national syllabaries. Language, Choctaw leader Peter Pitchlynn noted, was a source of sovereignty. By preserving their Native tongues in written form, Indians used one of the whites' own technologies to uphold their peoples' cultural independence.

The above summary simplifies a richly detailed but complicated, at times almost tangled narrative. *Native Tongues* is a deeply researched work, and the author deserves praise for including Native Americans as active participants in intellectual debate, rather than merely passive objects of white men's arguments. The book requires a close and professionally informed reading, which makes it unsuitable for casual readers or for undergraduates. Experts in the field, however, will value Harvey's observations on the complexity of Euro-American ethnological thought, and appreciate his incorporation of Indian voices and syllabaries into discussions of how people create linguistic knowledge.

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Kenneth R. Aslakson. *Making Race in the Courtroom: The Legal Construction of Three Races in Early New Orleans*. New York: New York University Press, 2014. Pp. xii, 249. $49.00.

Making Race in the Courtroom: The Legal Construction of Three Races in Early New Orleans explores a fascinating thesis: that Louisiana was the only state in the U.S. to identify a legally distinct third race—*gens de coleur* or free people of color. According to Kenneth R. Aslakson, in addition to free whites and enslaved blaeks, free people of color who shared descent from both of the other two groups and were designated as mulattos, quadroons, or octoroons constituted a third race.

The book proceeds from the now well-understood premise that race is socially constructed—"race is a process, continually made and remade." Also well accepted is the idea that the courts play a role in this social construction. Aslakson "seeks to demonstrate the role of free people of African descent, interacting within the courts, in the process of race making" (4), specifically in creating separate and unique privileges for the third "race."

Aslakson's thesis is a striking departure from the conventional understanding that southern states maintained only two racial categories. According to the "one drop" rule, individuals of mixed parentage were relegated to the category of black persons by virtue of their African ancestry. More recent scholarship by Martha S. Jones and Ariela J. Gross (*What Blood Won't Tell: A History of Race on Trial in America* [2008]) has demonstrated that the one drop rule is a relatively recent twentieth-century attempt to direct racial analysis for the purpose of deriving legal rights into two and only two categories. Aslakson's book thus enlarges our understanding of how race was constructed in antebellum New Orleans, when the social construction of race was more fluid.

The book provides solid historical background that *gens de coleur* enjoyed more rights than Africans, most particularly, the legal presumption in circumstances of uncertainty that they were free rather than enslaved. Much of the historical evidence derives from "the 1811 Superior Court case of *Adele v. Beauregard* [which] judicially recognized a *racial* distinction between *gens de coleur* (who were presumed to be free) and Negroes (who were presumed to be slaves)" (2). Aslakson provides very valuable sections describing the social conventions that gave rise to an independent and independently recognized *gens de coleur*. The military engagement of colored militiamen (chap. 3), formally organized dating balls attended by white men and ladies of African descent that facilitated more intimate inter-racial contact (chap.4), and the carryover from Spanish law—*coartacion*, which permitted slaves the right to redeem their freedom by purchase (chap. 2), all combined to form a group of people with distinctive social standing and legal rights in Louisiana. The book's chapters on each of these topics present some fascinating material, which taken alone make it well worth reading. There is also a chapter on Louisiana freedom suits, which borrows extensively from Judith Schafer's *Becoming Free, Remaining Free: Manumission and Enslavement in New Orleans, 1846–1862* (2003).

Despite the book's strengths, two questions arise concerning Aslakson's overarching thesis. If race is socially constructed, it is certainly well worth contemplating how race was constructed in antebellum New Orleans with its unique social conventions. But the question remains whether this social group, *gens de coleur*, was really a third race, or instead a racially bound class, or perhaps even a caste? Aslakson draws on Laura Foner's "The Free People of Color in Louisiana and St. Domingue: A Comparative Portrait of Two Three-Caste Slave Societies" (1970), but even Foner refers to the respective differentiations as castes rather than as races. What does it mean to suggest that *gens de coleur* were a third *race*? By doing so, the social construction becomes less fluid and more categorical. That a legal rule operates upon the person's skin color to create a presumption does not transform that sorting mechanism into a race, does it?

The second question is Aslakson's characterization of the intentions of people of color in creating this distinctive set of legal rights by insisting upon more rights and privileges than slaves had. Aslakson maintains that "New Orleans's free colored community did not necessarily

intend to create a third race" but that the creation of such a category was simply an unintended consequence (2). Yet, given Aslakson's evidence, it is difficult to believe that in asserting their special entitlements, the *gens de coleur* were not seeking to distance themselves from individuals of full African blood who were for the most part slaves. The evidence in the book suggests that in several instances these assertions of privilege were consciously elitist, rather than unintended, as Aslakson maintains.

The book concludes with an analysis of the notorious U.S. Supreme Court case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* in which the Court approved segregation and Jim Crow rules that separated railroad passengers into separate cars for whites only and others for black passengers. The book highlights the fact that in asserting his right to enter the whites only car, the plaintiff, Homer Plessy, "a self-defined 'octoroon'" (186) and member of the Comité des Citoyens from New Orleans was following the tradition of the *gens de coleur* of New Orleans in challenging the racial limitations created by the Louisiana law.

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Nathalie Dessens. *Creole City: A Chronicle of Early American New Orleans*. (Contested Boundaries.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015. Pp. xiii, 272. $74.95.

Rien Fertel. *Imagining the Creole City: The Rise of Literary Culture in Nineteenth-Century New Orleans*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2014. Pp. ix, 203. $39.95.

Americans tend to think of New Orleans as a special city. It is either classified as a quintessentially American example, in a southern and Caribbean style all of its own, that celebrates the melting pot thesis of American culture, or it is envisioned as an idiosyncratic outlier of American culture, a place that does not fit into established patterns that characterize the rest of the U.S. Words that come quickly to mind are "unique" and "mythological," suggesting above all else that New Orleans is different, sui generis, and exceptional, even when it most exemplifies important American trends.

The idea of New Orleans as different was established early and was confirmed in its literature as much as in its history during the nineteenth century. It has become a staple of its historiography ever since, probably becoming more pronounced recently as scholars like Walter Johnson have placed it at the center of antebellum southern politics. The many residents of New Orleans from the early nineteenth century onward cultivated a sense of it being a place both apart and also more alive than other parts of America. In many ways, however, its uniqueness and difference is overstressed, partly as a result of the intense self-regard of its own citizens. It was an amalgam of French, Spanish, American, and especially African cultures, to be sure, but so too were other southern cities, notably Baltimore. This seaport city in Maryland was both larger than New Orleans at most times in the early republic and antebellum periods, and was also well-connected to French émigrés from Saint-Domingue in the 1790s and to French and Spanish commerce in the early nineteenth century. While New Orleans was certainly notable for how its cultures merged and converged in a process known as creolization, so too were other American places and, even more so, the cities that made up the greater Caribbean. New Orleans looks to be a very African place by the standards of most of the U.S. but not so much when compared to Havana or Kingston.

The two ways in which New Orleans has been envisioned by recent historians has been through an Atlantic lens—New Orleans as a special city of the Atlantic world, oriented as much toward the Caribbean and Latin America as toward the U.S.—or through the prism of creole identity—New Orleans as an intermediary place, both American and French, with a culture heavily influenced in a syncretic way by African culture. Nathalie Dessens, as befits a scholar of wide experience, looks at both aspects of New Orleans's social and cultural identity, in her carefully focused book, *Creole City: A Chronicle of Early American New Orleans*. The author presents a wide-ranging examination of the changing nature of New Orleans as depicted in the letters of the French émigré from Saint-Domingue Jean Boze to his fellow Atlantic migrant Henri de Ste-Gème between 1818 and 1839. These were important years in the city's history, years where it moved, mostly to Boze's sorrow, from being a place that was largely French to one that was a Creole mélange of sometimes confusing cultures. Boze is a careful, though not unbiased guide, to the manifold changes that transformed New Orleans in the booming years of the early nineteenth century. In the skilled hands of Dessens, who is cognizant of the nuances in Boze's letters and possesses extensive knowledge of the circuits of information and power that ran between Saint-Domingue, Cuba, Louisiana, and an expanding American state within the often pulsating world of New Orleans, Boze becomes more than just a chronicler of loss and displacement in New Orleans. In this enriching and often enthralling read, the Old Regime Frenchman's rich personal history unfolds. His letters, brilliantly recreated and used judiciously by Dessens, are more than just a transatlantic epistolary correspondence of distinction. Rather, they are an excellent guide to the many struggles that occurred in the embryonic period of New Orleans's history between incomers from the U.S. promoting an assertive Americanization and a declining but still resilient Francophone culture. In short, Dessens's beautifully written, rather elegiac book is a first-rate guide to how New Orleans moved from one sort of place to becoming another place, from a mainly French enclave to a city that in its economy and culture was mostly American.

Dessens is aware, of course, that New Orleans was a center of slavery in the South but her account is focused on tensions between various groups of whites (by the 1830s this tended to be Americans on one side and everyone else on the other) rather than being an in-depth study of African American culture. Her New Orleans is one defined for the most part by confrontation and by harsh physical realities—the omnipresence of disease and death, the relentless violence in social and political relations, and the excitements and tensions of constant ethnic variety and frequent,

if contested, ethnic interactions. She excels when she describes the delicate relations that the people of New Orleans had with France (her account here is superb) and with the rest of the Americas, notably Cuba, Haiti, and Spanish America. She also tries to argue that social and political development in New Orleans showed it to be an urban enclave in the rural South. Here she tries too hard. It takes a particular definition of the South, one that excludes Baltimore and St. Louis from the ranks of southern cities, and which sees the South as mostly the lower South, to argue as she does that New Orleans was the only model of urbanity in a heavily rural region. Her last argument, also, that endemic conflict between Francophones and Anglophones eventually gave way to a degree of cooperation seems overstated. She argues that "the progressive intermingling of many population groups with very different cultural origins were also seminal in creating the distinctiveness of the Crescent City" (214). It is hard to reconcile this rosy image with the conflicts chronicled in previous pages.

Another work discussing the formation of the city's creole identity is Rien Fertel's *Imagining the Creole City: The Rise of Literary Culture in Nineteenth-Century New Orleans*, a fascinating literary history of Francophone and Anglophone creole New Orleans writers from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. Fertel's careful analysis is more closely grained and less ambitious than Dessens's mature and ambitious account of the making of New Orleans. It is a conventional literary history, with chapter-length considerations of French creole writers, including Charles Gayarré, Adrien Rouquette Bridges, and Alfred Mercier, before proceeding to chapters on Anglophone writers George Washington Cable and Grace King. It is focused very much on issues of creolization and omits the wider Atlantic perspective provided by Dessens. The chapter on Cable is pivotal. Fertel shows that Boze was right to feel a sense of loss as Americanization took hold. Cable worked assiduously and effectively to undermine the carefully constructed image of the creole city that French-language writers had labored to impart. Instead, Cable used his greater talents and immensely more important national presence to fashion from previous quite nuanced literary accounts of creole identity written by French creoles a vision of New Orleans's particular cultural ambience that supported developing ideas of white supremacy. Cable and to an extent King used the notion of creole identity for their own purposes, in the process flattening and reducing a complex set of ideas into ones both crudely racist and, in King's hands, romantically nostalgic. He argues, convincingly, that the "Francophone voices" of mid-nineteenth-century New Orleans literary culture were "smothered by the thick, detrital layers of Anglo-American history" as notions of creole culture were subordinated to Jim Crow politics (95). Fertel's reworking of the established theme of creolization through literature restores the importance of the earlier Francophone writings to our knowledge of how Cable, in particular, tried to shape New Orleans's self-image in ways that fitted his Anglo-Saxon preconceptions.

He also ends his book as Dessens does, however, with a conclusion that conveys a sense that New Orleans, as an imagined community or a mythical Creole city, was a place of exception, a city where you can be what you declare yourself to be. Both authors of these exceptionally thoughtful and intelligent books thus seem to be trapped within the most common discourse about New Orleans: the idea that it is so different as to be unique. Even when the authors discuss comparisons to other cities, New Orleans is always seen as an exceptional and special geographical niche pivotal in reshaping both the Atlantic world and the American South. If Fertel and Dessens had concentrated less on why New Orleans is distinctive and different from every other place, they might have seen that these processes of creolization had greater relevance not just for understanding New Orleans but for working out significant intellectual, social, and cultural trends as cities in the Americas became transformed during the nineteenth century. These books point the way for exciting intellectual and historical refiguring of creole identity in a variety of settings.

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Brian P. Luskey and Wendy A. Woloson, editors. *Capitalism by Gaslight: Illuminating the Economy of Nineteenth-Century America*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015. Pp. vi, 316. $49.95.

Edited by two respected scholars, Brian P. Luskey and Wendy A. Woloson, and originating from a conference at the McNeil Center for Early American Studies, this collection demonstrates how addressing the history of American capitalism can juxtapose themes that are often considered in isolation. *Capitalism by Gaslight: Illuminating the Economy of Nineteenth-Century America* looks at aspects of economic life usually regarded as marginal, and—evoking the melodramatic images with which contemporaries depicted them—seeks to bring them out of the shadows. Its eleven essays, each of which uses case studies to address a bigger theme, are admirably consistent in quality. Taken together, they justify the editors' contention that "'messy minutiae' that shaped . . . practices, habits, and worldviews . . . helped constitute capitalism in nineteenth-century America" (3).

Paul Erickson's essay on the New York book trade reminds us that businesses were rarely as specialized as historians tend to suggest. Books and printed materials were displayed and sold amidst an array of other goods. However, activities considered to be "marginal" often were not. As Katie Hemphill notes in her piece on prostitution in antebellum Baltimore, prostitutes displayed qualities of enterprise, adaptability to demand, and specialization associated with more conventional businesses. Operators in the shadow economy adopted or mimicked common business practices, and the lines between legal and illicit trade could be fuzzy and changeable.

Brendan O'Malley's essay discusses mock auctions and other fraudulent practices found in antebellum New York and other cities, and how these practices resonated not only because of the actual harm they inflicted but also because they symbolized the risks of trade, particularly for the

unwary or inexperienced. The symbolic association of Jews with the clothing trades combined racial and ethnic tensions with the anxieties of the marketplace. Under the cover of a prosperous family farm, the Loomis Gang of Sangerfield, New York, ran a far-reaching horse-thieving operation protected by intimidation and political indifference. As Will Mackintosh notes, the Loomis family emulated contemporary respectability, but with a twist, idolizing their mother for nurturing a relentless pursuit of profit. This proved their undoing only after depredations on patriotic neighbors to meet the Civil War demand for horses finally provoked the community to run them out of town.

General themes became manifest in specific ways. The London and New York rag trades shared similarities, but Adam Mendelsohn demonstrates how differences in the clothing business and wider opportunities for young Jewish men constrained the New York trade's relative significance. Secondhand clothing sales on Philadelphia's South Street mimicked the business transacted in the city's main clothing stores a few blocks north on Chestnut Street. Yet, as Robert J. Gamble points out, used clothing also functioned as a resource (an exchangeable good and means of savings) for poor families that cash provided to the more prosperous. Joshua R. Greenberg's chapter on shinplaster notes reminds us that cash had a peculiar history. "Shinplasters" circulated as stopgap currency, usually within localities, during times of distress such as the panic of 1819; but by the 1840s the term came to apply to any irregular or discontinued printed notes that passed in circulation. Greenberg suggests that shinplasters helped undermine the credibility of all paper currency, providing part of the context for the bank wars and money debates that dominated politics.

Distinctions between legal and illegal trading were often blurred, but wider circumstances could determine where the line was drawn in particular instances. Involvement in the international slave trade was banned in 1808 but, as Craig Hollander shows, hard times could tempt participation. Two captains, arrested by the U.S. Navy off Sierra Leone in 1820 and convicted in a Boston court, were able to secure clemency by emphasizing their respectability and the one-off nature of their offenses. Michael D. Thompson discusses pilfering from the antebellum Charleston, South Carolina, docks. Elite commentators blamed white miscreants for inciting slaves to steal cotton and other goods, while thefts were for slaves both a form of resistance and (in an urban area where provision grounds were unavailable to them) a supplemental means of subsistence. Yet if these activities were "influential in shaping the South's economy," as Thompson concludes (167), it is not clear how vigorous efforts were to restrain them. Runners and touts offering baggage service, accommodation, and onward transportation swarmed the growing numbers of Europeans landing in New York from the 1830s onward. These unregulated "land sharks" proved resistant to reformers' and officials' efforts to protect immigrants from their fraud and abuse until the opening of the Castle Garden landing in 1855 physically separated them from their intended marks. The prolific New York publishers of pornography studied by Paul Erickson plied their trade with little interference until Anthony Comstock commenced his campaign against them in the late 1860s and, eventually with legislative help, drove them out of business.

As the editors and several authors reflect, a distinction between legality and illegality was hardly the only vector on which these "shadow" activities demonstrated the realities of nineteenth-century capitalism. Perfectly legal businesses could expose the ethical challenges posed by market transactions and the anxieties about honesty and value encountered in everyday transactions. "Back Number Budd," an African-American who became well-known in late-nineteenth-century New York for his vast, unique collection of old newspapers, had learned how news regarded as stale and worthless could still have value when, as a boy, he sold old papers to Union soldiers looking for reports of the battles they had endured. Building his collection over decades to reach several million items, and selling old newspapers at many times their original face value, Budd had constantly to rebut accusations of price-gouging, explaining not just that the items were now scarce, but that each sale had to support him and his costs in acquiring a massive stock. Yet, when part of the collection burned in a fire in 1895, insurance did not cover Budd's loss. Ellen Gruber Garvey attributes this to Budd's race, and to the insurance company's argument that the newspapers were "waste." Yet the intersections of race and capitalist practice may be more complex than this analysis suggests. Did Budd's insurers defraud him, or did they merely follow procedure? Could anyone insure flammable goods of such unpredictable and contingent value? What would the premium on so many old newspapers have been, and could Budd have afforded it?

In their conclusion, the editors select areas for further research, particularly the need for more attention to the activities of women and children. This volume should also spur consideration of the bigger questions it touches on: the relationships between under-researched areas of economic activity and the big long-recognized themes in the history of capitalism; the connections, as much as the distinctions, among legal and illicit trading; and, above all, the continued validity of the nineteenth-century trope conjured up in this volume's title, that activities long overlooked or disregarded should continue to be portrayed as lying in the shadows. These essays are good in themselves but also "good to think with."

Christopher Clark
University of Connecticut

Matthew Taylor Raffety. *The Republic Afloat: Law, Honor, and Citizenship in Maritime America*. (American Beginnings, 1500–1800.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013. Pp. viii, 277. $48.00.

In *The Republic Afloat: Law, Honor, and Citizenship in Maritime America*, Matthew Taylor Raffety successfully fuses legal and social history to provide fascinating new insight into the early American republic's substantial maritime footprint. As the author reminds us, the Constitution granted the federal government exclusive jurisdiction over admiralty issues, meaning that from the founding through

the antebellum period, seafarers maintained a closer relationship to the nation than did any other class of worker. Federal regulations governed the lives of sailors, and federal courts proved the primary source of redress for mariners in ways that most other citizens at the time never experienced. And yet, court records, until now, remained a relatively untapped resource for maritime historians. Working mostly out of the archives of the Southern District of New York (which encompassed New York City, the country's busiest port), Raffety assembles a narrative that shows how law framed the experience of seamen in a number of ways. Rather than a transnational *lumpenproletariat*, relatively disconnected from shoreside concerns, seafarers are positioned here as actively connected to the U.S., the growth of nationalistic culture, and the development of federal institutions.

The book itself is organized into three sections of several chapters each. Part I, "Law" examines changes in the federal regulatory structure governing life afloat before the Civil War. Chiefly concerned with the ways in which federal maritime law strengthened the national government's power in relationship to its citizenry, this section gathers narratively rich admiralty court decisions and depositions to support such claims. Maritimc issues at the time, Raffety notes, comprised the bulk of the work for federal courts. Thus those courtrooms—their judges and sailor litigants—were crucial to the definition of citizenship as well as the construction of national identity. The author draws creative and convincing connections between seemingly mundane shipboard disputes and the weightier articulation of state obligations toward those claiming its protection. Sailors, in Raffety's account, appear well versed in their legally sanctioned rights and privileges, and in several key instances, used the courts (or even the threat of a lawsuit) to rein in some of the worst abuses and punishments employed by captains. Congressional actions in 1835 and 1850 meant to curtail corporal punishment at sea were in some sense only official imprimatur stamped atop changes seafarers had already won for themselves in federal court.

Of course, there were just as many informal codes governing conduct afloat as legislative statutes. In part II, "Honor," Raffety outlines the ways in which popularly held notions of proper deportment worked alongside (and sometimes at odds with) courtrooms to dictate life afloat. The farther a ship drifted from shore, the looser the authority of courts and judges became. In their place, unwritten but powerful ideas of masculine responsibility and manly reputation became paramount. Honor, as the author suggests, was its own regulatory device aboard ocean-going vessels. But it was not evenly distributed or universally intelligible. "Forecastle law" governing conduct among ordinary seafarers often stood in opposition to the Victorian or genteel ideals entertained by many officers. Echoes of arguments made by anthropologists such as Clifford Geertz and Greg Dening abound in Raffety's insistence upon the performative aspects of life afloat, with men constantly scrutinizing each other's adherence to norms governing their role as mariners. Extralegal violence became a tool meant to enforce conformity or an opportunity for some dishonored individual to save face or restore his reputation for manliness.

The third and final section of the book, "Citizen," examines the significance of mariners to national self-definition. It investigates several different core sites where that process took shape, including consular offices overseas and in the country's popular and political press, within which sailors were regularly discussed. In ways both real and imagined, seamen became the embodiments of linkages between the U.S. and the world. But in a well-written book filled with innovative source material, a few missteps are bound to occur. This section feels like something of a missed opportunity. Raffety's real contribution to early American history is his deft examination of the myriad ways in which law was central to how life and labor afloat took shape, and, to how the maritime world enhanced the reach and influence of the national state. In a historiography still dominated by the trappings of territorial expansion, that is no small feat. In the last few chapters though, the legal environments through which seamen moved fall away, and the author takes up sources more familiar to maritime historians. As a result, Raffety's conclusions, while never inaccurate, sometimes feel slightly too familiar. Just a little more might have been done to push this portion of the book further. For example, given the wealth of information he pulls from U.S. admiralty court case files, it is surprising to see the consular service discussed without any reference to the voluminous (but mostly untapped) records of diplomatic courtrooms. Consular courts (designed in part to try and punish refractory seamen) operated in several overseas districts, and their files might shed further light on how sailors used legal settings to speak to the question of citizenship. So would, for that matter, the National Archives' vast trove of naval courts martial.

None of this is meant to suggest that Raffety's research is anything other than impressive and persuasive. No historian can cover a subject in its entirety. Rather, *The Republic Afloat* is to be commended for opening up new narrative and evidentiary vistas in American maritime history. We are accustomed to arguing that sailors lived lives governed by the elements and shaped by the caprice of commanders. With the publication of this book, however, we are reminded that law was just as powerful a force as any other in determining the course of events at sea. Future scholars will profit from and hopefully elaborate on Raffety's work.

Brian Rouleau
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Ted Maris-Wolf. *Family Bonds: Free Blacks and Re-enslavement Law in Antebellum Virginia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015. Pp. 324. $39.95.

Family Bonds: Free Blacks and Re-enslavement Law in Antebellum Virginia is a deeply researched, innovative, and engaging study of race, law, and freedom from the revolutionary era to the Civil War and its aftermath. At the heart of the book is a novel reinterpretation of how Virginians—black and white—negotiated and understood the state's 1806 expulsion law, which required the

removal from the Commonwealth of free African Americans within twelve months of their manumission, and voluntary self-enslavement legislation that was enacted in the 1850s. In Ted Maris-Wolf's reading, the expulsion law was enforced only sporadically and re-enslavement laws were enacted with some reluctance by a majority of white legislators who were unwilling to enslave free people "*en masse*" (26). What is more, self-enslavement was selectively and strategically promoted and employed by free African Americans as a tactic that allowed them to remain with their families and communities in Virginia while avoiding prosecution for illegal residency and, potentially, sale into slavery on the state's terms.

Family Bonds is the first complete state-level study of re-enslavement cases and complements Emily West's *Family or Freedom: People of Color in the Antebellum South* (2012), which provides a more sweeping treatment of the subject across the slave states. In the course of seven chapters, Maris-Wolf traces two intersecting histories. The first concerns free African Americans' encounters and engagement with expulsion and enslavement laws and the second follows political debates among legislators and the wider public about the crafting, passage, and enforcement of those laws. Despite sometimes vitriolic attacks by state politicians on the baneful influence of free blacks and the threat they posed to the institution of slavery, Maris-Wolf shows that at the local level grand juries and county court officers normally overlooked residency offences perpetrated by African American men and women in their communities. The threat of prosecution was ever present, but even when charges were brought, violators routinely continued to live illegally in the same neighborhoods for years and even decades. They did this in part by forging personal ties with local whites and striving to conform to white ideals of respectability and self-sufficiency. In one of the book's most original contributions, Maris-Wolf also shows that free African Americans routinely employed white attorneys to defend their interests in the courts and in petitions to the legislature.

The lenient enforcement of residency laws also reflected the ambivalence of white Virginians—even the most hardline proponents of slavery—toward laws that ran contrary to revolutionary ideals of freedom and, most of all, raised the specter of an overbearing government. These sentiments persisted even amidst the heightened sectional tensions of the mid-nineteenth century and informed debates about re-enslavement laws in the 1850s. Whereas historians have previously interpreted these laws as the ultimate expression of pro-slavery ideology, Maris-Wolf shows that most white legislators were more concerned that they could undermine slavery by allowing free blacks to enter a nominal form of bondage simply to evade removal laws. As a result of safeguards against this practice and the possibility that whites might coerce free blacks into servitude, only 60 percent of free African Americans who petitioned to enslave themselves were successful (21).

Recent scholarship exemplified by Laura Edwards and Ariela Gross has established that both enslaved and free African Americans in the antebellum South were informed and sometimes influential participants in legal proceedings concerning freedom and citizenship. *Family Bonds* extends our understanding of this important aspect of early African American legal history by reconstructing the powerful personal stories of black men and women who fought for voluntary enslavement laws. Brothers Willis and Andrew Doswell were pioneers in this regard. In 1854—after twelve years of freedom and four years since they were charged with violating the 1806 expulsion law—they secured the right to petition to become the slaves of William Doswell, the brother of their former owner. Two years later, this measure served as a model when the right of voluntary enslavement was extended to all free African Americans in the state. Thereafter, free African Americans in Virginia sought voluntary enslavement in diverse circumstances, though almost always to persons they knew and trusted. James Booker and William Watson were freed upon the death of their owner on the condition that they should be removed to Liberia, but after just weeks in the colony they returned to Virginia and enslaved themselves in Prince Edward County. Mary Fletcher chose slavery in Fauquier County so that she could remain with her husband and young children. Watt Love of Mecklenburg County became the property of James Bowers in 1864, but continued to live as if he were free, retained control of his business and substantial investments, and went on to became a prominent figure in local Republican politics during Reconstruction. In recovering these and many other remarkable personal stories, Maris-Wolf not only makes an important intervention in the historiography of antebellum African American life and citizenship, but also contributes to our understanding of connections in black history between the pre– and post–Civil War eras.

James Campbell
University of Leicester

Damian Alan Pargas. *Slavery and Forced Migration in the Antebellum South*. (Cambridge Studies on the American South.) New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 281. $29.99.

In this much needed new study, Damian Alan Pargas recognizes the importance of all forms of forced migration and the effect it had on millions of enslaved people. For decades now, many historians have thought of the domestic slave trade as only the long-distance, interstate sale and transfer of slaves from the upper South to the lower South. One of the strongest points of this book is his inclusion of the even larger local slave trade as part of the domestic slave trade. There are plenty of problems with this work, including terminology, organization, and clarity of argument. Nevertheless, Pargas makes a solid case for a more expansive view of the forced migration of slaves in the antebellum South, the effect this migration had on the people involved, and the need for conducting more research on this important topic.

This book examines all components of this forced migration and the variety of hardships it had on the

individuals caught in this trade. The first half ("Migration") focuses on the purchase and transportation of slaves, and the second ("Assimilation") explores their experiences at their new destination. The author defines forced migration as a three-pronged affair: first, the well-known, long-distance interstate slave trade; second, the lesser-known local trade, which he defines as all sales that occurred within the same state; and third, the sale of slaves from the countryside to urban areas. Each chapter begins with an investigation of the impact on those people affected by the interstate slave trade, then by the local trade, and finally by the urban trade. He then contrasts these experiences. Calling his study a comparative history, Pargas argues there were a number of slave trades, and we need to analyze each to understand the magnitude of this ever-present reality for the enslaved.

One of the more insightful contributions of this book is Pargas's discussion of the difficulties these individuals faced upon arrival at their new destinations. This is a component of the domestic slave trade that has long gone unnoticed by most historians. In addition to finding some way to cope with the unbearable anguish of being separated from family and loved ones, they likewise had to confront the realities of their new living situation. These new realities proved most extreme for people in the interstate trade, especially for those transported long distances to the Old Southwest. They were often confronted with more primitive living conditions and sometimes lack of nutritious food. They had to adjust to the demands of their new owner, and those transported to the lower South had to learn how to harvest new crops, such as cotton or sugar. Most interesting is his argument about the difficulties forced migrants faced adjusting to their new slave communities. Instead of finding comfort in their homes, they consistently experienced tension with the other individuals already there. Pargas argues these confrontations "often served to compound the trauma of removal and deportation, a fact that contradicts common assumptions regarding an intrinsic social cohesion or identity among slaves in the antebellum South" (220).

This book, however, also has its faults. Pargas needs to clarify many of his terms, such as the "domestic slave trade." His study looks at three different types of slave trades, although the only one he ever calls the domestic slave trade is the long-distance interstate trade; or, he follows tradition by applying that nomenclature solely to the most well-known branch of the southern traffic in humans. This leads to problems with the term "comparative." By excluding his other two categories and yet calling this a comparative study, he is arguing there was no such thing as a domestic slave trade, or commerce in American-born slaves that was different from the African slave trade. There are also problems with what constitutes a "local" sale. While he defines it as any intrastate sale, there were many transactions that forced slaves to migrate long distances within the same state. Or, there were numerous sales to nearby buyers across state lines.

In addition, Pargas lacks clarity with his use of the term "migrants." Historically, this label is usually associated with those slaves who moved south and west with their migrating owners as a way to distinguish them from those caught in the domestic slave trade. He acknowledges that these planter migrations were a "significant portion (around one-third)" (49) of the southwestern movement, and he demonstrates how the experience differed from the domestic trade. Yet, the author never includes planter migration as an additional category in his comparative look at the "forced migration" of American slaves (the term he uses in his title). Including it would have resulted in a broader and more accurate look at his subject. Focusing solely on the three branches of the domestic slave trade is fine, but his frequent use of the term migrant is misleading and confusing to the reader.

Despite these and other areas that could have been improved, this is still an important book. It is the first study to explore all components of the domestic slave trade, and compare them to obtain a richer understanding of the lifeblood of the southern slave system. Pargas is likewise more interested in examining the outcomes of this trade, not its actual workings. His discussion of the impact this traffic had on the enslaved themselves and the ways they were forced to adapt to this dreadful experience is commendable. Finally, he refuses to identify these individuals as monolithic characters. He recognizes that there were inevitable conflicts with other slaves that needed to be overcome. Hopefully, this work will have a transforming impact on how people define the domestic slave trade, as well as encourage further research into its previously less-studied components like the local slave trade.

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Joseph M. Beilein Jr. and Matthew C. Hulbert, editors. *The Civil War Guerrilla: Unfolding the Black Flag in History, Memory, and Myth*. (New Directions in Southern History.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015. Pp. x, 245. $50.00.

In *The Civil War Guerrilla: Unfolding the Black Flag in History, Memory, and Myth*, editors Joseph M. Beilein Jr. and Matthew C. Hulbert present eight new essays addressing irregular conflicts during the American Civil War. While the foreword of the volume, written by historian Christopher Phillips, reads as if the edited collection is meant as a festschrift for the late guerrilla warfare scholar Michael Fellman, the editors seem to have intended to present a broader analytical approach than connections to Fellman's Missouri or his multidisciplinary investigation of the meaning behind war's devastating violence. Indeed, Phillips sees most of the essays in contention with Fellman's arguments from his seminal 1989 work *Inside War: The Guerrilla Conflict in Missouri during the Civil War*. Yet, the volume succeeds as a solid introduction to many of the new intellectual approaches to the study of guerrilla warfare. Perhaps the most creative intellectual energy currently in the Civil War military history field is growing out of this area, and Beilein and

Hulbert have assembled a nice cross section of pieces engaging new digital humanities techniques, cutting-edge memory analysis, and the multidimensional uses of cultural history. The essays offer several new irregular stories for a war some historians continue to argue can only be understood through a conventional military lens of analysis. The editors also seek to explore a fuller range of guerrilla identities in their introduction. In short, this collection of essays includes some strong additions to the literature of a growing subfield, but the coherence and collective offering of the overall volume is slightly askew of the mark that the editors seek to hit.

The editor's introduction highlights the symbolic power of the black flag, representing no quarter, during a war many view as characterized by restrained citizen-soldiers fighting on battlefields remote from the civilian population. And, the editors use the flag as a literary metaphor as well, unfolding the tapestry of guerrillas and their wars. Indeed, they hit upon the power of demonstrating just how "regular" the "irregular wars" of the Confederacy and border regions were for many families' war experiences. This is an important strength of the volume and an argument that needs to be continually put forward for other military historians of the Civil War who frequently marginalize the role of tens of thousands of people who fought as guerrillas or were impacted by guerrilla attacks. The scores upon scores of counties in the Confederacy where guerrilla conflict plagued peoples' lives needs to be an area for social historians and military historians to investigate, debate, and discuss. This volume helps push for more research on that front.

The essays included in the volume are especially strong on the far western reaches of the war and Missouri border conflict. The essay by Megan Kate Nelson on the desert Southwest Native American conflict of the 1860s is a refreshing offering that adds a new perspective from an understudied group. This is a promising piece that presents both a new geographic and thematic area for much needed future research. John C. Inscoe's wonderfully inventive work on theatrical portrayals of Civil War guerrillas is a strong addition to the volume. As are the three memory pieces by Matthew Hulbert, Rod Andrew, and Joseph Beilein, which address postwar representation of guerrillas and guerrilla conflict. Digital historian Andrew Fialka's contribution on the spatial and temporal pacing of the Missouri war is innovative. Christopher Phillip adds new depth to the collective understanding of the Kentucky-Missouri border conflict, especially in his effort to highlight an early outbreak of the guerrilla conflicts there. A perceptive piece on the Carolina piedmont by David Brown and Patrick J. Doyle seems somewhat tacked on to a clearly western-centric and memory-focused volume. Victoria Bynum, the esteemed scholar of the southern dissident experience, offers an appropriate afterword on the legacy of guerrillas.

Recent essays by prominent Civil War military historians, including Gary W. Gallagher, continue to address guerrillas as ancillary to the "real" war itself. However, *The Civil War Guerrilla* does not succeed in creating a direct, coherent counter-argument about the overall military impact of guerrilla wars in the 1860s on the fate of the Confederacy. To some extent this is because many Civil War scholars continue to use the Missouri experience as normative for the guerrilla conflict during the four years of the American Civil War. In part, this is due to the understudied nature of other regions. But with the publication of Daniel Sutherland's work *A Savage Conflict* (2009), Civil War scholars can no long ignore the widespread nature of irregular warfare and its impact. Nevertheless, guerrilla scholars must make a more forceful effort to demonstrate the effect on a wider geography within the Confederacy, border South, and lower North during wartime. This volume's structure does not move the field in that direction, despite important essays on the western reaches and border of the Confederacy and on important postwar memory themes. Regrettably, only a handful of the essays touch on wartime issues in the Deep South or interior of the region. Other states in the Confederacy receive no mention at all. The editors, however, seem to be reaching for more illumination with their volume as they attempt to engage the identity of guerrillas, more generally. This falls short, in part, because of their regional focus but also because they direct their attention almost completely on self-constituted guerrillas with only a perfunctory mention of the Confederacy's broad authorized guerrilla policy of Partisan Rangers, which also spread to every state in the Confederacy, border South, and the Indian Territory. Without this broader wartime geographic focus or investigation of the entire spectrum of irregular warfare, authorized and unauthorized, the volume does not tackle the wider array of "identities" or address many of the "complexities" of other localities, which the editors seem to be seeking (5).

Barton A. Myers
Washington and Lee University

Adam Rothman. *Beyond Freedom's Reach: A Kidnapping in the Twilight of Slavery*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. 263. $29.95.

Beyond Freedom's Reach: A Kidnapping in the Twilight of Slavery is a riveting chronicle highlighting the separation of the often sold Rose Herera, a Louisiana-born slave, from several of her children fathered by a free man, George Herera. Following the fall of New Orleans in May 1862, Herera's owner, James De Hart, sold her to Carmelite Rowland, a relative of his wife, Mary. Perhaps the August 1862 sale was a ruse to avoid confiscation by the Union. Nevertheless, after the transaction, De Hart fled to Havana. Mary and Carmelite planned to join him, and Mary asked Rose to accompany them. She refused not wanting to leave loved ones. Did something else influence her decision? Was the illiterate woman fully aware of the implications of the Emancipation Proclamation and Second Confiscation Act? Did she know about the continuous kidnapping of blacks for sale in Cuba and Brazil where slavery remained viable? Would going to Cuba mean she was exchanging the possibility of freedom for a life of bondage? Regardless of the answers, the slaveholding women disembarked January 16, 1863,

without Rose, but three of her children, aged two, four, and six, were in tow.

De Hart received permission from the provost marshal to take the children, "refugees," to Cuba provided she returned them within three months. However, De Hart returned alone in January 1865. During her two-year absence, slavery had ended in Louisiana and Rose Herera, now a free woman, brought legal charges, kidnapping, against Mary De Hart.

If separation from loved ones was one of the most devastating facets of slavery, it follows that reunification was paramount in eradicating that transgression. Additionally, persons affected by separations exhausted all possibilities, legal and illegal, for reunions. Prior to the Civil War, Sojourner Truth resorted to legal action when her former owner sold her son, who was destined for freedom under New York's gradual abolition law, to a slaveholder in Alabama where the boy would have remained enslaved. Truth's case involved moving a slave across state lines, whereas Herera's involved moving slaves from one country to another. Geographical boundaries aside, Herera, like Truth, was adamant about the return of her offspring.

According to Adam Rothman, the "supposed kidnapping" is a story that "deserves to be told because it humanizes the history of slavery and emancipation and dramatizes key aspects of that history" (5). This deeply researched "microhistory" calls attention to an 1865 custody fight based on parental rights and those of an owner who had moved them beyond the reach of U.S. law and freedom.

Initially, a civilian court dismissed Herera's case against De Hart, but the undeterred mother turned to a military court and asked "the Union government to rescue her children from slavery" (135). The court heard opening arguments in *United States v. Mrs. De Hart*, April 8, 1865, one day before Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox Court House. As the Confederacy and slavery were disintegrating, the court ruled that "Mrs. De Hart was 'not guilty of kidnapping, within the meaning of the statute, but . . . guilty of improperly and unlawfully separating the children of less than ten years of age from the mother'" (149).

Returning the children proved to be a complex matter, which Rothman untangles skillfully. The U.S. secretary of state, secretary of war, vice-consul general, and consul general were aware of the decision against De Hart. Cuban officials were also informed. Even so, justice was not swift. The March 17, 1866 repatriation was nearly one year after the trial.

Rothman asserts that "close attention to Rose Herera's effort to recover her children at the end of the war opens up a line of inquiry that connects one woman's struggle to reunite her family, broken by slavery and war, with the profound legal and political changes of the era" (30). Certainly, there were many others who waged similar custody fights. Consider the North Carolina Supreme Court decision, *In the Matter of Harriet Ambrose and Eliza Ambrose* (1867). Rose Herera's case is clearly different from others due to its international dimension and attention received in a March 1866 Congressional Report, a major resource for this deft study.

Beyond Freedom's Reach is part of a rapidly growing body of literature, including *Almost Free: A Story about Race and Family in Antebellum Virginia* (2012), *Freedom Papers: An Atlantic Odyssey in the Age of Emancipation* (2012), *Redemption Songs: Suing for Freedom before Dred Scot* (2014) and *Family Bonds: Free Blacks and Re-Enslavement Law in Antebellum Virginia* (2015), that highlights nineteenth-century litigation involving African Americans who, with the able assistance of white friends and lawyers, used legislatures and courts in their own interests. The voices of litigants, albeit filtered through court reporters, are invaluable in telling their stories in real times. As a result, it is abundantly clear that many enslaved and freed persons were not passive victims but active agents in shaping their own destiny, through legal means, and that of their children.

Wilma King
University of Missouri

Laura F. Edwards. *A Legal History of the Civil War and Reconstruction: A Nation of Rights*. (New Histories of American Law.) New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 212. $29.99.

In legal histories of the Civil War and Reconstruction, told and retold over the past century, federal policies on slavery and race are at the center. Whether condemned by the Dunning School or embraced by revisionists of the civil rights era, the Reconstruction Amendments are the focus of inquiry. Moreover, the legal innovations of wartime and Reconstruction and their review by the Supreme Court remain parsed in terms of change or continuity. The collapse of Reconstruction, whether attributable to the court or not, has long thrown the weight of scholarship behind the conclusion that legal change during this era was partial and limited.

In this remarkable synthesis of multiple strands of historiography, Laura F. Edwards makes it stunningly clear that legal change was broader and deeper than conventionally imagined. Intended for student use but speaking in original and elegant terms to specialists and non-specialists, *A Legal History of the Civil War and Reconstruction: A Nation of Rights* offers a concise narrative that makes the correction of historiographical myopia look easy.

At the heart of Edwards's analysis is the legal logic of Reconstruction, by which she means the logic of contract and property expressed in the "free labor" ideology of the Republican Party. Sinking the free labor rubric of individual rights deeply into the nation's legal order and locating it in wartime confiscation acts, Edwards ties Reconstruction in the South to the seizure of Native lands in the West. Developing the narrative beyond the standard North-South axis, Edwards expands the breadth of Reconstruction by explaining how the "free labor" rights rubric joined federal support of black civil and political rights with federal support of white "property" claims on Indian lands.

A top-down model of legal change has likewise, according to Edwards, obscured a source of the deepest legal change. Conceiving national development in terms of the laws and institutions of the federal government, historians have missed "the transformation of the people's relationship to the federal government and consequently to the nation's legal order" (10). Set in motion by Abraham Lincoln during the war and by the actions of enslaved people who fled to Union lines, a new national and legal consciousness—ordinary people's raised expectations for a newly unified national entity—constituted a fundamental change in the legal culture. Presenting that "imagined community" (175) as contested and containing contradictory possibilities, Edwards traces these new symbolic meanings to citizenship claims by women and wage laborers at the state level, where "race and slavery had never been the only reason for restricting rights or for defining them in ways that clearly benefited one group of people over another" (110).

Law-and-society scholars will find familiar this attention to law's symbolic effects, as well as the dual emphasis on the enabling and hegemonic effects of the free labor rubric of individual rights. Scholars of African American, women's, and labor history will recognize the intimate connection drawn by Edwards between the free labor rubric of individual rights and systems of inequality. "Free laborers," she explains, were men whose rights to contract and property were tied to the rules of household governance and to the influence of race and gender in the antebellum reformulation of conceptions of independence and dependence. As "white men were constituted as freemen through their rights *over* those without rights" (125, author's emphasis), Reconstruction extended the gendered logic of household governance to the former slaves. Thus including household governance within the scope of Reconstruction governance, Edwards situates women's legal subordination, including that of newly emancipated African-American women, as a feature of Reconstruction.

Likewise she develops in significant ways the point by David Montgomery that the demands of wage laborers lay beyond the Republicans' rubric of equal rights: Lincoln's "right to rise" (32) defined freedom as "the ability to contract" (86, 126) and thereby functioned to legitimate the hierarchical structure of the labor relationship. Disadvantaged by common law master-servant rules, in which the ability to contract for meager wages did not offset the advantages bestowed by the property rights of employers, wage laborers were denied relief by Republicans, who sought to extend the existing northern economic and legal order to the general population (32, 149, 167).

In this way, the free labor rubric of contract and property rights provides a thread for stitching together a more comprehensive account of the war and Reconstruction. As Edwards demonstrates in compelling fashion, the free labor rights rubric simultaneously underwrote new forms of racial inclusion and new citizenship claims while naturalizing dispossession—of Native lands, of women's household labor, and of the value produced by wage labor.

At the same time, coverage of the most traditional of concerns—federal law and institutions—contains important gaps and is hampered by internal incongruence on case law, making it difficult to discern clear guideposts through constitutional history. For example, Edwards identifies the civil/political/social rights typology that organized debate over the meaning of freedom but leaves unspecified or misstated (99) the divergent views of moderate and more radical Republicans on the scope of the Thirteenth Amendment and the scope of the all-important "civil rights" category. Moreover, their visions of federalism, central to their divergent responses to the problem of unpunished Klan violence, are not presented. Together these gaps impede an understanding of the competing and evolving visions of rights and rights protections among Republicans.

Readers, too, may wonder at Edwards's mix of conventional wisdom and revisionism on court decisions. For example, the author describes the *Civil Rights Cases* of 1883, which invalidated an 1875 public accommodations law, as "codif[ying] the racial inequalities that long defined the nation's legal order" and as promulgating the principle that federal courts could only consider the letter of state law, not its application (164). Unexamined are the court's classification of public accommodation rights as a "social" right; its embrace of the "civil rights" protected by the 1866 Civil Rights Act; and its acceptance of maladministration of law as a form of rights denial, all of which throw doubt on that description. Moreover, how the revisionist reference to the *Yarbrough* decision of 1884 as supporting black voting rights (162) squares jurisprudentially with the more conventional description of the *Civil Rights Cases* is not clear. That incongruence, along with the absence of an account of the 1880s uptick in voting rights enforcement, leaves unsteady the rendering of constitutional development.

Such concerns do not touch the power of Edwards's original claims about the depth and breadth of legal change during the war and Reconstruction, and for readers who want to pursue the array of vital historiographical correctives on offer, Edwards provides an excellent bibliographic essay.

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Justin Behrend. *Reconstructing Democracy: Grassroots Black Politics in the Deep South after the Civil War*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015. Pp. xi, 355. $59.95.

Justin Behrend's *Reconstructing Democracy: Grassroots Black Politics in the Deep South after the Civil War* probes the sources, achievements, and limitations of the social movements and political mobilizations opened by slavery's abolition in the Louisiana-Mississippi region of the Natchez District, a cotton plantation region "home to one of the greatest concentrations of black people in the South" (5). At the core of Behrend's investigation is his analysis of the political awakening of the district's emancipated and freeborn black residents. Their determination to get ahead collectively, particularly evident before the effects of mobilized paramilitary vigilantism took hold in 1874, harnessed and gave institutionalized expressions to a political will suppressed by enslavement and

Confederate power. In research design as well as argumentation, Behrend reflects critically on the scholarly debate that continues to assess the proposition, first advanced in 1935 by W. E. B. Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction*, that the emancipatory projects that unfolded during Reconstruction generated new political practices, institutions, and policies that attempted to make meaningful the claims of American democracy.

Reconstructing Democracy depicts two faces of post-emancipation black politics in the region's black-majority rural counties and parishes and the federally protected town of Natchez. The central tendencies of post-emancipation black political life reflected a style of "collectivist politics" that "forged a democratic ethos that emphasized mutual obligation and grassroots participation" (182, 70). Behrend's examination of the institutionalization of post-emancipation electoral politics does not dismiss emerging labor collectives and community institutions as social ephemera subordinate to a more central political task of defining a relationship to state authority. Instead, his comparative analysis of the development of local institutions such as schools, benevolent societies, churches, and laborers' associations, many of which became central contact points in pursuit of political empowerment, cautions against rigid analytical separation of politics and social life: "[I]n the process of working with neighbors, forging connections to national organizations and governing bodies, and establishing governing structures," he argues, members of a developing black community "gained practical experience in developing the values and networks that would become essential to a grassroots democracy" (44–45). At the same time, Behrend insists, "Only when those institutions combined and utilized black communication networks under the auspices of a formal political organization would a broad-based community be realized, and only then would freedpeople's collective strength be put to maximum use" (45).

Nonetheless, his study reveals, grassroots politics is not inherently egalitarian. Although *Reconstructing Democracy* draws back the curtain on the distinctive political space occupied by working class black women activists and the determination with which they acted as partisans on election day, at work, and in their domestic lives, perhaps the most novel aspect of Behrend's vivid account is the detailed examination of black agents of the district's Democratic party. While Republican leaders "articulated a political vision of egalitarianism, mutual support, and broad participation" that "owed much to the associational web of clubs, social organizations" and mass meetings, he argues, black Democrats "were part of a larger continuum of patron-client relations that preceded emancipation and persisted beyond Reconstruction" (181–182, 176). Equally suggestive, the author's analysis makes clear that networks are not community. Ties between state Republican Party officials and the central sites of black communications networks remained vigorous but did not stem the changed content of Republican Party politics after 1874. Designation of the Natchez County Courthouse for regular meetings of Republican political clubs suggests a grassroots movement on the defensive. Political efficacy at times seems reduced to crowd size, as large biracial crowds that turn out for entrepreneurial railroad campaigns, most of which fail, underscore the ambiguity of the "extraordinary feat" accomplished by black Republican elected officials as "they implemented public policies that addressed many of the concerns of freedpeople while also developing a biracial politics that accommodated some of the concerns of the indigenous white elite" (121). One of the book's many achievements is the judiciousness with which it depicts what black elected officials were up against. At the same time, grassroots democracy had once aspired to do more than protect its weakest members of the community from organized terrorism or fraud. Such changes call to mind some of the distinctions that historian Lawrence Goodwyn made between the Populist movement and its shadow in the Populist Party.

A brief review cannot do justice to the book's many pathbreaking interventions. Analysis of black elected officials rests on the author's database of four hundred black men elected to political office or party leadership in these six counties. Behrend's extended treatment of the political careers of black Democratic officeholders and the travails of black rank-and-file Democrats is original in its depth. The insistent political roles of emancipated women and analysis of the conditions that precipitated their direct intervention in elections brings new horizons of politics and community into view. "When neighbor turned against neighbor, ministers turned against congregant, and husbands turned against wives," Behrend speculates, "it may be that women felt a special obligation to hold the community together" (202). His exploration of the coherence, no less than the contradictions, of popular mobilization is memorable. Here is a book for scholar and activist alike.

Julie Saville
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Elliott Young. *Alien Nation: Chinese Migration in the Americas from the Coolie Era through World War II.* (The David J. Weber Series in the New Borderlands History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014. Pp. xvi, 360. $29.95.

Elliott Young's agenda in *Alien Nation: Chinese Migration in the Americas from the Coolie Era through World War II* is commendably ambitious. He seeks to offer a transnational understanding of one hundred years of Chinese immigration to the Western Hemisphere, especially the U.S., Canada, Mexico, Cuba, and Peru; to illuminate transnational smuggling networks and migration routes; to explain the simultaneous and linked rise of the "illegal alien" and the nation-state; and to give voice to Chinese migrants and the communities they created under incredible pressure across North and South America. The book does not succeed in achieving all these goals, for it ultimately proves more adept at describing government responses to Chinese migration than at exploring the lives of the migrants themselves. However, Young's study

does provide a fascinating new window into the mechanics of immigration control across the Americas.

Alien Nation begins in the mid-nineteenth century, when Chinese laborers from the stumbling Qing dynasty began to stream from the ports of Hong Kong and Macao into Cuba, Peru, the U.S., and other parts of the Western Hemisphere. Often reviled as "coolies," they and the conditions in which they traveled, worked, and contracted their services prompted considerable consternation across the Americas. Officials and other participants in ongoing and increasingly bitter international debates about slavery used the Chinese migrants as examples of both free labor and slavery and fought over the need to reform the "coolie trade." With the late-nineteenth-century decline of slavery in the Western Hemisphere, the debate shifted somewhat; government authorities in China, the U.S., Britain, Spain, Mexico, Peru, Cuba, and Canada began to argue heatedly about whether Chinese "coolie" labor was in fact a continuation of slavery or a symbol of free labor. Meanwhile, the potent anti-Chinese movement that emerged in the post–Civil War U.S. shaped immigration law there and compelled lawmakers to press other countries to cooperate with America's exclusionist priorities. By the early twentieth century, Canada and Mexico both complied, particularly because anti-Chinese sentiment was rising within their own nations; still, corruption and long borders also meant continued Chinese immigration into the U.S. from the two countries and from Cuba. Simultaneously, the growth of anti-Chinese sentiment across the Western Hemisphere affected how Chinese migrants throughout the region organized politically and socially in the period between 1900 and the 1930s. The book concludes by linking the plight of the pre–World War II Chinese to current migrant waves.

Young's study aptly demonstrates the way U.S. pressure, together with the growth of xenophobic nationalism across the Americas, helped make life for the Chinese increasingly intolerable in many places. Indeed, *Alien Nation*'s examinations of comparative immigration systems and the rise of racial nationalism in countries such as Cuba and Mexico are the book's strongest points. Young deftly explores the different trajectory of anti-Chinese movements in far-flung locales, from Vancouver to Sonora to Havana, and the way that violence against the Chinese flourished longest in the places where central authority was weakest, especially Mexico. By using a host of archival records from British, Cuban, Mexican, Peruvian, U.S., and Canadian sources, Young casts new light on the way the immigration bureaucracy grew and changed over time. In addition, he offers a valuable examination of the tensions between local and central authorities, who often had quite different priorities in terms of immigration legislation and economic development. *Alien Nation* also makes an intriguing argument about the slippery definition of bonded labor and a valuable comparison between slavery and coolieism. Still, readers may question Young's insinuation that all "free labor" was akin to slavery.

While a fine study of immigration bureaucracy in the Americas, *Alien Nation* is less successful as a truly transnational history of Chinese migration and community in the Western Hemisphere. The book would have benefited from at least some discussion of the far larger nineteenth-century Chinese migration to Southeast Asia, planters use of opium to help control laborers there was a practice found in Peru and Cuba as well, but one Young largely ignores. Young also relies almost entirely on the archives of Britain and of Western Hemisphere governments to give voice to Chinese migrants, who thus appear only sporadically and almost entirely through immigration officials' translations of the occasional interrogation or confiscated letter. Certainly, as Young says, "the voices of Chinese coolies and labor migrants have rarely been preserved" (16), yet far more of them exist, especially for the early twentieth century, than he acknowledges. The literacy rate of Chinese workers in the Americas rose after 1900, and they subscribed and wrote thousands of letters to magazines and newspapers based in the Western Hemisphere and in China. Many of the records of the political parties in which they participated, especially the Baohuanghui and the Guomindang, are easily accessible in the U.S., and the Qing officials who debated what to do about emigration also left a significant paper trail. None of these sources appears in the book. *Alien Nation* also tends to rely solely on Philip Kuhn's *Chinese among Others: Emigration in Modern Times* (2008) to explain political events and social and economic trends in China, rather than supplementing that work with some of the other excellent and more detailed studies of late Qing society and government published in the last twenty years. Similarly, *Alien Nation* draws on a limited number of sometimes dated secondary sources about the social and political world of Chinese migrants, ignoring entirely, for example, the crucial work of Him Mark Lai. As a result, the book misuses some terminology and makes a number of factually incorrect assertions about Chinese history and Chinese migrant society.

These problems undermine certain parts of *Alien Nation*'s agenda. Still, the book remains valuable as a history of the development of anti-Chinese immigration systems across the Western Hemisphere.

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J. Philip Gruen. *Manifest Destinations: Cities and Tourists in the Nineteenth–Century American West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014. Pp. xxvi, 286. $29.95.

Architectural historian J. Philip Gruen was once a tour bus driver in Chicago, and it was there that he got the inkling for this book. Figuring that visitors must want to know about Chicago's celebrated architecture, he would rhapsodize about pioneering steel-frame skyscrapers—and find his passengers tuning him out. (All of us who teach will recognize the feeling.) What really interested tourists, he realized, were the city's everyday rhythms. Instead of learning about the crown jewels of the Commercial Style, they preferred to people-watch, comment on congestion, and take in the city's sounds and smells.

That basic contention—that even as guides try to tell tourists what to see, tourists see things their own way—drives Gruen's analysis in *Manifest Destinations: Cities and Tourists in the Nineteenth–Century American West*. The book looks at nineteenth-century sightseeing in Chicago, Denver, Salt Lake City, and San Francisco, contrasting the ways boosters portrayed these cities with the ways tourists experienced them. Gruen acknowledges that most Victorian travelers came west for the natural scenery, not the cities. But the railroads to scenic western destinations ran through the region's cities, and tourists stopped to explore. Promoters cast these cities as monuments to the civilizing of the West, the fulfilling of America's manifest destiny. Through guidebooks and other literature, they tried to steer visitors toward sights—especially elegant works of architecture— that would testify to the city's progress, refinement, and modernization. But tourists did not limit themselves to such sights, and even when they did, they did not always react as boosters wanted them to.

By Gruen's telling, promotional literature romanticized western cities as pleasure resorts, pastoral and neat, set in picturesque natural surroundings. Promoters often used panoramic photographs or the classic Victorian bird's-eye views to depict their cities, because such images made a city look harmonious with its environment, and by taking a placid, distant perspective, they hid the city's messy details, the tumult and grit of everyday urban life. For the same reason, boosters instructed tourists to observe cities from vantage points high above (like the tower atop Chicago's Auditorium Building) or far away (like Salt Lake City's Ensign Peak).

But tourists constantly defied such directions. If they gazed passively upon the urban landscape from a height or distance, they also dove right in, walking the streets, improvising their itineraries, straying from prescribed paths, "slumming" in neighborhoods that the guidebooks did *not* recommend. In the process, tourists found exactly the sorts of things the guidebooks left out: the messiness of urban life, and the disruptions caused by construction, landscape reconfiguration, and industrialization. Gruen notes that promotional literature focused on the visual, encouraging visitors to regard buildings, parks, and other elements of the urban landscape like works of art. But tourists took a multisensory approach, absorbing the smells, sounds, and sentiments of the city along with its sights. Urged to admire the sophisticated designs of showpiece buildings, tourists instead showed a stronger interest in the buildings' surroundings and the clamor of crowds dashing in and out. In general, when tourists immersed themselves in the city, including its more mundane and unadvertised parts, they found not the gracious, orderly metropolises that boosters touted, but instead places that were complicated, chaotic, upsetting, or downright disgusting. Here Gruen's title becomes consciously ironic: rather than seeing western cities as manifestations of a destiny fulfilled, many tourists came away confused or discomfited by the problems modernization wrought.

Sightseers were also more attentive to social diversity. Promoters generally downplayed their cities' racial and religious diversity, preferring to define "cosmopolitanism" in terms of cultural refinement, civic institutions, and community unity. When they did acknowledge social diversity—in contexts where they could hardly ignore it, as with San Francisco's famous Chinatown or Salt Lake City's majority Mormon population—they rhetorically isolated these "others" as exotic, picturesque, or premodern curiosities. Gruen claims, though, that tourists saw past such constructions when they witnessed social diversity for themselves and drew their own conclusions about marginalized groups, sometimes disparaging but sometimes surprisingly charitable.

The book's greatest strengths are its exploration of the multisensory tourist experience, and its thought-provoking approach to architectural history, eschewing the traditional emphasis on design for a fuller consideration of the ways buildings were used, experienced, and contextualized. Some other points are less persuasive, though. Gruen makes a halfhearted (and unnecessary) argument about the regional distinctiveness of western cities but offers little evidence to support it. And though he recognizes that tourists' reactions were "culture bound" (xvi), he under analyzes the influence of their cultural baggage. For instance, while noting that many travelers' accounts parroted booster rhetoric, he seems to assume that they did so insincerely, perhaps to appeal to publishers back East. But this overlooks the possibility that many Victorian tourists visiting the West really *did* see cities much like urban boosters did, because they shared the same Victorian American notions of "civilization," which inclined them to value the same markers of "refinement" and "modernization." Making this likelier is the fact that Gilded Age tourists were disproportionately wealthy (which Gruen does point out), and were often searching not just for pleasure but for investment opportunities (which Gruen mostly ignores). Finally, some readers might find it frustrating that while Gruen is excellent at presenting his evidence, he too often hesitates to draw broader conclusions from it. Tourists' impressions were too diverse to summarize fairly, he says at several points, and in the end tourists were never able to fully understand western cities. But was there really some sort of transcendent truth that these tourists were missing? Might the very contradictions and disagreements in their accounts shed light on the wider debates of the time over westward expansion, urbanization, social diversity, "modernization," public space, or "progress"? If so, Gruen mostly shies away from such claims. This intelligent book intrigues, but with its rich and suggestive subject matter, it could have done even more.

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Chanelle N. Rose. *The Struggle for Black Freedom in Miami: Civil Rights and America's Tourist Paradise, 1896–1968*. (Making the Modern South.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015. Pp. xiii, 315. $47.50.

"Unique" is a word most scholars eschew. Yet, Chanelle N. Rose boldly uses the adjective to describe Miami's

long and troubling history of race relations. While the reader's first inclination is to ponder whether Rose should have used "unusual" rather than "unique" to describe her subject, by book's end Rose establishes that "[t]he City of Miami and its freedom struggle are unique in a number of ways" (2). In developing this thesis, Rose contends that the confluence of a tourist-minded white elite with the Latinization of Miami tempered this Deep South city's definitions of blackness, resulting in racial prerogatives for some Latinos with African blood that proved anomalous for Florida and most of Dixie. Throughout the book, the author develops this theme of transformative heterogeneity, and traces the ethnic and racial cross-fertilization that shaped Miami's inner struggle to live with the myth of southern moderation despite the reality of color lines. The story is unique in that Miami exhibited a rich and sometimes volatile background of race, ethnicity (particularly a strong Latinization), geography (America's gateway to Latin America and vice versa), tourism (a southern paradise image), northern transplants (particularly Jewish-Americans), and intra-urban, racial-ethnic permutations that typified no other southern metropolis.

Rose's story of the "Magic City" and its history of exceptionalism will appeal primarily to scholars and lay persons interested in an almost overly detailed focus on the persons and organizations that shaped the racial/ethnic currents of Miami's urban district. In many regards, the sizable black population, supplemented over the decades by a largely black Bahamian and Caribbean influx, coupled with the growing Jewish-American population of Miami by mid-century, defined and fomented the inner struggle of the area to wrest measures of equality from the entrenched white power structure. That scenario took a dramatic turn after the rise of Fidel Castro and the resulting massive migration of Cubans into Miami; by 2013 Hispanics/Latinos comprised almost 66 percent of the population of *la Ciudad Mágica*. Miami's development as a historically maturating racial mixture and ethnic polyglot has not only set it apart from other Deep South cities but, as Rose surmises, defined "social forces specifically within the context of Miami's black freedom struggle" (4). This evolving thesis is sound on many levels, but it is a continuation and expansion of earlier works by Paul S. George, Marvin Dunn, Gregory W. Bush, and the late Raymond A. Mohl.

The Struggle for Black Freedom in Miami: Civil Rights and America's Tourist Paradise, 1896–1968 builds on these authors' foundational works by describing in depth a large number of leaders and organizations from the black community, augmented with and reinvigorated by the growing Jewish-American population in the 1950s and 1960s, that challenged the white elites of Miami through a series of direct, indirect, and legal challenges to the city's racial fault lines. This is a complex story complicated by the civic elites' propagation of a "tourist progressive mystique" (93) that oftentimes concealed the racist underbelly of Miami from outsiders. The book encompasses three major themes as it traces the origin and development of the black experience in twentieth-century Miami: "The Racial Politics of Boosterism, Black Protest, and Jim Crow Tourism" (part I, two chapters); "Post–World War II Protest, Northern Migration, and the Illusion of Moderation" (part II, three chapters); and "Civil Rights Liberalism and Black Power in America's Burgeoning Tri-Ethnic City" (part III, four chapters). An insightful epilogue follows these three demarcations of the book and adds insight to the reader's historical and contemporary understanding of Miami's largely unconventional social/ethnic history. Rose has woven a rich narrative of South Florida's singular race/ethnic struggle into a case study that will prove essential reading for scholars of South Florida or those interested in the growth and development of the region into the U.S.'s "Gateway to the Americas" (164).

Rose presents her case well, but could have increased the effectiveness of the study by providing a more measured analysis of how Miami's leaders and organizations fit within the broader theaters of struggle in Florida and the nation. Indeed, the reader at times becomes overwhelmed by the continuous stream of names, organizations, abbreviations, and acronyms; there are eighty-one such examples listed in the "Abbreviations" section alone. The author's depiction of Governor LeRoy Collins and certain white "progressive" factions in Miami as moderates is also problematic. Did the metropolis's residents of Colored Town see the exclusion actions of these powerful persons and elements as moderate or simply lacking the more incendiary rhetoric of even worse-behaved segregationists in the South? Did the fact that Miami instituted Florida's first attempted public school integration at Orchard Villa Elementary in the fall of 1959, followed by white flight and a resegregated school and district by early 1960, demonstrate the Magic City's spark of progressivism? Or did the election of the antisegregationist mayor Robert King High in the same year as the failed racial experiment at Orchard Villa ostensibly demonstrate a moderate streak; if so, the pressing question for historians is how deep and how pervasive was this streak in the backrooms of white power in Miami? This notion of moderation and how to define it appropriately from an interracial perspective is a subject of recent studies on Florida history. Rose would have done well to have properly addressed the Miami-Dade Public School's desegregation of Base Elementary at the Homestead Air Reserve Base at the time of the Orchard Villa experiment, and fully mined Bush's foundational work on the black struggle and public space in South Florida in his chapter contribution on Virginia Key Beach and the black struggle for public space in my edited collection, *Old South, New South, or Down South? Florida and the Modern Civil Rights Movement* (2009).

Even so, *The Struggle for Black Freedom in Miami* presents a valuable case study of a South Florida "paradise" that cries out for more local and national integrative analysis in the literature. Rose explores many arcane nooks and crannies of her subject and produces, as a result, a stimulating and useful expose of how racial and ethnic

heterogeneity can somehow, and sometimes, derail conventional racial habits.

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Emily K. Abel. *The Inevitable Hour: A History of Caring for Dying Patients in America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013. Pp. viii, 226. $32.95.

Emily K. Abel's *The Inevitable Hour: A History of Caring for Dying Patients in America* explores the American experience of dying from 1880 to 1965. The book examines personal diaries, medical records, hospital regulations, and broader policy reforms to offer a detailed account of both the personal experience of dying and its changing institutional setting. While the book presents a general overview of dying in the U.S., the author pays closer attention to New York City and to patients suffering from consumption (tuberculosis) during the late nineteenth century and from cancer in the mid-twentieth century. Many of the problems facing the dying, as the book shows, are not novel, and the dehumanization of death took place long before the advancements of medical technology and life sustaining treatment so commonly associated with the contemporary experience of the deathbed.

The book begins with an account of dying at home, which until the twentieth century, continued to be the most common setting for death. Family and friends accompanied the dying during their last hour and religion, much more than medicine, played a central role in administering hope to the hopelessly ill. The medicalization of death, as the author shows, began in the early twentieth century with the growing presence of the doctor at the deathbed and the gradual admission of incurable patients to hospitals, including special hospitals for cancer patients. By the first decades of the twentieth century, dying became a matter not only of medical treatment but of preventive healthcare. Abel observes that "Doctors who previously might have viewed advancing disease as either inevitable or the result of their own incompetence instead began to blame patients for having failed to recognize the first symptoms and take corrective action" (59). The discovery of antibiotics changed the main causes of death from acute diseases (such as influenza, pneumonia, or dysentery) to chronic illness (including cancer, heart diseases, and later autoimmune diseases), and prolonged the process of dying. The development of Intensive Care Units (ICU) in the mid-1950s and the medical advancements in the treatment of incurable diseases meant that dying became a distinct phase in the life of many patients. The suffering of the dying patient, along with the emotional and financial burden surrounding the family, reached unprecedented levels, but little was done to reverse the process.

The book tells the familiar story of the transformation of the deathbed from the confinements of the home to medical institutions, and the change in death from a primarily private affair to a matter of public policy. The author, however, distinguishes her account from previous works at least in two ways. First, contrary to existing literature, the medicalization of death was not the result of a deliberate effort by physicians to monopolize the treatment of the dying patient. Twentieth-century medical institutions often refused to admit dying patients and tended to discharge them once their sickness had proven to be incurable. Hospitals operated in a highly competitive environment and were concerned with their public reputation. Admitting dying patients would sharply affect the hospitals mortality rates. Furthermore, physicians viewed death as a failure and did not want patients to die under their supervision. If, despite these considerations, hospitals ended up admitting dying patients, it was only because there was no one else to care for them, and because legal regulation, first local and then national, refused hospitals the right to deny sick patients medical treatment.

The author's argument on this point is illuminating, if somewhat partial. While medical institutions may have been reluctant to offer their services to incurable patients, physicians have had compelling reasons to medicalize the experience of death. For example, in my own work *The Modern Art of Dying: A History of Euthanasia in the United States* (2005), I argue that dying became a source of contention and competition between certified physicians and nonorthodox doctors who threatened to challenge the monopoly physicians enjoyed over the art of healing. Furthermore, the fact that medical institutions were at times reluctant to solve the problem of incurable patients does not undermine the way in which medicine as a scientific and discursive enterprise sought to expand its jurisdiction from the living to dying and death, as the author's account of the ICU and medical autopsy shows.

Second, the author seeks to distinguish her account from previous studies by pointing out that the medicalization of death did not preclude the ongoing presence of religion at the deathbed. "Even . . . at the height of popular confidence in medical prowess," Abel notes, "most Americans belong to religious congregations and believed in God and an afterlife" (136). Indeed, the final chapter of the book relays two very different spiritual confrontations with death, one by Flannery O'Connor from Georgia, whose experience with death was mediated by her Catholic upbringing, and one by Rachel Carson, whose deep bond with nature provided her with a spiritual experience of death outside organized religion.

Once again the author is correct in pointing out the ways in which religion continues to play a leading role in the private life of dying patients, but rather than refuting the "secularization thesis," she seems to support it. The common argument in the literature has never been that religion stopped playing a role at the deathbed, but only that for most Americans it no longer organized the experience of dying. Whereas in the tradition of the *ars moriendi*, religion shaped the deathbed scene into a communal spectacle until the late nineteenth century. During the second half of the twentieth century, however, the dying patient went to service hospitals and hospices to alleviate their spiritual as well as physical suffering.

The book is recommended reading for anyone interested in the cultural history of medicine and specifically in death and dying.

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Charissa J. Threat. *Nursing Civil Rights: Gender and Race in the Army Nurse Corps*. (Women in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2015. Pp. x, 198. Cloth $95.00, paper $25.00.

Charissa J. Threat offers an original way to view the struggles of professional black women and white men in nursing. During most of our nation's history, it was men who suppressed blacks, but in this book, we read about the oppressor becoming a member of the oppressed; both black women and white men faced sexist and racist obstacles in their attempts to become full-fledged members of the Army Nurse Corps (ANC). The author offers the reader a chance to view the twentieth-century civil rights struggles from the perspective of two dissimilar groups trying to achieve parity with other Americans in uniform. What an innovative way for students to consider civil rights. I would enjoy leading such a classroom discussion.

The effort to professionalize nursing in the nineteenth century was primarily led by white women to establish a respected and effective career choice for themselves. Small numbers of men and minorities became registered nurses, often training in segregated schools of nursing and working in segregated hospitals, or limited to practice in specialties such as psychiatry.

The 1901 establishment of the ANC by congressional legislation was an ambiguous victory for women. Nothing was more male than the U.S. military and the ANC offered nurses quasi-military status. Nurses could have the title of lieutenant but they were always called "Miss" (no married women need apply) and they received less pay than a man in the same rank. They received no retirement or veterans benefits. Full military status would not happen until 1944. The fights for inclusion in overseas assignments, for promotion in rank, and other struggles left little time or interest in welcoming men and black women into the ANC. Still these Americans wanted to serve their country.

In small numbers, black nurses served just after World War I; 56 black women were allowed into the ANC at the start of World War II. By the end of the war more than 500 black nurses had taken the oath of office. Their nursing experiences in the military reflected the broad racist experience of blacks in America who strove to improve their economic and social status and to serve their country. Using primary sources and classic books, Threat offers sound evidence of the setbacks and successes black professionals have had in the U.S. Army from the time nurses received full military status in 1944 through the Vietnam era.

Male military nurses struggled to assert the same power that American men enjoyed in society. While it was mostly white men who kept minorities marginalized, this white female profession was an exception. Male nurses, however, had more in common with women trying to enter the male worlds of medicine and surgery than black nurses. Unlike their black female colleagues, men could enlist or be drafted but they were not assigned to the ANC. Not until 1955, after the Korean War, were men permitted to serve as military nurses.

Today the demographics of the ANC have changed. Men make up nearly 35 percent of the active duty nurse officers, yet only 9.1 percent of civilian nurses. Black nurses comprise 18 percent of the active duty officers but only 9.9 percent of civilian nurses. Why these nurses are overrepresented in the U.S. Army would make an interesting study.

Threat successfully weaves the stories of these two groups in each chapter. The writing is clear and accessible. This book is more than a history of two groups struggling for acceptance in the cultures and politics of professional nursing and the military. Threat's discussion about the complexities surrounding the concept of equality allows the reader to consider larger societal issues about inclusion.

I assume this book will become a textbook and its' weakness is not in content but in the bibliography. The classic texts such as Darlene Clark Hine's *Black Women in White: Racial Conflict and Cooperation in the Nursing Profession, 1890–1950* (1989), Jeanne Holm's *Women in the Military: An Unfinished Revolution* (1982), and Chad E. O'Lynn and Russell E. Tranbarger's edited volume, *Men in Nursing: History, Challenges and Opportunities* (2006) can be found in the voluminous footnotes but not in the "Selected Bibliography" which contains less than a page of secondary "Published Materials." If students of history want a broader understanding about the issues of military nursing, black nurses, and male nurses, they will have to comb the footnotes rather than check the bibliography. I wish these classic works and others were handier to find in this thought-provoking book.

Elizabeth M. Norman
New York University

Jenny Woodley. *Art for Equality: The NAACP's Cultural Campaign for Civil Rights*. (Civil Rights and the Struggle for Black Equality in the Twentieth Century.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2014. Pp. 258. $40.00.

Jenny Woodley's thorough study of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's cultural campaign addresses how the NAACP hoped the arts could aid in the advancement of civil rights. This fascinating assessment of the power of the arts (yet another side of W. E. B. Du Bois's declaration that "All Art Is Propaganda") discusses the theories behind a cultural strategy for the organization, as well as several different art forms utilized in this cultural campaign. Woodley explains that the NAACP wanted to change the way several forms of media, including songs, literature, art, advertisements, and even greeting cards, portrayed African Americans. The NAACP was especially interested in "visual mass

culture": motion pictures, and then television, no doubt due to their ability to reach large audiences.

When *The Crisis* came into being in late 1910, under the editorship of Du Bois, this campaign took on a new face, with essays and visual messages created by black artists promoting equality. The 2007 book *Art in Crisis: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Struggle for African American Identity* documents this phenomenon. Lynching was a primary target for the NAACP, and *The Crisis* published statistics and images to unify its readership in the hopes that a collective identity could help with the passage of federal anti-lynching laws.

The NAACP took on particularly offensive depictions of African Americans in the arts, including those in *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). The organization conducted this long and difficult struggle with occasional support from the National Board of Censorship of Motion Pictures. Woodley does not defend white involvement in the NAACP's campaigns, but rather attempts to understand the approaches the organization took, and to assess their strengths and weaknesses.

Woodley's chapter "Representing the New Negro" offers a strong overview of the Harlem Renaissance era, focusing on the leadership of Du Bois and James Weldon Johnson. Here Woodley returns to the problematic question of white control in the NAACP, and the desire of the black leadership to have art created by African Americans, for African Americans. As Johnson stated, "I do not think it too much to say that through artistic achievement the Negro has found a means of getting at the very core of the prejudice against him" (60).

Art for Equality: The NAACP's Cultural Campaign for Civil Rights explores the complicated relationship between Du Bois and Walter White and the complex and sometimes contradictory cultural agenda of the NAACP as it was reflected in *The Crisis*. The chapters studying White's connection with Hollywood, and the influence of black Americans in the film industry, especially the sometimes "suspected communists" (169), are among the most interesting aspects of this fine book. Woodley effectively establishes that the NAACP's struggle for racial equality was a battle fought in movie theaters and art galleries, on stage and television screens, not just in the legislature and the courtroom. This is a book worth reading and is particularly useful to historians of the Harlem Renaissance, the civil rights movement, and American cultural studies. My one gentle suggestion to the publisher would have been to choose another cover image from the hundreds of stunning images available in *The Crisis*. The book is beautifully produced; however, *The Crisis* image chosen is identical to the image used for *Art in Crisis*, a book addressing many related issues.

Amy Kirschke
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John M. Kinder. *Paying with Their Bodies: American War and the Problem of the Disabled Veteran*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. Pp. viii, 358. $30.00.

War demands a heavy price be paid. The aftermath of any military engagement produces horrific scenes of blood and carnage, which, in turn, results in thousands of soldiers and officers facing the challenges of newfound disability. However, within the larger scope of American military history, the place of the disabled veteran has usually been the sidelines, rather than in the center of a field ripe with examinations of battles, tactics, and the political and social ramifications of warfare. Thankfully, John M. Kinder's *Paying with Their Bodies: American War and the Problem of the Disabled Veteran* is a rich and timely examination of veterans and the extraordinary price they paid in the form of dismembered limbs, shredded flesh, and chronic pains that traveled with them from the trenches of Europe to the farmsteads of the heartland of America.

The years surrounding World War I make for a fertile period to examine the problematic role of the disabled veteran within American society. Kinder focuses much of his examination on a series of problems that the injured veteran created for various groups. Progressives saw that the financial burden necessary to care for a massive amount of injured men had the potential to financially crush the nation. Although the nation wanted a return to normalcy in the 1920s, the presence of thousands of men showcasing both visible and invisible signs of trauma forced the culture to at least consider sanctioning rehabilitation that could "remasculinize America's wounded warriors, saving them from lives of shameful dependency" (122). Veterans arose to make sure that they would not end up forgotten by their fellow citizens or a government who owed them for their sacrifice.

In addition to addressing the elements of injury and rehabilitation, Kinder also examines, through a wealth of cultural cues in the form of imagery, propaganda, literature, and films, the usage of the injured veteran within the larger discussion about the appropriate nature of warfare. The American Legion and the Disabled American Veterans of the World War (DAV) made enough noise to secure financial benefits for disabled veterans, but did so by cementing a mythical experience of war, one in which the damaged veteran received glory for "patriotic sacrifice and martial Americanism" (184). Advocates for peace also saw the injured veteran as a clear example of why a nation should avoid military intervention in foreign matters. After all, a disabled veteran faced a litany of social, physical, cultural, and economic difficulties, which stood in stark contrast to the lavish lifestyle of the Gatsby decade. On the other side of the spectrum, those who tried to rally the American people to support war faced the harsh reality that no soldiers ever wanted to reconceptualize themselves as amputees, blinded people, or crippled from some other horrific form of disability. As World War I steadily retreated into the recesses of American memory, veterans attempted to use the overlooked disabled doughboy as a physical embodiment of both the failure of governmental care (especially in the face of the Bonus Army disaster of 1932) and the need for veterans, rather than individuals who did not serve in the war and could not represent it correctly, to remain active in the commemoration process.

Since a vast majority of the book covers World War I, the opening chapter on the legacy of the Civil War and

the final chapter and epilogue that cover from World War II to the present feel more like afterthoughts rather than components hinging together the overall argument. Part of the problem lies in the title of the book, which conveys a larger focus, rather than one pinpointed on World War I. At the same time, the section on the Civil War ignores the plight of southern disabled veterans and their quest for both survival and recognition from dilapidated state budgets for prosthetics and pensions. Several historians, such as Susan-Mary Grant, Brian Matthew Jordan, and James Marten, among others, have written extensively about the plight of Civil War veterans and their work could have been utilized in framing a larger discussion about the legacy of disabled veterans.

Although Kinder includes nine biographical vignettes between chapters, the actual voice of the disabled veteran sometimes gets lost in the extensive political and cultural discussion about the uneven road to recognize disabled veterans. While Kinder has provided an important and timely examination of disabled veterans in the shadow of World War I, he has only scratched the surface of this critical facet of American military history. Historians will need to continue wrestling with the physical consequences of war on the human body. Kinder demonstrates that although society and the government may willingly ship men and women off to war, they begrudgingly care for those physically, emotionally, and mentally broken by the strains and stresses of combat.

Brian Craig Miller
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Hazel Hutchison. *The War That Used Up Words: American Writers and the First World War.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. x, 292. $45.00.

Time during war is time suspended; great matters are at stake, but until hostilities cease, those matters remain unsettled. For the writer, whose job it is to find and convey meaning, the chaos of wartime strips away the possibility of knowledge. Meaning therefore lies in uncertainty, and writing about uncertainty can look like something else as time passes. Literary scholars have come to value a particular kind of writing about the Great War, that of cynicism, experiment, and disillusion, most of which appeared after the war was over. Further, studies of literature of the Great War usually devote little space to American contributions. After all, the British spent far more time in the war, and their postwar literature attracts readers and critics with its deep sense of disillusionment, a hallmark of literary modernism. Critics tend to elevate this literature above works that use traditional forms and treat seemingly more prosaic subjects. By examining American literature written during the Great War, Hazel Hutchison uncovers a neglected yet transformative moment in literary history.

The War That Used Up Words: American Writers and the First World War sketches the experiences of American writers from 1914 to 1918 and presents a new and necessary look at the American literary imagination during wartime. While Britain almost immediately began censoring publications about the war, the U.S. did not impose such restrictions until later. Writers were free to publish what they really thought, and thus by examining this material, Hutchison probes American writers' first reactions to the war, reactions that she argues were inextricably tied to action. These writers had time to reflect on the war, both its issues and methodologies, before American combatants entered the field. Because they were working during the war, their texts reveal the anxiety of not knowing how the conflict would end and sometimes suggest the despair of feeling it never would, thus these texts show "how the war first imprinted itself onto the patterns of American writing" (17). Hutchison's methodology of studying everything written by these writers during the war means she treats equally texts that might otherwise be separated by genre or perceived quality: poetry and prose; fiction and memoir; "literature" and propaganda. *The War That Used Up Words* interrogates and undermines the elevation of particular kinds or modes of literature and insists that many voices and forms offer readers valuable insights into the war and what it meant to those who experienced it.

Hutchison focuses on seven American writers, some well-known today, others barely remembered: Henry James, Edith Wharton, Grace Fallow Norton, Mary Borden, Ellen La Motte, John Dos Passos, and E. E. Cummings. Because Hutchison chooses a chronological structure, some writers receive more attention than others. James died early in 1916 and so exits in the third chapter; Dos Passos and Cummings joined the war effort later so appear only in the final chapters. Wharton, an established author when war broke out, active in relief efforts throughout its duration, and a prolific writer, appears throughout the book. In "1914—Civilization," Hutchison explores James's and Norton's early reactions to the eruption of violence, particularly in light of these writers' deeply held belief that France was the home of all that held individuals together. James, in particular, believed that "Civilisation now encompassed the complex social, personal, and artistic relationships within a community or a nation," so the violence in Europe provoked an extreme emotional response (35). In "1915—Volunteers," Hutchison argues that Wharton, Borden, and James felt called not just to observe the war but to participate, particularly, though not only, through writing. "1916—Books" covers the production of Wharton's edited collection *The Book of the Homeless*, a mix of poems, stories, essays, visual art, and musical scores; Norton's poetry volume *What Is Your Legion?*, which draws on past forms and ideals to rouse the nation to action; and La Motte's fascinating *Backwash of War*, a nursing memoir that uses irony to dislocate authorial perspective. "1917—Perspectives" traces the appearance of experimental writing by Borden, Dos Passos, and Cummings, arguing that the "detachment" that so many readers and critics value in later literature is actually "better understood as a strategy evolved by veteran or volunteer writers to make sense of, or atone for, their intimate *involvement* in events" (168). In "1918—Compromises," Hutchison engages with the flawed yet significant war novels by Wharton

and Dos Passos, *A Son at the Front* (1923) and *Three Soldiers* (1921), respectively, as each tries to reconcile and reenvision the role of the artist in wartime.

Gracefully written and meticulously researched, *The War That Used Up Words* offers an invaluable understanding of American literature written during the war and paves the way for rethinking how we approach texts that followed. In light of Hutchison's work, literary scholars will have to reexamine preconceived notions about the literary innovations of the subsequent decade.

Jennifer Haytock
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Robyn Muncy. *Relentless Reformer: Josephine Roche and Progressivism in Twentieth-Century America*. (Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America.) Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 408. $35.00.

Robyn Muncy has written an exhaustive biography of Josephine Roche, a woman literally lost to history. In the process, Muncy has not just revealed an individual heretofore hidden, but she has illustrated key challenges that confront historians of women. Muncy's provocative study of Roche's life and career also provides the author with an opportunity to present insights into the nature of twentieth-century U.S. reform movements.

Born in Neligh, Nebraska, in 1886, Roche attended Vassar College, an experience that she believed was formative. She was closely aligned with progressive reformers in New York, but especially with those in Denver, Colorado. Roche played an active role in Judge Benjamin Lindsey's 1908 reelection campaign, was a leader in anti-vice campaigns—a quintessential progressive reform activity—and served as inspector of public amusements. Roche was a delegate to the Progressive Party national convention and in 1922 became head of the Editorial Division of the U.S. Children's Bureau, which brought her into a network of prominent female reformers. Thus, Roche enjoyed sterling progressive credentials; during her early career her "primary concern was inequality" (5).

A second phase of Roche's career began after the Colorado coal strike of 1913–1914 and the Ludlow Massacre made a lasting impression upon her. These events prompted a long association with the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), especially when she inherited shares of the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company (RMF) and took over leadership of the business in 1927, a time when few women worked in supervisory manufacturing positions and she was the only woman to lead such a company. According to Muncy, both Roche's own actions and the press "deemphasized the gender breakthrough of her role." Muncy explains, "This obscuring of gender innovation produced a conservative undertow that diminished the power of Roche's example to move other women into executive positions" (117). Roche's leadership at RMF featured the instigation of policies that gave more power to miners.

Roche was a leader in creating the National Recovery Administration's coal code during the New Deal era. She ran for governor of Colorado and then Franklin D. Roosevelt tapped her to be assistant secretary of the treasury, a position that included oversight of the Public Health Service. In that capacity Roche shaped the Social Security Act, "one of the most significant pieces of federal legislation in the twentieth century" (162).

Roche's illustrious career took yet another direction when John L. Lewis hired her as director of the UMWA Welfare and Retirement Fund where she built and then presided over social welfare programs for coal miners. Roche led an effort to provide state-of-the-art health care to miners that included the construction of hospitals throughout Appalachia, an economic development program for the region, and employment for local women in 700 nursing positions and 245 nurses' aide positions.

This is not simply a hagiography, but rather a measured examination of Roche's career. Muncy is forthright in her assessment of the compromises—some of them perhaps not ethical—that Roche made in her work with the UMWA Welfare and Retirement Fund. Roche chose efficiency over democracy, a choice made by many Cold War liberals. Muncy writes, "[H]er commitment to democracy eroded" (247) and Roche "was deeply implicated in the union's shady dealing" (258). However, Roche's political clout as well as support for progressive reform revived with President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society. She played a significant role in formulating legislation that created Medicare.

While many historians decry the end of progressive reform, Muncy believes that progressivism, the New Deal, and 1960s activism are all part of one reform movement that experienced short breaks; reform dominated the twentieth century with "temporary reversal[s]" (223) during the 1920s and the anticommunist period of the late 1940s and 1950s.

So how could a woman who led a major coal company; was a progressive leader aligned with both the Denver group and the Children's Bureau; held the second highest ranking position for a woman in the Roosevelt Administration (after Frances Perkins); was associated with two of the most influential pieces of social welfare legislation in the century—Social Security and Medicare; and was head of the mammoth UMWA Welfare and Retirement Fund, disappear from the memory of even historians? According to Muncy, in part because of Roche's own collaborative decision-making strategies but also because press and historians tended to see her as the operations person for men, especially Lewis, rather than as the leader she was.

Muncy set out to return Roche to the prominence she deserves, while at the same time demonstrating how and why women's contributions are often ignored and or forgotten—goals Muncy deemed "vital . . . to our larger understanding of women's roles in shaping American life and the processes by which those contributions have so often been obscured" (3). She succeeded in accomplishing this, while writing an engaging and comprehensive

biography. Muncy's depiction of Roche's career as a metaphor for progressive reform in twentieth-century America provides historians with much to consider.

KATHERINE G. AIKEN
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TANYA HART. *Health in the City: Race, Poverty, and the Negotiation of Women's Health in New York City, 1915–1930.* (Culture, Labor, History Series.) New York: New York University Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 329. $55.00.

New York City was the center of "maternalist thought" in the early twentieth century, at a time when the fields of health, medicine, and social work were professionalizing. Utilizing a rich array of health records and medical documents from nurses, physicians, and social workers, Tanya Hart provides a critical analysis of health care in New York City from 1915 to 1930, focusing on the maternal and child health programs for poor mothers and their children. The three groups included in her study are African American, British West Indian, and southern Italian women who resided in Columbus Hill, Mulberry Hill, and East Harlem.

While the infant and maternal care provided to these women was perhaps the best available in the country, Hart argues that it was, nonetheless, an attempt by white middle-class professionals to control and assimilate these three groups of women into American society. Hart's examination of the treatment of each of these groups of women further reveals the creation of health programs based on stereotypes of racial, gender, and class inferiority. Like many recent works on women, Hart reveals the "agency" of minority and immigrant women who chose to accommodate or resist the efforts of social workers and health care professionals, contributing to their post-migration identity.

The New York City Department of Health conducted its first citywide health survey in 1915 through the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor (AICP). To stem the tide of black and immigrant infant and maternal deaths, the AICP relied on racial and ethnic biases in their attempts to help black and southern Italian women. Thus, they targeted syphilis, which they equated with black sexuality, and tuberculosis, which they perceived as a scourge on the ignorant, illiterate, and poor southern Italian women.

"Maternalists," those concerned with the well-being of women and children, were often comprised of social workers who disparaged the women and families they sought to help and judged migrants "to be lacking what was necessary for modern living in New York City because of the cultural traditions they carried" (89). Migrating mothers were seen as ignorant and culturally ill equipped to mother modern children. They were expected to learn new techniques, taught by the social workers, and leave old traditions behind. With Italians, in particular, a secondary motive of social workers was to end their reliance on midwives. Hart's discussion of the significance of midwives in southern Italian culture offers no new insights. She reiterates what scholars of the Italian American female experience have written over the past fifteen years: Italian women held on to cultural traditions of midwife-assisted births and it was their daughters, born and raised in America, that finally chose hospital births with physicians.

Hart's analysis successfully builds on the works of historians and sociologists such as Alan Kraut's *Silent Travelers: Germs and the Immigrant Menace* (1995) and Stanley Lieberson's *A Piece of the Pie: Blacks and White Immigrants since 1880* (1981). At times, however, the author encumbers her examination with an overuse of postmodern language and analyses of cultural and artistic expressions, such as folklore, music, and literature, which detract from her excellent insights into the gendered and racialized notions of health care among black migrants and immigrants in the early twentieth century.

DIANE C. VECCHIO
Furman University

LEAH PAYNE. *Gender and Pentecostal Revivalism: Making a Female Ministry in the Early Twentieth Century.* (CHARIS: Christianity and Renewal—Interdisciplinary Studies.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. Pp. xii, 223. $100.00.

The turn of the century was a banner time for women in American Protestantism. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was in full swing, dwarfing the numbers, influence, and financial clout of other causes, including the suffrage movement. Independent women's organizations for home and foreign missions were likewise outstripping their denominational "parent" societies, marshaling the energy of thousands upon thousands of women in local societies, training and supervising their recruits for the mission field, and raising money by the millions. Perhaps, not surprisingly, during this time the major Protestant denominations came as close to approving women's ordination as they would until the mid-twentieth century.

The era also produced female celebrities on the revival circuit, no longer the moral paragons of nineteenth-century sentimentality, but famous in their own right, with stories as compelling as their pulpit-pounding male counterparts. Two of the best-known women of this era were Maria Woodworth-Etter and Aimee Semple McPherson, both Pentecostals with colorful backstories. They are the focus of Leah Payne's thoughtfully conceived and well-researched study.

Payne's book, *Gender and Pentecostal Revivalism: Making a Female Ministry in the Early Twentieth Century*, adds to what has become a wealth of good scholarship on female evangelists. Woodworth-Etter is less known but McPherson has been the subject of several excellent biographies by leading scholars of American evangelism, such as Edith Blumhofer and most recently Matthew Sutton. Serious study of women evangelists is becoming more common and finding a new and different angle of analysis is not easy. Payne's work certainly overlaps much

previous scholarship, and she occasionally overstates the differences between her work and that of previous scholars. It has been a long time, for example, since scholars of women and Protestantism focused single-mindedly on the quest for formal ordination to the ministry, or wrote about rigid gender binaries that could only be breached by a few courageous women. Payne's work follows the more nuanced and contextualized path that has become much more common in studies of this subject and time period.

The crowded state of this relatively small field is itself the challenge and in the main body of her argument, Payne answers it well. She focuses on the question of authority: how did Woodworth-Etter and McPherson manage to overcome personal stories of divorce, single motherhood, and public scandal and maintain lengthy and successful public careers? For Payne, the answer goes beyond theological debates over difficult texts in the Bible, whether or not they allowed for women's ordination. She is after something much more subtle and, in the end, more powerful, the cultural cues that Woodworth-Etter and McPherson employed to establish their moral and spiritual trustworthiness. The term for this is performance. As Payne explains, those ritualized practices created a compelling public persona over time that functioned as arguments without any need for words.

The idea of performance brings what might seem small matters into sharper focus. Woodworth-Etter and McPherson made deliberate—and very different—choices about their style of dress and hair, and in the architecture of the revival halls they constructed. The more matronly Woodworth-Etter fashioned herself a "mother in Israel," a strong nurturing figure in simple white dresses, preaching an unadorned gospel in a plain bare setting. She was a "warring mother," according to Payne, calling her followers to modest, holy lives. This worked well among Pentecostal audiences: Woodworth-Etter was in effect a blank slate, an open receptacle for the power of the Holy Spirit, not a woman in charge.

In order to reach the masses, however, McPherson fashioned herself the "bride of Christ." As the "it" girl of Protestant revivalism she was legendary—to some notorious—for her low-cut white silk gowns and the glorious dimensions of her Angelus Temple in Los Angeles. In an age of Hollywood glamor, she was an undisputed star.

Why did so few other women follow in their wake? Woodworth-Etter and McPherson, says Payne, were exceptions to the rule, the aggressively masculine tone of revival preaching in the age of "muscular Christianity." Both were ultimately called to public account for scandals that their male counterparts—most of them, at least, equal offenders—skipped past. In the largest sense, their stories demonstrate the versatility and power of Pentecostal subculture during its early years, how it gloried in the unconventional while it quietly yearned for respectability. Perhaps the most important contribution of Payne's book is that it uses women's stories to bring this ferment to life, to demonstrate that they were not just marginal footnotes to a male-dominated narrative but the core of Pentecostalism's deep and diverse appeal, one that profoundly shaped the course of twentieth-century American religion.

Margaret Bendroth
Congregational Library and Archives

Donald E. DeVore. *Defying Jim Crow: African American Community Development and the Struggle for Racial Equality in New Orleans, 1900–1960*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 276. $45.00.

In this thorough, thoughtful, and elegantly written book, Donald E. DeVore provides a compelling longitudinal view of the structural workings of a community seeking racial equality. *Defying Jim Crow: African American Community Development and the Struggle for Racial Equality in New Orleans, 1900–1960* not only fills an important gap in the historiography of New Orleans, one of the South's principal cities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but also makes a crucial contribution to a growing literature on the forging of those institutions and communities that made the civil rights movement possible. In doing so, DeVore offers a successful model for other historians interested in chronicling the *longue durée* history of social movements.

Although the title suggests a narrative origin of 1900, DeVore almost inevitably dips into late-nineteenth-century New Orleans and the political milieu of Reconstruction in order to map the foundation of the city's black leadership class. Recounting the effort to establish and nourish black higher education in the city between the 1870s and 1930s, the author explores how religious missionary organizations and the remnant of Reconstruction's black political class invested in a type of institution building that they believed necessary for future progress. DeVore's discussion of black higher education's emergence is particularly compelling and does much to explain the origins of New Orleans's intellectual, professional, social, and economic elite in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Subsequent chapters on secondary education, religious institutions, and economic development in black New Orleans at some level gravitate to a discussion of the fundamental debate between those who pursued idealistic race-blind solutions to the prevailing segregationist paradigm and their counterparts who advocated the more predominant strategy of building black institutions within segregated spaces. DeVore does so in a way that transcends the bold strokes of the Booker T. Washington/W. E. B. Du Bois dichotomy, showing how black leaders strategically navigated the color line by acknowledging liabilities and prioritizing actions that led toward much-needed tangible gains. To wit, that the practical application of everyday activism often included a blend of accommodation and activism in a proportion that historical actors thought appropriate in any given situation, revealing a complexity contingent upon time and place.

DeVore offers an insightful analysis of the city's religious landscape and the relationship between its relatively unique brand of black Catholicism and the sort of Protestant religion more familiar to scholars of African

American history. Readers wanting to learn more about the ways in which these important institutions shaped and continue to shape black life in New Orleans would be well advised to acquire a copy of this book.

The author also complements his narrative of community building by exploring the ways in which a maturing black leadership class began challenging some of the more egregious structures of Jim Crow segregation. His discussion of the successful challenge of a 1924 housing segregation ordinance brought by local leaders in coordination with the national branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is a good example of an early success. Yet as DeVore reveals, not all efforts met with similar results, a fact illustrated by his recounting of the failed voter registration suit *Trudeau v. Barnes* (1933), and the inadequate prosecution of an off-duty white police officer who had murdered a fourteen-year-old African American waitress named Hattie McCray.

One thing that does not come across in this work is the way in which the black leadership class in New Orleans coalesced as a community of individuals who forged personal relationships, often bound by marriage and professional association. Those familiar with the players will see the way the network of black elites functioned, but it may not be apparent to those with less local background. This has everything to do with the narrative structure chosen by DeVore that focuses more on the institutions and larger political and social questions of the time period than on the personalities of those individuals who stood at their forefront. We read of key families like the Rousseves and the Dejoies and interesting personalities like Albert Dent and A. P. Tureaud, but they do not come to us as living, breathing soloists so much as players in a greater orchestra.

This reviewer gives DeVore's work a hearty recommendation to anyone who is interested in the long civil rights movement, urban history, or the history of New Orleans. Its readable style and coverage of themes relatable to important trends in twentieth-century American history would make it an excellent choice for course adoption, particularly in college surveys of African American history, urban history, or in the history of social movements.

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Karen R. Miller. *Managing Inequality: Northern Racial Liberalism in Interwar Detroit*. New York: New York University Press, 2015. Pp. xi, 331. $55.00.

In her work, *Managing Inequality: Northern Racial Liberalism in Interwar Detroit*, Karen R. Miller unearths the roots of modern colorblind discourse. In the interwar period, northern racial liberalism, she argues, simultaneously reified racial inequality while using the language of interracial understanding. Miller emphasizes the northern quality of this political rhetoric, quoting northern city managers and politicians who contrasted their views with southerners' forced and brutal segregation. In cities like Detroit, liberals used zoning, housing laws, and education to deepen segregation, which they believed would promote racial peace. Meanwhile, black activists sought to uncover the gap between the liberal rhetoric of equality and the reality of unjust and unequal urban life. Miller importantly demonstrates that racial liberalism was not a reaction to World War II–era migration, but predated it by decades. However, Miller at times overstates her historiographical contributions. Postwar historians would likely not deny her claim that "race and racial conflict were already central components of northern, urban, social and political culture" before 1940 (22).

Miller opens her book with the familiar story of the first Great Migration and provides a careful examination of the reaction of white politicians and city leaders to the incursion of African Americans. For example, Detroit's white political leaders expressed considerable concern over racial violence but were uninterested in its causes. While largely rejecting notions of biological inferiority, white politicians argued that incoming migrants were socially inferior and thus would remain naturally subordinate in workplaces and neighborhoods. Business-minded urban reform organizations advocated for clean government and centralized control that often worked against the interests of racial and ethnic minorities. At times, middle-class African American reformers' interests coincided with white elites as they sought to discipline and contain incoming migrants. But some black liberals in the Detroit Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) joined with their white counterparts in denouncing the Ku Klux Klan while also criticizing the limits of racial liberalism.

Miller deftly captures the ambivalence many white Detroiters had toward African American equality. A discourse of tolerance, which called for gradual change and downplayed black agency, dominated the city by the 1930s. Even the famously liberal Frank Murphy felt that African Americans could not be relied upon to advocate effectively for themselves. Murphy's 1930 mayoral election affirmed that espousing racial tolerance had political advantages, but structural change did not follow. During the Great Depression, a conservative narrative of black freeloaders profiting off of white taxpayers was heard more frequently. White liberals disputed these claims, but Miller argues they did not challenge the broader system of racial inequality, particularly segregation. Despite egalitarian pronouncements during the New Deal, Mayor Murphy and other white liberals also ensured that the power elite controlled new welfare programs.

By the mid-1930s, a new generation of black leadership, like Snow Grisby, directly challenged Detroit's white leaders. Civil rights liberals stood between the more conservative old guard and black radicals who called for confrontational politics. Grisby and his allies supported the New Deal and encouraged blacks to move away from private patronage toward using the state as a resource and potential ally. By the end of the decade, organized labor allied with the civil rights community, creating a powerful coalition within the Democratic Party. Miller argues white Congress of Industrial Organization

(CIO) leaders initially practiced the same northern racial liberalism as Murphy and other prominent Democrats during the New Deal. She notes that African Americans employed a range of tactics to counter job discrimination outside of unionism, including boycotts and letter campaigns. All-black unions also had considerable support within the community; by the end of the 1930s, black support of interracial industrial unions grew considerably, in part due to the interracial organizing of the Communist Party. But black activists had to be vigilant to ensure that CIO unions followed through on their commitment to racial equality.

Miller ends her book as she begins it, with the story of the segregated Brewster Homes Project. While New Deal northern liberals openly expressed their support for African American aspirations, they refused to challenge residential segregation, believing it was a losing battle. Segregated public housing epitomizes this failure. For their part black activists both welcomed state support and pushed for more inclusive citizenship. By the 1940s, a prevailing discourse of race relations viewed racism as a cultural phenomenon that could be challenged with education. By the end of the century, colorblind language that Miller argues was first used by northern racial liberals dominated political discourse. Much of the territory covered here will be familiar to historians of Detroit, but tracing colorblind politics to its interwar roots makes an important contribution to political history. Rather than a simple progression from a more clear-cut racism to a colorblind discourse, Miller suggests that the contradictory and coded discourse on race has long been with us.

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Nico Slate. *The Prism of Race: W. E. B. Du Bois, Langston Hughes, Paul Robeson, and the Colored World of Cedric Dover*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. Pp. xvii, 246. $90.00.

In the early 1830s, leading Black Americans adopted the moniker "Colored American" as protest identity. They deemed color of little value if not unifying and empowering. By the mid-nineteenth century, nationalist Martin Delany began advocating a colored framing of black struggles to encompass diverse peoples across nations and continents. Therefore, long before W. E. B. Du Bois theorized his colored cosmopolitan ideology, Delany had envisioned a colored cosmopolitan world. He advanced color as a unifying force for oppressed peoples globally. This globalized construction of color is the thread that weaves through Nico Slate's *The Prism of Race W. E. B. Du Bois, Langston Hughes, Paul Robeson, and the Colored World of Cedric Dover*. Slate contends that colored cosmopolitanism became even more expansive in the life of a Eurasian, Cedric Dover, who was born in Calcutta, India, in 1904 and drew inspiration from Du Bois, Langston Hughes, and Paul Robeson. Dover's colored disposition developed against the backdrop of expanding racism and imperialism. His hybridity became a means of self-actualization, which enabled him to establish relationships outside his native India.

Reading Du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) taught Dover to consider his hybridity not as a burden but as an opportunity; a means of reconnecting with black Americans and other oppressed groups in a struggle in which color "became a unifying bond." Du Bois also taught Dover to see beyond the restrictive confines of his Eurasian identity and British imperialism. Slate analyzes exhaustively Dover's "Colored Cosmopolitan" (18) ideology and efforts to reach out to black American scholar-activists whose ideas he utilized to map a global framework of struggle that involved India, Africa, and the U.S. Dover's colored worldview was, Slate argues, both "racial and anti-racial, national and transnational." Trained as an entomologist, Dover's scholarship, like Du Bois's, straddled several disciplines. His writings and activism encouraged cooperation among peoples of color unified by shared oppression. What Slate termed "the Colored world" of Dover ebbed with the triumph of decolonization. The emergence of the independent nation-state and its capacity to restrict freedom struggles ushered a new phase of cosmopolitanism that transcended national boundaries (the Third World). Also, the challenges of the civil rights movement birthed renewed faith in colored solidarity. Malcolm X and the Black Power movement veered black American struggles in a global colored cosmopolitan direction.

Slate also theorizes a link between Dover's colored cosmopolitanism and the "post-racial" world of Barack Obama. Although Obama lives in an entirely different world where color is allegedly no longer a dominant force, hybridity remains, for him, a means of self-actualization. Like Dover, Slate argues, Obama used his hybridity for self-discovery and to establish affinity with broader black American struggles. Dover's accomplishments underscored the practicality of embodying both "racial and anti-racial" attributes, and the dynamics of hybridity as an empowering force for engaging with a broader community. Dover's progressive mindset notwithstanding, he could not escape the prevailing gender bias. His colored cosmopolitanism embodied a masculinized bias. However, postcolonial overlapping forms of oppression and identity deconstructed this bias. A new "Third World feminist" solidarity transcended racial and national boundaries; representing, in Slate's view, a community that affirmed and respected difference, even as it crossed borders. These "overlapping solidarities" (147) symbolize the enduring nature of Dover's colored cosmopolitan vision. His publications affirmed and validated black intellectual productions and contributed to the establishment of Black Studies.

Slate demonstrates that the colored cosmopolitan world theorized by Du Bois and other black Americans resonated in far distant India, and inspired a prodigy who expanded the ideology; bequeathing a legacy to the American civil rights movement. The "Colored world of Dover" resurfaced in Malcolm X and the Black Power movement. Like Dover, Malcolm sought unity among black Americans even as he reached out to colored

communities in Asia, India, and Latin America. The same was true of Stokely Carmichael, not mentioned by Slate. Malcolm, Carmichael, and Black Power underscore that even as colored cosmopolitanism became less significant elsewhere, it remained a potent force in the U.S.

Overall, this is a well-written and extensively researched work that interrogates a crucial but neglected front in African diaspora struggles, and illuminates contributions of leading black Americans to "Black internationalism" (3). It tremendously advances further understandings of the complexities of the history of framing the African/Black diaspora struggles in a global context. Slate does a superb job of resurrecting from intellectual obscurity this Eurasian whose life struggles were inspired from the U.S. and who in turn inspired and helped U.S. intellectuals and artists gain global exposure. The drive for a colored cosmopolitan world was not one-directional flowing outwards from the U.S. India was very much a pivotal source. Contrary to Slate's claim, however, colored cosmopolitanism did not originate with Du Bois's publication. Its roots are in the mid-nineteenth-century black nationalists' quest for a global "colored cosmopolitan" frame for their struggles, which also entailed "reimagining" the meaning of "Black America" to include oppressed colored people globally. By the early 1900s, this "reimagining" would shape the bourgeoning Pan-African consciousness that morphed into a movement from the 1920s on.

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Charles Kenneth Roberts. *The Farm Security Administration and Rural Rehabilitation in the South*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2015. Pp. xxx, 291. $51.75.

Despite a large literature on the New Deal and rural poverty, Charles Kenneth Roberts makes an excellent contribution to this body of work with his well-researched, insightful, and judicious book *The Farm Security Administration and Rural Rehabilitation in the South*. Roberts notes that the economic collapse of the 1930s did not cause but rather intensified the South's deep-rooted poverty. As a result, the New Deal faced both a massive relief crisis and a degraded rural society constrained by a long-stagnant economy, meager public institutions, and pervasive racism. It responded with a series of often hastily implemented programs that sought to alleviate destitution while also seeking ways to transform the lives and the world of the South's marginal farmers and farm workers who did not benefit and were sometimes harmed by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA). These included, most notably, an array of programs initiated under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) that encompassed relief loans and grants, rehabilitation programs aimed at moving the rural poor off relief, efforts at community building and resettlement, and land use reforms. The idealistic, if quixotic, Subsistence Homesteads Division also attempted to resettle the unemployed and the rural disadvantaged onto homestead and rural community projects. Although well-intentioned, these early programs were beset with administrative difficulties and suffered from unclear and conflicting goals. Most of what they started was transferred in 1935 to the newly created Resettlement Administration (RA), which commenced a more formal assault on rural poverty. Headed by Rexford G. Tugwell, the RA expanded the provision of small loans and grants and added new programs such as the building of suburban greenbelt communities. The RA, Roberts argues, "laid the foundation for a long-term government anti-rural poverty effort" (51), but administrative confusion, an intense hostility to the community-building initiatives, and Tugwell's impolitic manner consigned the RA to a short life.

By 1936 the attack on rural poverty, and particularly southern rural poverty, had come to focus on lifting tenants to the ranks of independent farm owners. Congress and the Roosevelt Administration responded by replacing the politically troubled RA with the Farm Security Administration (FSA). The FSA took over the homestead and community projects, developed a program to provide group medical and dental insurance, and implemented a voluntary program to renegotiate farm debts. However, it concentrated on rural rehabilitation through supervised credit and long-term loans to enable carefully selected tenants to purchase small farms. In a set of excellent chapters, Roberts explains the intent of these programs, how they were implemented in the South, and their achievements and shortcomings. By 1941, the agency was assisting about 1.5 million farm families nationwide, had group health programs operating in one-third of the nation's counties, was cautiously enabling a few thousand tenants to purchase farms, and had assembled a staff committed to assisting the rural poor. Mindful of the need to demonstrate tangible success, FSA began limiting its assistance to clients who were better credit risks and more likely to accept its guidance. While the FSA oversight was perhaps patronizing, what emerged, according to Roberts, was a conservative but "viable plan for addressing rural poverty" (179) that compensated for the inequities and limitations of the AAA and the U.S. Department of Agriculture's extension system. Its successes, however, provoked furious opposition from congressional critics and the American Farm Bureau Federation who saw FSA spending as wasteful, its larger objectives as radical, and its achievements as a threat to their own political power. The much-changed political and economic realities of World War II enabled these opponents to first diminish and then destroy the agency by putting in its place another farm credit program with limited funds and objectives.

The larger outline of Roberts's account is well known, but the author astutely explains how the FERA, Subsistence Homesteads, and RA were important precursors for the FSA and he explores in rich detail the challenges of implementing the new programs and their often mixed results. The book is a first-rate piece of policy history that tells a great deal about the New Deal and the problem of rural poverty. In his conclusion, Roberts takes issue with

scholars who have argued that it was inevitable, even necessary, that the cotton South shift to a capital-intensive agriculture with many fewer farms. A less conservative approach than the one FSA ultimately embraced, he suggests, might have sustained smaller farms as part of a more democratic farm policy. Perhaps, but my reading of Roberts's discussion of the challenges facing New Deal reformers makes this seem like an unlikely possibility. Furthermore, even had some bolder version of the FSA succeeded, it is very unlikely that it could have offered the vast majority of rural southerners security or opportunity.

David E. Hamilton
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Peter Gough. *Sounds of the New Deal: The Federal Music Project in the West*. Foreword by Peggy Seeger. (Music in American Life.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2015. Pp. xvi, 259. Cloth $50.00.

Peter Gough has written a history of an unprecedented government venture, the Federal Music Project (FMP), with a focus on the largest territory in the program: the American West. Drawing extensively from materials from the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) and other archives, he argues that the FMP not only resulted from an increased awareness of and enthusiasm for regionalism in American politics and culture, but that millions of people ultimately benefited from a program that hired almost sixteen thousand musicians. *Sounds of the New Deal: The Federal Music Project in the West* is an intriguing narrative that, like the program itself, nonetheless encounters some difficulties along the way.

The book is organized into seven chapters. The first chapter outlines some of the early goals of the FMP (founded in 1935 as part of the Federal One arts program) and its relation to New Deal idealism. Three chapters follow on various regions of the U.S. (chapter 2 on Arizona, New Mexico, and Nevada; chapter 3 on California; and chapter 4 on Colorado, Utah, Oregon, and Washington). The final three chapters deal with the program's attention to ethnic and religious diversity, the relation between the FMP and the Popular Front, and the program's extensive role in the promotion of folk music, respectively. The short concluding chapter pulls together several themes the author has addressed, notably the attention to "ethnic and regional diversity" (191), the ongoing interest by both Eleanor and Franklin D. Roosevelt in the program and their desire to reach out to all Americans, and the program's connections to the political Left.

Gough has endeavored to tell an exceedingly complex story. There is much here to consider, notably the program's remarkable efforts to promote American folk songs, which benefited under the auspices of such figures as Charles Seeger and Sidney Robertson Cowell, and the opportunities that the FMP provided African American and Mexican American musicians during an era of mass unemployment for many artists and musicians alike. We are told, for example, that the African American musical *Run, Little Chillun* had "the longest running production by *any* Federal One project of *any* ethnic group" (23, emphasis in original). Indeed, "music associated with particular racial, ethnic, or cultural minorities eventually became the most popular of all FMP productions in the West" (94), despite the sometimes racist reception by critics in the West. The internal politics of the FMP are also examined in some detail, revealing the travails that its first director, conductor Nikolai Sokoloff, encountered in trying to promote his own vision (such as supporting European classical music over the seeming neglect of American folk music) before his eventual replacement by music professor and composer Dr. Earl Vincent Moore. Gough further explores the volatile tenure of FMP western regional director Dr. Bruno David Ussher, a University of Southern California trained musician and lecturer, who served as a prominent music critic in Los Angeles during the 1930s and 1940s but whose organizational and people skills proved wanting. Even after the FMP's transition to the Works Progress Administration's Music Program in 1939, it continually struggled with its connection to leftist causes; an association that remained in public memory long after the FMP had folded in 1943.

Yet despite learning much from this admirable text, there are some issues that arise that are troubling. The organization of the book is awkward; by placing large parts of the West together in single chapters, there is the risk of conflating often very different programs and experiences. The demographic differences alone between Washington state and Utah, for example, and hence the different strategies necessary in reaching those populations, calls for a more nuanced telling of the challenges that state directors faced. California is given its own chapter, yet coverage is uneven, and there is little evident understanding of the cultural history of Los Angeles—the center of the country's entertainment industry. Gough's statement that impresario Lynden Ellsworth (L. E.) Behymer "had been credited with introducing opera to the region as early as 1900" (53) contradicts the fact that scholars have found Behymer deliberately revised and exaggerated the historical record of his achievements, a point that the author mentions in the footnotes but curiously does not reflect in the text. Launching another chapter with African Americans and the New Deal and then progressing to Mexican Americans, Jews, Hawaiian music ensembles, and back again to African Americans makes it difficult to trace a clear line of argument. This disjointed section, however, does include fascinating examples, such as an all-black cast performing Giuseppe Verdi's 1871 opera *Aida*, evidently "[o]ne of the most celebrated FMP performances in Los Angeles," or the popularity of *orquestas tipicas*, which resulted from the "extraordinary increase in immigration to the Southwest during the 1920s" (104) from Mexico (although it would be worth pointing out the irony of widespread repatriation of Mexicans during the Depression). Gough writes further that William Grant Still's 1931 *Afro-American Symphony* "proved to be the most popular and critically well-received native composition of the Music Projects" (117) without explaining why this composition achieved such acclaim.

Despite these concerns over context, it is clear that Gough has enthusiastically brought out much of the richness of this program. Part of the challenge of writing on such a subject, surely, is that there is no single narrative for a program as broad, sprawling, and diverse as the FMP. Scholars can thus draw these various strands together to reveal an expansive mosaic of music that Gough has aptly highlighted.

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KRISTIN M. SZYLVIAN. *The Mutual Housing Experiment: New Deal Communities for the Urban Middle Class.* (Urban Life, Landscape, and Policy.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 276. $79.50.

Improving the quality of housing, especially for those with modest incomes, was one of the great American domestic policy challenges of the middle decades of the twentieth century. Policymakers from across the political spectrum sought to replace trickle-down housing and self-build housing with new housing that was professionally planned, designed, and constructed. For historians, what had seemed a relatively simple case of the two tiers of social policy—hidden federal support for the middle class through the Federal Housing Administration's (FHA) mortgage insurance program for owners of single-family houses in the suburbs and direct federal assistance to house low-income tenants in public housing in cities—has recently become more complicated. New attention focuses on the FHA's large program that, throughout the 1940s, supported the private sector's construction of garden apartments and the FHA's even older, larger, and longer-lasting program to help the owners of older housing finance modernization.

Expanding on the complexity of federal housing policy, Kristin M. Szylvian examines experiments on the public housing side of federal policy during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s in *The Mutual Housing Experiment: New Deal Communities for the Urban Middle Class.* In addition, Szylvian attaches the housing policy narrative to the life story of Lawrence Westbrook, an advocate whom today political scientists would call a policy entrepreneur.

Passionate, driven, and dedicated to the cause of cooperative housing, Westbrook succeeded in working the halls of government to win support for his experimental communities. Yet, he was not only a bureaucrat, but at various times held positions in the private sector, including as a housing developer. More effective at proselytizing than managing the nuts-and-bolts of actually delivering government programs, Westbrook frequently found himself on the outs with political leaders, only to turn right around and find a way back in. He also consciously courted members of the media, who were happy to accelerate his star when both rising and falling.

Housing cooperatives come in many varieties. Westbrook refined his "Mutual Home Ownership Plan" (25) over time, but the iterations all required an entity, like the federal government, who was large enough to finance the construction of an entire residential community. Building at this scale cut costs and made it possible to attract residents through amenities such as community buildings and open space. Residents owned the community through a mutual association, but individuals did not sell their shares on the open market. Instead, no down payments were required from new residents and, upon moving out, they received a refund that emulated the proceeds from the selling of equity.

Westbrook adapted to the opportunities of the moment. What started out as an early New Deal rural rehabilitation experiment for displaced sharecroppers and small farmers seemed stymied as a potential urban solution when Congress eliminated housing cooperatives from eligibility for federal financing under the U.S. Housing Act of 1937. Only municipal governments that were building public housing could access federal financing. Yet Westbrook, with the assistance of John Carmody, administrator of the Federal Works Agency, managed to sneak his experiment into the chaotic defense housing program that built federally owned housing for industrial workers during the massive expansion of military production in 1940 and 1941.

Despite attracting controversy during World War II, Westbrook's mutual home ownership plan survived the New Deal into the 1950s because it offered a technique to dispose of the federal communities built for war workers without displacing the tenants, many of whom were veterans. Reincarnated as a tool to retain the middle class in cities losing population to the suburbs, it achieved its highest level of political support in the ultimately unsuccessful attempt to create a Cooperative Corporation as part of the Housing Act of 1950.

Szylvian tells the policy battles of the 1940s and 1950s from Westbrook's perspective. She follows him as he crafts policy positions and gathers allies among certain New Dealers, modernist architects, and Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) unions, most notably John Green, president of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America. She pays less attention to the perspectives of those skeptical of or outright opposed to his plan, for the most part writing off opponents as self-interested mortgage bankers, real estate developers, and their political allies.

A one-sided analysis, however, falls short here because most of the political debate was not over whether, but how the federal government should support cooperative housing: should housing cooperatives, like public housing, receive direct federal financing, or was private financing and FHA mortgage insurance the appropriate form of federal support? Szylvian does not hide her policy preference, but because she uses such broad strokes to discuss the financial workings, management, and operations of policy alternatives, she is forced to make her case with one arm tied behind her back. And only near the end does Szylvian admit that cooperative housing was as much a policy alternative to public housing, as it was a policy challenge to the real estate industry and commercial rental housing markets.

Where Szylvian does great service, however, is in tracking down the histories of the eight residential communities

built under Westbrook's Mutual Ownership Defense Housing Division and the thirty-five mutual housing associations that still manage Roosevelt-era communities. Many of the communities are located in declining industrial areas; they survive as insular enclaves and appear to have withstood the economic ill winds. Housing is often passed through families and word of mouth, leading to social cohesion, but also opening the residents to accusations of racial discrimination. Of interest, Szylvian includes a list of the developments' addresses and contact information.

Sarah Jo Peterson
Independent Scholar

Ian Mosby. *Food Will Win the War: The Politics, Culture, and Science of Food on Canada's Home Front*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014. Pp. xii, 268. $32.95.

Ian Mosby's *Food Will Win the War: The Politics, Culture, and Science of Food on Canada's Home Front* is an important piece of historical scholarship in a number of categories, including histories of food and nutrition, gender, and Canadian history. Well written and thoroughly researched, *Food Will Win the War* is based on a wealth of archival sources that consist of federal, regional, and municipal documents, cookbooks, periodicals, and visual materials, all well-informed and supported by secondary sources. In his introduction, Mosby lays out the broadest of arguments, asserting "The government . . . set out to transform Canadians' dietary habits through a range of both voluntary and coercive means" (5). Moreover, he notes, mobilization "not only led to very real changes in the way Canadians shopped for, cooked, and consumed food but also transformed the broader symbolism of food and eating" (5).

Gender is central to Mosby's analysis, given that women were primarily responsible for food procurement and preparation. "[T]he state mobilized women's unpaid labour on a scale that has gone largely unrecognized by historians," writes Mosby, "but also that food production, consumption, and service played an essential role in determining the boundaries of gendered notions of wartime citizenship" (8). Women took it upon themselves to perform food work, including providing meals at Red Cross canteens for servicemen and women, creating and shipping food packages for prisoners of war overseas, and participating in domestic food production and conservation by growing victory gardens and preserving fruits and vegetables. Government educational materials as well as popular culture created gendered assumptions about cooking and other wartime food-related responsibilities. Cultural mores were embedded into wartime programs and propaganda material: "What was being taught in most wartime nutrition classes and in wartime educational materials was not so much the science of nutrition," explains Mosby, "but rather a particular idealized middle-class vision of domestic life and the progressive ideal of educated, scientific motherhood" (57–58).

Wartime food restrictions, price controls, and equitable distribution through coupon rationing figure centrally in Mosby's analysis. Wartime restrictions (and occasional surpluses) led to an uneven and uncertain food supply, and price controls, coupon rationing, and education campaigns were designed to evenly distribute food to citizens. The declaratively named "Canada's Official Food Rules" promoted their goal to maintain citizens' nutrition while shaping Canadians' food habits, specifically recommending that Canadians reduce their consumption of highly desired red meats, sugar, and butter and increase their consumption of the more widely available produce and dairy products. While apples and lobsters were at one point surplus foods, and the government urged their abundant consumption, most often scarcity was the norm, and as Mosby demonstrates, Canadians responded positively to rationing restrictions. Rationing, he argues, provided citizens with a tangible way to contribute to the war effort and demonstrate the obligations of citizenship, in addition to its rights.

The scarcity of certain foods, specifically meat, sugar, and butter, functioned also to shape Canadians' culinary landscape, leading to the creation of a "wartime cuisine" (142) that borrowed heavily from earlier Depression-era cooking and recipe development. While most influential wartime cookbooks facilitated a more middle-class corporate approach to a pan-Canadian cuisine, the cookbook *Canadian Favourites: CCF Cookbook* (1944) was distinct and forward-looking, broad and international in its approach to recipes and cuisine. *Canadian Favourites*, notes Mosby, made "an intentional nod to a more cosmopolitan and pluralistic idea of citizenship—an ideal that by the 1970s would become official government policy and would be celebrated in most efforts to define a distinctly 'Canadian' cuisine" (157).

Finally, Mosby turns his scholar's lens on the then-current knowledge of nutrition and its reflection in wartime education, programs, and policy. Informed by the field of critical nutrition studies, Mosby shows how the early understanding and definition of "adequate nutrition" factored into government policy. During the early years of the war, policy makers shifted their work from the Depression-era task of setting minimal standards so as to avoid malnutrition and ill health, to devising wartime standards that would guarantee optimal health and freedom to fulfill one's "maximum physical and intellectual potential" (37). As the minimal "standards" became the more expansive "recommendations," approximately 60 percent of Canadians were deemed insufficient in their food intake and nutrition, a much greater number than in the previous decade. During the remainder of the war and even into the postwar period, government officials maintained an ongoing, divisive debate. On one side were the more conservative policy makers who felt education (specifically through women of the household) would solve the problems of malnutrition, while those who were more liberal argued the solution lay with income supplements which would increase citizens' ability to purchase more and better food. This debate continued through the war and intensified by the postwar period, by which time, Mosby asserts, most Canadians were desirous of the latter approach.

In sum, *Food Will Win the War* is a well-written, thoroughly researched history of food on the Canadian home front during World War II that adds much to our knowledge of the North American experience of food and nutrition during wartime.

Amy Bentley
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Matthew Evenden. *Allied Power: Mobilizing Hydro-electricity during Canada's Second World War*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 273. Cloth $75.00, paper $32.95.

The phrase "Canada's Second World War" conjures many images. There are the high politics of Canadian-American continental defense exemplified by the Ogdensburg Agreement (1940) and the Hyde Park Declaration (1941), as well as the 1943 and 1944 Quebec City conferences between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Sir Winston Churchill (with Canadian prime minister William Lyon Mackenzie King playing host). Events between 1939 and 1945 that touched Canada are evoked: Japanese-Canadian internment; the disastrous Dieppe Raid; the conscription crisis; and women in the wartime workforce. In this list of World War II touchstones, however, few would include the expansion of a hydroelectric producing network. That is, until now. Matthew Evenden's fine study digs deep, in fact into the geologic history of the nation, to unearth a new element of Canada's contribution during the global conflict. Moreover, it provides a wedge into the study of the environment and warfare in Canada's past, an area seldom explored by environmental historians.

An historical geographer at the University of British Columbia, Evenden's work in the field of Canadian environmental history is well known. He has previously authored (or co-authored) books on two major river systems in the West: *Fish versus Power: An Environmental History of the Fraser River* (2004); and with Christopher Armstrong and H. V. Nelles, *The River Returns: An Environmental History of the Bow* (2009). Here, he casts his gaze across the whole of the country (or nearly so, since the Maritime Provinces were not part of the hydroelectric mobilization for war) and provides a solid, well-documented book suitable for upper-level undergraduate and graduate students.

The present study is arranged around several themes. Among these are: the role of the state in orchestrating Canada's wartime contribution, the rise of Canadian-American defense and economic partnership, regionalism, and the evolution of private-to-provincial owned hydroelectric production. Evenden's contention is that the wartime crisis prompted the federal state to set a new agenda for power production and use, and in so doing framed Canada's postwar economic growth to be premised on a reliable energy source.

Canada's most valuable contribution to the war effort, if only from an American perspective, was aluminum, which had manifold uses. This demand was made precise, in fact, in the wording of the Hyde Park Declaration. Canada also procured British contracts for ammonium and ammonium nitrate and other chemicals. The bulk of the wartime industrial production occurred in Central Canada (Québec and Ontario). These aspects are largely taken up in chapters 3 and 4. Private power corporations dealt with the federal government in industrial planning; that was the rule of the day throughout Canada. In Québec's case, one sees the foreshadowing of events to come whereby during the war the provincial governments of Adélard Godbout (Liberal) and then later Maurice Duplessis (Union Nationale) incrementally sought to regulate private hydroelectric production. By the early 1960s, during Québec's "Quiet Revolution," economic modernization (mixed with French-Canadian cultural assertiveness) would finally push the province to nationalize this sector and rechristen it as Hydro-Québec.

Alberta and British Columbia were provinces most linked to British contracts; these stories are recounted in chapters 6 and 7. In Alberta, the desire to expand the existing network brought development into conflict with another federal domain: the national parks. In fact, the most obvious contemporary environmental critique came when the Calgary Power Company needed to develop Lake Minnewanka in Banff National Park. The company was granted access, but rising water levels threatened fish, wildlife, and tourism in the process.

The overarching power of the state to persuade the public that its hydroelectric program was vital to the war effort is the strongest of all the chapters. "Wartime Conservation" (chapter 5) required convincing the public and municipalities to acquiesce to periods when energy would be made more available to industries at the expense of other users. Evenden skillfully explains this mass-media approach by presenting the many state-funded advertisements (often aimed at women as the primary domestic consumers of energy). This was needed because during the war years no technology existed whereby electricity could be stored, and each kilowatt needed to find its way toward wartime factories, not households, or lamp-lit city streets.

It may well be that these dams made the most memorable imprint on the nation. This certainly was the case for its natural environment. Canadian geography played a crucial role in determining how the nation's wartime contribution would unfold. Blessed with abundant, and often wild flowing rivers, Canada was well positioned to assist the allied effort and to acquire industrial capacity aplenty in the postwar period. Taking the *longue durée* approach to his subject, Evenden correctly concludes that the wartime industrialization of Canadian rivers produced lasting effects: alterations to natural water levels, blocked migratory fish passages, increased chemical pollution, etc. Local communities continue to cope with the unintended consequences of Canada's wartime contribution to its allies.

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David Lucander. *Winning the War for Democracy: The March on Washington Movement, 1941–1946*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2014. Pp. xi, 320. $57.00.

Historian David Lucander throws an overdue spotlight on the 1940's March on Washington Movement (MOWM). Emerging working-class leadership, women's activism, and the interaction between local organizers and national leaders are dominant themes running through this study. Lucander conceptualizes his study as a "true people's history . . . from the perspective of grassroots leaders and local people" (15). However, working-class political consciousness and conflict play a more implicit role in *Winning the War for Democracy: The March on Washington Movement, 1941–1946* than is found in historian Clarence Lang's foundational discussion of the St. Louis MOWM chapter's activities (in *Grassroots at the Gateway: Class Politics and Black Freedom Struggle in St. Louis, 1936–75* [2009]).

In place of a single movement, Lucander finds a "multiplicity of movements" more actively engaged and directed at "targets that were closer to home than the national capital" (2). The most active chapters were found in the Great Migration urban centers of the North and Midwest. However, this is not a comparative study, and some readers may find the book's title misleading as roughly two-thirds of the book actually focuses on St. Louis, whose significant MOWM chapter, the author argues, may have made this particular border city the "most active site of African American protest during World War II" (73). Yet, this well-researched study's blend of local and national history is deeply engaging, and offers a richly illuminating narrative of how local grassroots and national organizations interacted and worked together to achieve their reform goals.

MOWM's best known success came with the forcing of Executive Order 8802 as a concession for canceling the 1941 march, and the subsequent establishment of the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC). A. Philip Randolph's desire for MOWM to serve as a FEPC watchdog to ensure that EO 8802 would be implemented helped to transform the organization from a March on Washington Committee to the MOWM organization. In 1942, the Detroit conference marked the emergence of MOWM as a national organization, but was also the point when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and Urban League leadership began to view MOWM as a threat to their established programs. However, St. Louis activists maintained simultaneous membership in both the NAACP and MOWM. The Washington, D.C., branch refused to endorse the march because it unequivocally disagreed with MOWM's racially exclusive membership policy.

MOWM flourished best in cities where industrial production was already high prior to the war and in places where African American communities had well-established social and political networks. MOWM's national office leadership desired for local branches to focus their activism on the injustice of being conscripted into a segregated army, raise awareness about decolonization and the prospects of a free African American Caribbean, and transform African American voters into a national nonpartisan political bloc. The St. Louis chapter, however, focused on gaining jobs with defense contractors, conducting sit-ins at downtown restaurants, and picketing local utility companies.

During MOWM's 1943 National Convention held in Chicago, MOWM member and Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' official, Milton Webster complained to Randolph that "too many dames" were involved in the event's planning, which was bound to result in "a grand, A-1 mess up" (56). Yet, it is difficult to imagine MOWM's overall successes without the vast contributions of women, without which, the author argues, "Randolph's charismatic leadership would not have amounted to much more than an occasional speech that threatened an impending march" (70). African American women not only served as bridge leaders, grassroots organizers, but were also "among the organization's most important intellectual architects" (2), as illustrated in examples such as E. Pauline Myers and Layle Lane. Women's roles within MOWM can be seen throughout the book, however, chapter 5 ("These Women Really Did the Work": Marching on More than Defense Plants) highlights the organizing efforts by largely forgotten women, such as Pearl S. Maddox, Lillian Sawyer, Hattie Bobo, Evelyn Roberts, Thelma Grant, and Ruth Mattie Wheeler, among many others. In this chapter, too, we see the ease at which a network of organizations (including the interracial Citizen's Civil Rights Committee, NAACP, and Fellowship of Reconciliation [FOR]) aligned with MOWM to stage local protests of Southwestern Bell and downtown department store lunch counters.

Lucander does not buy into the "long movement" paradigm in order to understand MOWM's place in the black freedom struggle, and observes, "the struggle for equal treatment under the law was very long and never neatly linear, but the Civil Rights Movement itself was comparatively short" (17). Instead, he views MOWM outside the realm of the civil rights movement, "as the fulfillment of New Deal domestic policy" because "that is how members of this organization understood themselves" (18). The years that MOWM held the reigns of black activism in St. Louis simply "coincided with a period in which 'a new dimension to the concept of civil rights' was developed" (77).

As others have noted, without marching on the nation's capital, MOWM could not garner enough support to maintain credibility as a national force. Yet, this study goes further than all the rest to demonstrate MOWM's impact beyond the organization's short-lived formal existence. The author argues that it is at the "personal level" in the "individual lives of certain members, that MOWM made its greatest impact" (192), as the organization served to broaden and refine the protest tactics available to African American activists during the mid-twentieth century.

Winning the War for Democracy is a model study that blends local and national history, and is sure to inspire future research on other MOWM chapters. Lucander makes a formidable contribution to the growing corpus of knowledge on African American activism during the World War II era.

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Donna J. Drucker. *The Classification of Sex: Alfred Kinsey and the Organization of Knowledge*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014. Pp. ix, 244. $30.00.

Alfred C. Kinsey became an American household name after the publications of his volumes *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953), still two of the best-known studies of human sexual behavior. His research was pathbreaking on many grounds, including his impressively large sample size and his nonhierarchical, nonstigmatizing method of classification. No sex researcher since Kinsey has collected so many sex histories with a depth comparable to his, and the 0–6 heterosexual-homosexual rating scale still occupies an important place in fields ranging from biology, psychology, and women's studies, to queer history. Donna J. Drucker places this well-studied figure in Kinsey's work environment: classrooms, fields, and laboratories. What this endeavor produced is a surprisingly fresh, insightful look at how Kinsey worked as a scientist, transforming himself from an entomologist to a sexologist at a critical time in the history of science, while firmly holding onto the research method that made his findings remarkable; gathering and classifying mass data with not only precision but also flexibility.

Historians outside the history of science are no strangers to Kinsey, for good reason. Kinsey's influence permeated mid-century America's morality, sexuality, gender, politics, and mass culture. That Kinsey participated in his own research has not escaped scholarly attention, either. He recorded his and his coworkers' sexual activities, raising questions for some about his science's objectivity or ethics. *The Classification of Sex: Alfred Kinsey and the Organization of Knowledge* does not lack relevance to these questions, but the book's focus is elsewhere. Moving from Kinsey's early years at Harvard University where he began researching gall wasps to the later period when he taught and studied human sexual behavior at Indiana University, Drucker's is a serious inquiry into Kinsey's scholarly and methodological development, something that crystalized as "its own art form" (8). So, the reader learns of how Kinsey was inspired by his adviser William Morton Wheeler who passionately believed in biology's relevance to society as well as the significance of fieldwork and taxonomy. The reader also learns how Kinsey's interest shifted from the insect to humans when he realized that his "data-gathering techniques were ill-suited for the evolutionary questions that his contemporaries were starting to address" (56) in the mid-1930s. Rather than adopting an evolutionary approach requiring more lab work than fieldwork, Kinsey chose to switch fields and continue to refine the data-collection techniques that he knew the best.

In the field of sexology, Kinsey thrived as a teacher and a researcher, eagerly absorbing ideas from his students and colleagues. He asked his students what they did sexually without passing judgment, a sign of his budding social critique. He carefully developed his data-collecting method, including his famous 100 percent sampling, by consulting works of statisticians like Raymond Pearl and George W. Snedecor. Here, we see Kinsey as a diligent collaborator, an image that has not come through sharply enough in many other studies about him. Drucker's analysis of "punch cards" is also rewarding. Of course, it took Kinsey and his colleagues an enormous amount of time to punch 234,000 cards recording 18,000 sex histories. Once complete, though, these cards bestowed on researchers the "particular ability . . . to place different elements of hundreds or thousands of sex histories alongside each other to suggest relationships between them" (133). Out of this flexibility emerged Kinsey's observations about differences between sexual behavior of males and females, the working and middle classes, and white and black Americans. The 0–6 scale, too, owed part of its making to the cards and their ever-reliable reading machines. Thus, Drucker shows, mundane practice and dry materiality were crucial for scientific discovery and, by extension, a revolution that so swiftly challenged Americans' deeply held assumptions about sexual normalcy.

Drucker's focus on Kinsey's intellectual history sometimes results in hasty discussions about the larger context of his life. Kinsey might have been "remarkable" to consider human differences non-hierarchically "in a Progressive Era American society rife with legal and social prejudices against anyone nonwhite and nonheterosexual" (42). Yet some of his contemporary scientists also were beginning to move beyond these prejudices, opening up a space for discourses of tolerance. Drucker defends Kinsey's decision to exclude nonwhite data from his publication by arguing that the exclusion was "to prevent critics from attributing his data on 'deviance' to nonwhites" (118). True as it may be, this claim would have persuaded more if combined with a more thorough analysis showing how Kinsey considered "cultural" race more important than "biological" race (94), or how we might assess a science that still fails to produce enough research about nonwhite populations.

These critiques notwithstanding, this welcome book makes a distinctive contribution to the study of Kinsey, the history of science, biology and sexology in particular, and mid-century America's struggle with shifting gender and sexual relationships. It is a valuable addition to the literature, meaningfully illuminating the ordinary, yet surprising, work of science and its history.

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Ana Elizabeth Rosas. *Abrazando el Espíritu: Bracero Families Confront the US-Mexico Border*. (American Crossroads, no. 40.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2014. Pp. xx, 252. Cloth $70.00, paper $34.95, e-book $34.95.

In this heartfelt account, Ana Elizabeth Rosas movingly depicts women's agency and the human costs of the bracero program implemented by the U.S. and Mexican governments from 1942 until 1964. Initiated to address agricultural labor shortages during World War II, this temporary worker program promised Mexican participants opportunities to accumulate savings and skills to advance

their long-term interests in exchange for several years of labor in the U.S. unaccompanied by their families or other dependents. In practice, only a minority of the estimated 5.2 million braceros were able to get ahead through this system. Due to the high costs of joining the program, the majority accrued debts and became trapped by low wages and cycles of contract renewals that stretched into decades, imposing arduous, extended family separations.

Abrazando el Espíritu: Bracero Families Confront the US-Mexico Border illustrates brutally and poignantly that the U.S. valued migrant workers only for their labor, not their lives. The bracero program deliberately sought to recruit men with families in Mexico on the presumption that such dependents would act as anchors providing greater guarantees that they would indeed remain as only temporary workers in the U.S.; workers for whom multiple years of labor did not entitle eventual citizenship, legal permanent residency, or even the comfort and company of their families. To this last end, postal authorities surveilled letters between braceros and their dependents, and confiscated those communications deemed to be fostering plans for reunifications north of the border. In this way, even efforts to maintain long-distance connections were disrupted, for years and months at a time, by the program's efforts to isolate men in their function as laborers.

The bracero program's origins during the wartime "emergency" of labor shortages rationalized both the U.S. and Mexican governments' actions. They collaborated to recruit Mexican workers in the name of national security, while imposing onerous working conditions. Sacrifice and hard work were presented as patriotic duties under such circumstances. However, the program continued almost two decades after the wartime "emergency" ended, operating to provide not just the necessary laborers, but *excess* numbers of workers for corporate agricultural employers, which included the American Farm Bureau Federation, the Vegetable Growers Association of America, and the National Cotton Council (58). Through the bracero program, the U.S. and Mexican governments enacted measures to recruit, discipline, and systematically strip Mexican workers of their protections and rights and thereby rendered them exploitable to American capitalist interests.

Abrazando el Espíritu presents the considerable human costs and suffering inflicted on bracero families. Supplemented by research into government archives, bureau documents, and newspaper accounts, deeply personal oral histories and family records vividly capture the "strategies of solidarity and mutuality" through which women and children survived the "vulnerability and victimization" imposed by the bracero program (1). While men, driven by aspirations for advancement and means to better support their families financially, remained absent for long periods of time, women and children assumed agency to find means to survive the emotional, psychological, social, and economic impact of extended separations from husbands, fathers, and lovers. Rosas's chief scholarly contribution is to depict the personal and emotional costs inflicted by the bracero program not only on the male workers but their dependents in Mexico, delineating and detailing the range and depth of emotional suffering and personal turmoil extracted by this temporary worker program. Above all, Rosas insists upon the humanity of Mexican women, men, and children rendered vulnerable by extreme poverty as a result of the brutalizing deployment of political and economic power entwined in the bracero program.

The extremely limited options faced by braceros and their women and children did not prevent them from forming loving relationships that they sought to maintain despite the imposition of long-term separations. Through her access to intimate individual and family stories, Rosas depicts the anguish, uncertainties, silences, and coping strategies developed as survival mechanisms. Carefully written letters and photographs conveyed affection, support, and affirmation of ongoing bonds, as well as hopes for reunification and stability. Music and other popular culture artifacts resonated with protracted states of longing and loneliness. More practically, the inadequate compensation of bracero salaries forced women and children to undertake additional responsibilities to make up for the shortfalls in their income. In worst case scenarios, as early as the 1940s, U.S.-born children as young as ten and twelve remained in the U.S. struggling to survive on their own and worked to support parents and other family members forced to leave because they lacked citizenship status.

Alongside the children who were forced to assume adult responsibilities at young ages, women developed strategies to nurture community and support networks that acknowledged and actively fostered strategies to ameliorate suffering and dependence on the bracero program. Through "awake houses," *mujeres intermediarias* or intermediary women encouraged women to share their plight and to pursue alternatives such as education and local forms of employment to replace bracero earnings and end the cycles of separations. Despite such efforts, understandably not all families or couples remained intact through the duress of the bracero program; additional costs borne by men, women, and perhaps children most of all.

In an age when political rhetoric regularly characterizes temporary migrant laborers as direly threatening to the American economy and way of life, Rosas's insistence upon their humanity provides a vital counterweight that is as well a salutary contribution to the fields of Mexican American, migration, gender and family, and social history studies.

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Reuel Schiller. *Forging Rivals: Race, Class, Law, and the Collapse of Postwar Liberalism.* (Cambridge Historical Studies in American Law and Society.) New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Pp. xv, 343. $29.99.

Reuel Schiller is not the first scholar to write on the collapse of modern liberalism, specifically the divide between labor unions and the black freedom movement. However, he makes a unique proposition: the split

emerged not with 1960s affirmative action, but rather through 1940s and 1950s legal and policy disputes. In the introduction of *Forging Rivals: Race, Class, Law, and the Collapse of Postwar Liberalism*, Schiller "argues that the legal regime that emanated from postwar liberalism was permeated with doctrinal and institutional contradictions." Schiller posits, "This regime attempted to implement the principles of democratic majoritarianism at the same time that it sought to protect the rights of minorities and individuals . . . The result was a fatal weakening of liberalism" (5).

This book, which relies heavily on archival sources and a thorough survey of the literature, is useful for researchers, university students, and general audiences. Schiller's effective narrative style introduces chapters with key individuals inside various conflicts. The book's chief asset is its focus on the often neglected story of postwar San Francisco.

Chapter 1 begins with the 1940s when "Americans had forged a new liberalism . . . mixing Keynesian policies that promoted a modicum of economic egalitarianism with an increasing commitment to protecting the civil rights of racial and religious minorities" (40). The chapter concludes with the *Steele v. Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company* (1944) Supreme Court decision, which Schiller calls "emblematic of liberalism" (45). Black fireman William Steele won his case against the railroad company that replaced him with a white fireman with less seniority. But even though *Steele* was "a rebuke to Jim Crow unionism," Schiller points out, "it was, in fact, quite solicitous of union prerogatives . . . While it attempted to limit the racially discriminatory acts of labor unions, it did so in a manner that minimized judicial intrusions into union autonomy" (45).

Ed Rainbow, president of an American Federation of Labor (AFL) boilermakers' local that excluded blacks, comes to the forefront in chapter 2. A 1943 black worker walkout at Marinship shipyards in Sausalito, California, targeted Local 6 as blacks began collaborating with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The following year, black organizer Joseph James's name appeared on the California Supreme Court decision in *James v. Marinship* (1944) that "dramatically limited the ability of unions to exclude African Americans from membership" (48). Conflicts emerged between building and trade unions wanting to preserve collective bargaining agreements versus advocates for "remedies to employment discrimination" (99).

Chapter 3 observes John Riordan, secretary of the San Francisco Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, which expired in 1960. Riordan's last case hit a snag when a Teamsters Union local objected to an employer hiring a black worker who had previously alleged discrimination, claiming it would violate the collective bargaining agreement. Black labor organizer Lester Bailey, discussed in chapter 4, helped defeat California's 1958 "right-to-work" Proposition 18 with black community support only to see the anti-fair housing Proposition 14 pass with widespread white unionist backing. Schiller notes "just how bitter this conflict was, and how it was shaped by the contradictory legal mechanisms of industrial pluralism and fair employment practices law" (157).

Chapter 5 highlights the activity of San Francisco Labor Council secretary George Johns. Oblivious to collective bargaining agreements' failure to stop discrimination, Johns and other white union leaders fought civil rights groups in 1966, "the year that African American patience with labor's half measures on fair employment practices finally ran out" (160). The next chapter follows two black employees of a San Francisco department store leading a boycott to protest discriminatory policies. Their actions resulted in the lawsuit *Emporium Capwell Co. v. Western Addition Community Organization* (1968), which went before the Supreme Court. Justice Thurgood Marshall delivered the majority opinion that the civil rights group had inappropriately tried to bargain with Emporium rather than through Department Store Employees' Union Local 1100, which had jurisdiction.

Schiller's conclusions sometimes suggest a kind of legal determinism, or "labor law made me do it." Why *did* so many white union members in California support the 1964 repeal of fair housing laws? Or oppose equality nationwide? Was it based on a "majoritarian," "industrial pluralist" vision? Schiller himself notes in chapter 7: "It was not [1960s] radical . . . policies such as . . . affirmative action that caused whites to smash the windows of black homeowners in 1950s Detroit or Levittown. It was the fact that these African American families had the temerity to move into white neighborhoods" (243). Schiller calls *Emporium* a "pyrrhic victory" for organized labor decimated by deindustrialization by the 1970s (220). Many white unionists left the Democrats for the Republican Party. Liberalism by popular demand shifted to "racial egalitarianism" (221). The 1970s also "saw the emergence of a sophisticated 'union avoidance' industry" and "increasingly pro-employer . . . labor law" (233).

In his study, Schiller might have included the 1930s. Especially instructive during that prewar era is the 1935 dispute between the AFL and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People over adding an anti-discrimination clause to Senator Robert Wagner's landmark labor legislation (that ironically also provided for "affirmative action" to protect union organizers). As Herbert Hill and others have noted, the AFL blocked it. Overall, neither the AFL, nor the emerging CIO, nor their subsequent merger protected black and white workers equally in the 1950s and 1960s. However, following a national campaign for fair employment practices originally led in 1941 by A. Philip Randolph, black labor and civil rights forces found allies that together inspired and compelled changes in law, enforcement, public policy, unions, and popular narratives.

Some criticisms notwithstanding, Schiller's book improves our understanding of local postwar conflicts in the U.S. We need more complicated examinations like *Forging Rivals* on liberalism's efforts to both mediate and take sides in maintaining domestic Cold War political coalition.

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Kathryn E. Wilson. *Ethnic Renewal in Philadelphia's Chinatown: Space, Place, and Struggle*. (Urban Life, Landscape, and Policy.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015. Pp. xvii, 249. $29.95.

Philadelphia has been characterized by both residents and scholars as a city of neighborhoods. Kathryn E. Wilson has made a valuable contribution by providing the first (and long overdue) book-length account of the history and ongoing struggles of Philadelphia's Chinatown, a neighborhood whose significance to historical debates and developments far outweighs its physical size and population.

While not claiming to have written an insider's account, Wilson has done an admirable job capturing the diverse and frequently marginalized, distorted, and silenced voices that have advocated for the interests of Chinatown dating back to the 1870s. She draws on secondary and archival sources to capture the period prior to World War II, and then increasingly blends in the oral history recollections of Chinatown residents and activists, who have been at the center of conflicts related to redevelopment from the 1960s to the recent past.

Given her well-documented contention that policy makers and business interests have neglected the concerns of grassroots actors, Wilson's analysis is particularly reliant on the testimonies and perspectives of community organizers, low-income tenants, working-class immigrants, and residents who lost homes to eminent domain. The Chinatown that emerges from her research is a dense, walkable, vibrant, dynamic, diverse, and historic neighborhood—one befitting the characteristics of places that civic leaders and boosters prize as exemplars of urban life.

The focus of her book, however, is on a "Chinatown that almost ceased to exist" (2). Despite its many positive attributes and the dedicated efforts of its proponents, Chinatown was constantly subjected to threats of persecution and demolition by outside forces. Wilson judiciously pairs her attention to grassroots actors with an analysis of the discourse, policies, and plans of those warding economic and political power over the relatively small neighborhood.

Some constant themes emerge over the course of more than a century of Chinatown's history—a history that often intersects with that of other Chinatowns and other communities of color nationwide. First, Chinatown residents and advocates consistently struggled within a political system that ignored or disadvantaged them. In earlier years, this meant appealing to the paternalistic sentiments of whites or deliberately playing up an exotic Orientalist appeal to outsiders. World War II and its aftermath brought new citizenship and immigration rights, strengthening the position of Chinese Americans.

Amid the social upheavals of the time, the 1960s proved to be another turning point when the proposed Vine Street Expressway and other urban renewal projects requiring substantial demolition comprised what community leaders and residents saw as an existential threat. Chinese and Asian Americans began to access new liberal programs and funds designed to sustain urban communities and augment affordable housing. Some activists went further, situating Chinatown's plight within a radical condemnation of racism and capitalism, while making links to the antiwar movement by framing demolition as "cultural genocide" (87). Youth organizers led militant actions to stop bulldozers in their paths, most notably in the fight to save Holy Redeemer Chinese Catholic Church and School, the first Catholic Church for Chinese in the Western Hemisphere and a center for a community severely lacking in public spaces for social activity. "I guess that was our Tiananmen Square," recalled Joe Lowe (62).

Second, the reputation of Chinatown as a blighted area has been perniciously complemented by portrayals of its residents as an obstacle to progress by policy makers and developers. During the era of Chinese exclusion, they were simply viewed as unassimilable and backwards. But even as overtly racist discourses have receded over the past half-century, Chinatown has been regarded as a quaint but anachronistic place whose traditional culture must give way to the reality of encroaching skyscrapers and skyrocketing Center City rents.

This brings us to a third overriding theme. Routinely objectifying Chinatown, urban power brokers characterized the neighborhood based foremost on the market value of its land rather than on the lives and concerns of its residents. Plans to revive commerce, tourism, and public transportation all rendered portions of the neighborhood expendable. Without a hint of irony, the expansion of Independence Mall as a national site to honor freedom and democracy was achieved through the hasty seizure of Chinatown residents' property by eminent domain. In response, Chinatown advocates drew attention both to basic human needs, such as affordable housing and recreation space, and to the importance of affirming ethnic culture and collective practices by fostering folk schools, cultural centers, and public celebrations like the Mid-Autumn Festival.

A final virtue of the book is Wilson's analysis of the diverse and sometimes competing views Chinatown's advocates have held. Formed out of the 1960s protests, the Philadelphia Chinatown Development Corporation evolved into a nonprofit developer that sought to maintain ties to high-ranking officials and investors to advance its goal of expanding affordable housing. While Asian Americans United shared some of these goals, its work is more reflective of the legacy of the 1960s "serve the people" programs that worked to build a grassroots base of power and advance a broader social justice agenda.

Ethnic Renewal in Philadelphia's Chinatown: Space, Place, and Struggle updates and deepens prior histories of Chinatowns by scholars like Peter Kwong, Nayan Shah, and John Kuo Wei Tchen. It should be required reading not only for those interested in a richer view of Asian American history but also those who recognize the need to situate Asian American communities within the

broader study of how race, class, and social movements relate to the production of urban space.

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Leah N. Gordon. *From Power to Prejudice: The Rise of Racial Individualism in Midcentury America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. Pp. xiv, 257. $45.00.

This book examines the role of social scientists in the construction of racial paradigms between the publication of Gunnar Myrdal's *American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* in 1944 and the enactment of the Civil Rights Act (1964) twenty years later. These two events bookend Leah N. Gordon's story of the troubled rise and triumph of what she labels "racial individualism"—the midcentury liberal belief that white "prejudice and discrimination" was "the root cause of racial conflict" and "that racial justice could be attained by changing white minds and protecting African American rights" through education, legislation, and judicial decree (2). This is an important work of intellectual history that deserves the wide readership and debate that it will no doubt attract.

The spread of racial individualism was never foreordained, and at the outset Gordon does a superb job pinpointing the "distinct causal dynamics" (5) that fueled racial individualism's eclipse of older, competing structural explanations and redistributive prescriptions for interracial rehabilitation. Gordon illuminates how the "politics of knowledge production" was shaped by an interlocking web of "internalist" and "externalist" social forces that not only strengthened racial individualism's explanatory and policymaking power but ultimately advanced tepid "reform agendas" that she deems "insufficient" (4–5). Gordon has effectively appropriated and synthesized social scientific methods and ideas in order to probe midcentury social science. It is a delicate balancing act that she pulls off with aplomb.

Gordon retraces racial individualism's development within the growing postwar social scientific research complex, identifying three main factors—scientism, behavioralism, and antiradicalism—that propelled its ascent among the community of interracial "scholar-activists" that she explores. Although readers familiar with the interwar shift of the social sciences toward quantitative methods and grand theorizing in the name of objectivity and professional prestige will be unsurprised by Gordon's initial framing, the book breaks critical new ground in the five institutional case studies that follow. The first two cases, on the Rockefeller Foundation, a key funder of social research, and on the University of Chicago's Committee on Education, Training, and Research in Race Relations (CETRRR), a recipient of Rockefeller largesse, reveals how the mid-century study of race relations, constrained by benefactor preferences and pervasive anticommunist politics, privileged individualistic explanations for and solutions to interracial strife. The intellectual biography of sociologist Louis Wirth, the director of the CETRRR, exemplifies this point; Gordon thoughtfully details Wirth's retreat from the "systemic orientation of the interwar Chicago school of sociology" in which he had been trained to a decidedly "individualistic approach to the race problem" (101).

In a refreshing move, Gordon shifts her attention to the fundamental but often overlooked work of African American social scientists. At Fisk University's Race Relations Institutes and at Howard University's *Journal of Negro Education*, in spaces far removed from the main currents of the social science establishment, competing materialist explanations of racial conflict mingled with racial individualism for intellectual primacy. Off the political radar and lacking the funding and research infrastructure available at wealthy elite universities, black social scientists such as Fisk president and sociologist Charles S. Johnson, founder and director of the Race Relations Institutes, and Charles H. Thompson, dean of Howard University's School of Education and the longtime editor of the *Journal of Negro Education*, clung to structural theories of racism that "highlighted the inseparability of race and class oppression" (137). That was in the 1930s and 1940s, however, and over time the hegemony of racial individualism proved too powerful; by the mid-1950s, political-economic conceptions of racial injustice were but a faint glimmer in both the white and black social scientific imagination. The author's final case on the National Conference of Christians and Jews well illustrates this point by turning from the production to the dissemination and consumption of social knowledge. Here, social scientists take a backseat to educators, as Gordon showcases how the conference's religiously tinged antiprejudice education initiatives dovetailed with the legal aims of the interracial civil rights movement to advance a moderate reform agenda to change "white attitudes."

Gordon builds a convincing case against racial individualism and, with the benefit of hindsight, for the utter inadequacy of the educational interventions that it inspired. But by focusing so closely on professional interdisciplinary disputes, client capture, and esoteric methodological developments, she too quickly dismisses the possibility that mid-century racial individualism actually explained the social world better than rival models. At the time, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954), the passage and overdue enforcement of federal civil rights legislation, and demonstrable shifts in public opinion persuaded many Americans, inside and outside of the academy, that the achievement of racial justice was near at hand. The question that lingers is whether race relations, despite real advances over the past fifty years, would be even better if Gordon's interracial band of social scientists had held firm to their structural theories of racial conflict and pressed for redistributive governmental solutions? I doubt it. Gordon's book ends in the mid-1960s at the very moment that social scientists and Black Power activists alike began to reclaim political-economic explanations for poverty and prejudice. What happened? Not much: few policymakers listened then, and still fewer are listening today.

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ANDREW R. HIGHSMITH. *Demolition Means Progress: Flint, Michigan, and the Fate of the American Metropolis.* (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. Pp. xvi, 376. $45.00.

In this volume, Andrew R. Highsmith challenges prevailing narratives about urban decline by arguing that it has been the persistent quest for renewal, more than any other factor, that has been responsible for a city's demise. Echoing the critic and reformer Henry George more than a century earlier that with progress comes accentuated poverty, Highsmith illuminates the often "pernicious results" (6) of urban planning that have shaped uneven metropolitan development in the latter part of the twentieth century.

Drawing his title from signage posted in 1999 at an abandoned General Motors (GM) plant slated to give way to yet another ambitious renewal effort, Highsmith skillfully defines not just what was considered "progress" but how its realization extended a long pattern of physical improvements at high cost to collective social welfare. Focusing especially on ways race prejudice defined life in the Vehicle City and its environs, Highsmith provides a multilayered analysis to support his contention that urban misfortunes and racial injustice have been intimately connected in the modern-era North.

While the contours of Highsmith's account of efforts to revitalize Flint are familiar in a broad sense, his examination of how racial discrimination factored into every stage of the city's modern history is unusually detailed and convincing. Making the case that discrimination took legal, administrative, and popular forms—often in close association with one another—Highsmith pictures Flint at the height of its industrial might as a strictly segregated city. Drawn to opportunities on the assembly line in World War II, African Americans filled the hardest jobs in GM's foundries and crowded into the city's least desirable residential areas. Despite doubling in number to 12,000 black residents during the war, Flint faced a dire housing shortage as only twenty-five new homes were constructed for black occupancy during the period. Bound by racially restrictive covenants, exclusionary zoning, and school boundary manipulations, as well as restricted access to public facilities, Flint's black residents encountered barriers to their needs and aspirations at every level of life.

When the city and GM sought to maximize their capacities after the war, they embarked on an aggressive urban renewal campaign. Unlike black activists in other metropolitan areas who were quick to challenge ambitious plans to replace older and largely black neighborhoods with new development, Flint's African American leaders decided to join the area's pro-growth coalition with hopes of influencing its direction from the inside. In return for their support, they sought open housing legislation that would assure better living in historically all-white neighborhoods. Such efforts, though assiduously resisted, eventually succeeded even as national fair housing legislation fell into place in 1968. Hopes for better conditions proved illusory, however, as both white residents and the jobs they filled moved out of the city.

In detailing how urban renewal fit into a larger pattern of racial discrimination, Highsmith overturns any notion of de facto segregation in the North. In particular, he challenges the notion that such patterns were the natural product of housing patterns, pointing instead to Flint's calculated school policies. Central to that story was the manner in which philanthropist Charles Stewart Mott, an early beneficiary of the formation of GM, turned the community schools concept pioneered by Clarence Arthur Perry into a means of indoctrinating Flint's youth in a pro-business atmosphere, all the while assiduously maintaining the color line. Once it was no longer possible to maintain segregated schools by redrawing school boundaries and steering reassignment requests on the basis of race, Mott simply dropped his support. By then, the out-migration of whites to surrounding suburbs was far enough advanced, with the help of blockbusting, to make the resegregation of schools irreversible.

Insisting that such stories be viewed in a metropolitan framework, Highsmith demonstrates how Flint's suburbs utilized federal subsidies to modernize, all the while turning back other federal mandates for open housing to maintain a strict color line. Even when additional subsidies to underwrite rentals materialized through Section 235 of the national housing act of 1968, they concentrated in a single suburb, leaving much of the remaining metropolitan area even more segregated than the city proper.

To advance a regional opportunity structure, Flint's leadership embraced a system of highways and their exchanges that unsurprisingly uprooted blacks concentrated in poorer neighborhoods. In a pattern widely shared in other major cities, African Americans resisted. But unlike the story of earlier fair housing campaigns, Highsmith largely neglects to recount their actions. Although he details the path activist Michael Moore took from a young rebel growing up in the Flint suburb of Davison to the powerful indictment of GM's disinvestment policies in the 1989 film *Roger & Me*, the resistance black activists mounted to oppose such actions goes unreported. Instead, Highsmith acknowledges ongoing efforts to lift Flint out of its current sorry state and concludes on a positive note by claiming that these "stand in sharp contrast to the apocalyptic caricatures that have become staples in popular discourse on the urban crisis" (283). In doing so, Highsmith leaves open the question of what residents of a now majority black city burdened by high levels of unemployment and crime are left to work with. Absent evidence to the contrary, it is not inconceivable that more "Demolition Means Progress" signs will appear in future years without any real prospect of improving the welfare of Flint's remaining population.

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MONIQUE LANEY. *German Rocketeers in the Heart of Dixie: Making Sense of the Nazi Past during the Civil Rights Era.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. xv, 302. $35.00.

Monique Laney has written a unique kind of book: a local history about flight into outer space. This is the story of the German rocketeers after they came to America, how they adapted to their new homeland, and how they were received by the various civic groups of Huntsville, Alabama. The work is centered on Project Paperclip, whereby the U.S. government secretly admitted over five hundred German scientists, engineers, and technicians into the country after World War II in order to gain priority access to German high-technology military secrets, especially in jet propulsion and rocketry. Huntsville became a home for some of them in 1950. Here, the U.S. Army formed the nucleus of what soon became Redstone Arsenal's Army Ballistic Missile Agency, which transformed into the Marshall Space Flight Center of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in 1960. The German rocketeers'A-4 ballistic missile, better known as the "vengeance weapon" or V-2, became the prototype for the Redstone missile that protected the U.S. in the Cold War and ultimately paved the way for the *Saturn V* rocket that took us to the moon.

Between 2005 and 2007, the author conducted nearly sixty interviews with the Huntsville German rocket teams and their family members, along with friends and coworkers from the white community, and significant voices from the African American and Jewish communities. Laney interweaves the experiences and memories of the German and Huntsville whites. Both communities of privilege received something rare in history: second chances. The Germans had the opportunity to become loyal American citizens, dedicated to democratic and free-market ideals. Southern whites learned to accept and promote racial tolerance and integration in a new era of civil rights. None of this was simple or easy or complete, either in the living or the telling of it. Throughout the book, Laney intelligently draws a concentric set of circles around the rocketeers themselves, their various neighbors and fellow citizens, and their compatriots back home, smartly navigating from the local to the regional and from the national to the international. Laney describes Huntsville's unique character (one of relative calm and stability and even reform-mindedness in a racially polarized South), patterns of migration and prejudice, national trends in spaceflight publicity, and German national anxieties over the country's Nazi past. Each circle of "group identity" (12) reveals how past traumas were delivered or received, forgotten or remembered, all in intricate and frustrating ways. The white community of Huntsville ultimately integrated and celebrated the German rocketeers, harbingers of aerospace prosperity and emblems of the *Apollo 11* triumph. It relegated the Jewish and African American populations to lesser or impoverished peripheries of Huntsville society. German complicity in the Nazi past, like white complicity in racial oppression, was often discretely forgotten. The study culminates with two significant chapters on the legal case against Arthur Rudolph, a leading member of the Wernher von Braun Huntsville team deported by the Department of Justice for his war crimes. Rudolph had supervised brutal slave labor at the infamous Mittelbau-Dora concentration camp that served the Nordhausen production site for the V-2 missile; facts revealed in the memoirs and exposes and investigations around 1984. Thus the story of the makers of the vengeance weapon (*Vergeltungswaffe-2*) became more of an American tale about their (and our own) moral evaluation (*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*) of Nazism.

Laney's sources extend well beyond the interviews, including archival transcripts and an interesting mix of books about U.S. social and spaceflight history, German history, and the history of identity and memory. In a rare and welcome development, she also delves into how the popular histories and documentary films about the U.S. space programs have often colored the past and manipulated our impressions. Scholarly histories and museum exhibits may do a fine job confronting the harsher realities of history; but Laney reveals a tendency in the public literature and media to all too often merely extol rather than fully examine and evaluate the moral challenges of the past. All of these fine spotlights on local and national memories mean that the author could not pay full attention to one of the primary elements in the whole story: the technology. Further research, for example, might concentrate on how Huntsville residents, the German rocketeers, and the American public understood the Redstone missile and Saturn rocket, how they and we have defined ourselves in relation to these complex and mighty machines. This excellent book maps out a pathway for future scholarship on the tangled and incomplete ways by which we recall and write our Cold War and spaceflight histories.

Michael G. Smith
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Charles L. Hughes. *Country Soul: Making Music and Making Race in the American South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015. Pp. 264. Cloth $29.95, e-book $28.99.

Race discrimination has long plagued the American South (along with the rest of the country), stretching from the colonial period into the present. Racial conditions have continually changed, however, depending on regional as well as national political, economic, social, and cultural conditions. Popular music's circumstances have been part of the story, with an ongoing belief that beginning in the 1950s with the rise of the soul and country music recording studios in Memphis and Nashville, Tennessee, as well as in Muscle Shoals, Alabama, racially integrated musical groups successfully challenged the South's ingrained racial discrimination and polarization. (The transition from rhythm and blues to rock and roll has also been widely interpreted as promoting civil rights.) Charles L. Hughes in *Country Soul: Making Music and Making Race in the American South* directly challenges this perception. Drawing upon a wide range of primary and secondary sources, the author contends that while some of the musical groups were indeed racially integrated, they nonetheless continued the South's racial hierarchy, with the white owned recording studios mostly

favoring white over black musicians. Hughes deftly explores the country-soul recording triangle, the two Tennessee locations and Muscle Shoals. In 1961, Rick Hall's FAME studio had a hit with the African American Arthur Alexander's "You Better Move On" backed by white musicians. This somewhat indicated a racial musical partnership, but not one of equal partners, far from it.

Sam Phillips's Sun Records in Memphis had begun with black musicians in 1952, but after a few years switched to Elvis Presley and other white rockabillies. The Sun story indicated the inability of black musicians to crack the white predominance in country music. The African American Joe Tex had hits with FAME and other recording studios, for example, but his popularity remained marginal due to his race. "While African Americans struggled to incorporate country into their professional identities," Hughes argues, "whites used their familiarity with R&B to achieve greater success in a diversifying music business. Conversely, black artists . . . were artistically and commercially pigeonholed because of their race" (42). This about sums up the author's overall approach. Hughes analyzes the Memphis Sound, particularly the success of the white owned Stax Records, the epitome of southern soul, which employed both black and white musicians, but even there a racial hierarchy emerged. Moreover, American Studios, which opened in Memphis in 1964, featured only white musicians who were influenced by southern R&B. The same was true in Nashville, where FAME's co-founder Billy Sherrill, relocating from Muscle Shoals in 1963, infused country with an R&B feel dominated by white musicians. And while white and black music became integrated, the musicians remained in their separate, and unequal, worlds.

Aretha Franklin had a string of soul hits in the late 1960s, seemingly an all-black sound, but she was backed by an all-white Memphis rhythm section. Even Stax, a record company that African American Al Bell, a man who embraced Black Power, co-owned after 1968, continued to work with white musicians. For example, the Staples Singers were backed by the white Muscle Shoals rhythm section. As for Nashville and country music, it was generally associated with the white backlash personified by Richard Nixon's presidential election in 1968, although with some contradictions. For example, Merle Haggard recorded "Irma Jackson" about a doomed interracial love affair, while Charley Pride and Ray Charles represented the rare black country stars. A few country artists, such as Joe South and Willie Nelson, challenged the music's racial focus, but they were in the clear minority. For Hughes, "swamp music, Outlaw country, and southern rock were just as segregated as the most conservative corners of mainstream country" (154). Soul music had a profound influence on country, while white and black musicians did work together, but this did not particularly indicate much progress for the southern civil rights movement. As Hughes concludes: "In the end, the musicians of the country-soul triangle force us to reconsider the ways that race has been expressed and lived in the United States" (193). That is, segregation continued to predominate.

Hughes challenges the view that racial mixing in southern studios helped to promote civil rights. Black influences on white music and musicians had existed throughout the century, beginning particularly in the 1920s, which gave southern country music its unique sound. However, this hardly led to an enlightened southern society as Hughes well illustrates. *Country Soul* is a valuable addition to the literature on southern music, black and white, and adds to such important studies as Diane Pecknold's edited volume *Hidden in the Mix: The African American Presence in Country Music* (2013). However, much more research needs to be done to explore country music's racial implications and developments, but *Country Soul* definitely prepares the way forward.

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David Stradling and Richard Stradling. *Where the River Burned: Carl Stokes and the Struggle to Save Cleveland*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2015. Pp. xv, 245. $29.95.

The study of urban environmental history has been growing rapidly in the last generation. The literature in the field has been marked by the publication of a set of edited collections that feature essays on aspects of the environmental history of a particular city on topics such as air and water pollution, rivers, landscape alterations, and the destruction and reshaping of natural elements. Other monographic volumes have explored the environmental history of specific cities such as Boston, New York, and Seattle. In addition, a large body of literature on environmental justice issues has been published that focuses on the exposure of minorities to urban environmental hazards such as toxic industrial fumes, waste incineration plants, and lead poisoning. Few studies, however, attempt to link up the so-called urban crisis of the last quarter of the twentieth century directly with environmental issues. This volume by David Stradling and Richard Stradling, focusing on Cleveland in the 1960s and the mayoralty of Carl Stokes, brings together these two factors in an enlightening fashion.

Informing the authors' analysis is the ecological understanding that "everything is connected to everything else." That is, the urban environment was not just a setting for the deterioration of the city but was a central factor in its decline. This ecological perspective applies to numerous cities throughout the nation but especially those that experienced rapid suburbanization, substantial population loss, and deindustrialization as they attempted the difficult transition from industrial to service cities. The governmental fragmentation of the Cleveland metropolitan area reinforced the city's decline, a factor that also affected other declining cities in different metropolitan areas. The authors note that by "pathologizing slums," theorists, planners, and policy makers "hid the fundamental flaws of metropolitan growth, flaws that ensured inequalities of investment across space and inequalities of power and wealth across populations" (62). Central to their story is

the mayoralty of Stokes, the first African American mayor of a major American city, and his attempts to deal with both urban and environmental problems.

The book is divided into two sections. The first three chapters focus on the decline of Cleveland as it experienced neighborhood disintegration, racial tensions, riots, and failed attempts to renew the city's downtown. In exploring these events, the authors make suggestive use not only of interviews and archival material but also of letters to the mayor from both school children and Cleveland citizens of different backgrounds and races. Much as Stokes hoped to restore Cleveland to social and economic health, he had limited power and confronted issues of fragmentation, political opposition, entrenched bureaucracies, limited funds, and racial tensions. These factors presented obstacles that the black mayor of a white city found impossible to overcome.

The last three chapters deal primarily with environmental issues such as water and river pollution, sewage and combined sewer problems, and the significance of the burning Cuyahoga River. Many of the same factors that prevented Stokes from coping with urban social and economic problems—a lack of effective power, divided governmental authority, and the absence of funding—limited his ability to deal with environmental issues. He made few environmental improvements. By the end of his troubled mayoralty, confronted by Cleveland's continued decline, Stokes had come to believe that environmental concerns may have arisen at "the expense of what the priorities of the country ought to be: proper housing, adequate food and clothing" (173).

The burning Cuyahoga River gives the book its title, but what was its larger significance? The authors argue that the river became a symbol of environmental decline and crisis. While the oil slicked Cuyahoga River had caught fire several times before the fire of June 22, 1969, this date gradually assumed larger importance. In the media, the June 22 fire became the "poster child of the ecological crisis" and signified the growing understanding "of the ecological connectedness of all places" (206). Environmental concerns soared and a torrent of environmental legislation was enacted as Americans became less tolerant of pollution.

A major issue, however, is whether the environmental improvements that followed the awakening caused by the burning river actually displaced concern and policies aimed at the urban problems of poverty, crime, and housing decay. This is a conundrum for students of cities and especially of the urban environment. In their study of Cleveland, the Stradlings find it difficult to reach a definite conclusion regarding this question. While admitting that poverty may have been a more difficult problem to solve than was reducing urban pollution, they also note that solving pollution was an equally slow and difficult process. Cleveland, they maintain in their epilogue, has begun to emerge from "the depths of its crisis in the urban environment" (208) with improved air and water quality. In addition, they note its movement toward the goal of becoming a sustainable city, citing new bike trails and regional wind-power generation as achievements. Missing, however, is a discussion of significant social achievements such as affordable housing, major reductions in crime, and sharp declines in unemployment among the city's minority population—factors, I am sure, that the authors would acknowledge are equally as important as environmental improvements to the truly sustainable city.

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Greg Barnhisel. *Cold War Modernists: Art, Literature, and American Cultural Diplomacy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 322. Cloth $40.00, e-book $39.99.

In 1959, Vice President Richard Nixon famously sparred with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev as they walked through the American exhibition in Moscow. They disagreed on much of what they observed, especially as they paused at the display of American kitchen appliances, but they agreed on at least one thing: a common distaste for jazz. Although Nixon was not a fan, his daughters were, and he realized that foreign audiences had also clearly embraced the modern American musical form. As Greg Barnhisel shows in his superb work, many ardent anticommunists had appropriated modernism by the late 1950s as a weapon in the Cold War because the artistic movement served as a convenient vehicle to celebrate free expression in American painting, literature, music, dance, architecture, even consumer-product design. In the half century since the famed 1913 Armory Show had introduced modernism to Americans, an innovative cultural style often identified with rebellion and radicalism had been translated to Cold War audiences worldwide as the essence of American freedom and individualism. That style later ossified in the 1960s. Barnhisel explores this process in a far-reaching and engaging study of modernism as propaganda.

The Cold War modernist project rested on several premises: that the U.S. waged an ideological contest with the Soviet bloc; that exceptional Americans embodied enlightenment and individualism; and that these attributes could be expressed in a variety of cultural creations. Thus anticommunists repackaged and exported iconoclastic American artists, including William Faulkner, Jackson Pollock, and Martha Graham because they and others represented creativity and vitality in contrast to the hard-brushed communist aesthetic of socialist realism. American prestige activities, therefore, were overt appeals to European intellectuals to respect American cultural leadership alongside its military and economic preeminence. Overseas, the U.S. State Department sponsored goodwill tours, the Voice of America broadcasted jazz, and the CIA funded *Encounter* magazine. But much of the program in cultural diplomacy, Barnhisel shows, rested on collaboration between private organizations, such as the Ford Foundation, and individuals, including Nelson Rockefeller and Archibald MacLeish. Tradition-minded critics in Congress and the media predictably bristled at the thought that bohemians and their avant-

garde claptrap best represented America abroad. Barnhisel demonstrates how modern art collections amassed by corporations from IBM to Pepsi-Cola afforded political cover to State Department officials who fashioned international shows to complement the Eisenhower administration's other psychological warfare programs. Opponents, therefore, unwittingly served as foils for modernism's supporters who claimed that free expression had triumphed over censorship. Often, highbrow and middlebrow coincided. The short-lived publication *Perspectives U.S.A.*, for example, promoted American modernism to the educated masses by reprinting the idiomatic poetry of William Carlos Williams and by celebrating the "pragmatic individualism" (204) inherent in Frank Lloyd Wright's residential imagination. In these cases, award committees valorized the artists' unique takes on American rhythms and the single-family dwelling. Eventually modernism was "tamed and dumbed down" (24) for bourgeois audiences of suburban sophisticates, men and women who had accepted late modernism as a status symbol. Ultimately, Barnhisel implies, to be cosmopolitan was to consume something evocative but no longer provocative.

The primary contribution of the book is not a dramatic reconceptualization of the subject matter. To be sure, Barnhisel recognizes that a substantial body of related scholarship already exists, one that traces the transformation of modernism through various phases toward its popular acceptance as "just a style" (248). Several works also identify modernism's usefulness as a political tool. Notable among these is Serge Guilbaut's *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art* (1983). More generally, Barnhisel joins a chorus of scholars whose works on civil rights, gender and sexuality, and the antinuclear movement have chipped away at the notion that the 1950s was a period of conservative conformity; instead, he demonstrates how the so-called Cold-War consensus reinforced itself by appropriating divergent voices and exporting an America that appeared diverse, modern, and liberal. The greatest merits of this work are its grand scope, clear argument, and impressive archival research; the writing is crisp, witty, and accessible. Whereas earlier studies often have focused on specific art forms, this valuable addition offers a more comprehensive treatment, especially as it examines the links between public and private activities. Students of history will also appreciate an impressive array of revealing sources that help contextualize interpretations of the art and literature analyzed. Government documents and personal accounts provide rich illustration for a compelling narrative that will appeal to specialists and the general public alike.

If I have any quibble with this otherwise outstanding book, it would be that it fails to shift attention away from a monolithic U.S. government and to put into focus the diverse activities of different arms of the American bureaucracy. The result is thus often the same: a uniform project to marshal modernism for Cold War purposes. Bureaucratic rivalries, such as those between the State Department and CIA or within the United States Information Agency, largely remain undeveloped in the book. Likewise, Barnhisel discusses the awkward acrobatics involved in promoting democratic principles amid an era of persistent segregation, as when he details the international celebrity of Faulkner, the so-called bard of the South. Too little attention is paid to other nettlesome themes of the period, including civil liberties, upward mobility, sexual mores, and pacifism, all of which were inherent in the works of some artists. Freedom was "the movement's signal attribute" (40) because it best suited the propagandists, but what about the myriad ways individuals defined and expressed freedom in the era?

These are minor concerns compared to the significance of the work, which deserves wide readership. There is no denying that Barnhisel has contributed to our collective understanding of modernism and its role in Cold War cultural diplomacy. Modernism succeeded at winning "hearts and minds" at home and in Europe in the 1950s even as the Cold War helped redefine modernism itself.

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Robeson Taj Frazier. *The East Is Black: Cold War China in the Black Radical Imagination*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2015. Pp. xiv, 314. $25.95.

"Travel control," journalist William Worthy tells us in Robeson Taj Frazier's new book, *The East Is Black: Cold War China in the Black Radical Imagination*, "is thought control and intellectual control" (107). Worthy came to this conclusion in 1962, after half a decade of very public battles with the U.S. State Department over his passport, which he refused to surrender after his job as a reporter in the People's Republic of China (PRC) brought him to the government's attention. Worthy's hard-hitting journalism had facilitated his travel across Asia in the 1950s. On one of his first assignments, the *Baltimore Afro-American* sent him to cover the Korean War, for which he interviewed American soldiers and POWs "brainwashed" in Chinese internment camps, and was present at the signing of the war's armistice (58–78). In 1953, he was sent to Saigon to report on the First Indochina War. In between these assignments, Worthy continued to cover news in the U.S., and was sent to Alabama in 1956 to write about the Montgomery Bus Boycott. The result of all this movement was that Worthy interpreted U.S. Jim Crow racism for his readers within a global frame of Euro-American imperialism, drawing connections between what he witnessed in Asia and the lives of black Americans, and vice versa. Travel, in other words, was integral to Worthy's intellectual mobility.

It is this connection between the lived experience of black Americans who journeyed to communist China at the height of the Cold War and their interpretation of that world that is at the heart of *The East Is Black*. Beginning from the premise that both the Cold War and the Third World were not only diplomatic spheres or political projects but also discursive spaces that were represented in visual, aural, and textual forms, Frazier deploys an array of visual propaganda, radio programming,

documentaries, book and newspaper prose, as well as musical lyrics and poems in order to analyze the real and conceptual bridges—and gaps—fashioned by black travelers in China in the 1950s and 1960s.

The nucleus of Frazier's study is the "dissonance of imagining" (10); that is, the difference between what we see in our mind's eye and how that actually manifests itself in lived relations. Frazier is interested in how several black radicals conjured communist China in forms that facilitated their own confrontation with U.S. racism. The PRC's discourse of liberation, unsurprisingly, aided the black radicals' efforts to forge new frontiers of possibility for black life. But if race was a critical issue for black Americans, it was also the primary means by which China distinguished itself from both its American and Soviet Cold War rivals. Frazier, then, is also attentive to how black travelers, wittingly or unwittingly, bolstered not only the Chinese Communist Party's internationalist strategy but also its internal fortifications.

The organizational structure of the book helps achieve this fusion of geopolitical, cultural, and intellectual history. Four chapters, each undertaking a close reading of the political journey through China of a few black radicals, are organized chronologically into two parts according to decade. Part I covers the 1950s, with chapters on the travels of Shirley Graham Du Bois and W. E. B. Du Bois and William Worthy; part II covers the migration of Robert Williams and Mabel Williams to China, as well as Vicki Garvin's term as a teacher in the 1960s. Each section is prefaced with a broad introductory chapter summarizing China's domestic history and its Cold War relations with the U.S. and the Soviet Union, as well as the PRC's forays into Africa.

Frazier never presents the travelers' perceptions of China without also explaining the PRC's representations of black Americans. For example, Frazier shows how Chinese propaganda posters produced imagery that tended to "freez[e] black Americans in time" (132), while also explicating moments where black radicals glossed conditions in the PRC or replicated state-led, highly orchestrated spectacles of Chinese "progress" across the country's landscape of peasant homes and industrial infrastructure projects. Chapter 3 focuses on the varied travels of the Williamses, who sought refuge first in Cuba and then in China in the 1960s after their political work in Monroe, Alabama, left them facing trumped-up charges of kidnapping. The Williamses' complicated expatriate status set them at the heart of the fluctuating Cold War relations between the U.S., Cuba, the Soviet Union, and China in the early 1960s. The couple's liminal citizenship (as well as Worthy's), and their dependent status in China could make them appear as pawns in a Cold War game; yet Frazier is careful to avoid such depictions, while still offering critical evaluations of the Williamses' work.

In particular, the book aims a spotlight at how black radical imagining of China was never gender neutral. W. E. B. Du Bois and Worthy sometimes depicted China through an explicitly masculinist lens, while Shirley Graham Du Bois paid attention to issues that her husband missed. When the Williamses reiterated Chinese propaganda-art's projection of the courageous female soldier, women's revolutionary participation was rendered as an act of instinctual, maternal protection. Their internationalist solidarity thus became, paradoxically, the "courage to protect one's own" (154).

One of the distinguishing features of this book is the careful analysis of multiple forms of media, and also, more especially, the inclusion of both popular and more specialized political journalism. The differences between these forms are not always inconsequential, and are not always attended to in any depth. By covering not only Worthy's prominent journalism with large-circulation black American newspapers, but also the Williamses' limited-run newsletters, which were in essence a two-person show buttressed by Cuban and then PRC logistical support, the book draws from a broad spectrum of political journalism. With this in mind, more comparison between the popular journalism of Worthy and the more obscure newspaper production by the Williamses might offer other productive insights into how black radicals co-created and co-opted various constructs of China for their own imagined future of black American life. Frazier does not draw the two cases together in this way, missing an opportunity to compare competing claims to authenticity, truth telling, and political imaginaries across black media production. But this is a small suggestion in a book full of perceptively rendered analysis.

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Charlotte Brooks. *Between Mao and McCarthy: Chinese American Politics in the Cold War Years*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. Pp. xvi, 321. $45.00.

Joyce Mao. *Asia First: China and the Making of Modern American Conservatism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. Pp. viii, 226. $40.00.

The October 1949 founding of the People's Republic of China had profound implications for Chinese politics, leading to the exile of Chiang Kai-shek's *Guomindang* (Nationalist Party or GMD) to Taiwan and inaugurating a thirty-year period of international uncertainty about recognition and legitimacy between two competing Chinese governments. Chiang's Republic of China had enjoyed significant, if somewhat reluctant, support from the U.S. during World War II. After enduring and losing the Civil War, the GMD continued to turn to Washington, D.C., to maintain status as the acknowledged government of China. Taipei maintained ardent American support during the anticommunist 1950s, ambivalent backing during the tumultuous 1960s, and eventual betrayal during the transformative 1970s. Such developments had significant implications for Chinese politics, of course, but they also proved readily and easily exploited in U.S. domestic campaigns.

Between Mao and McCarthy: Chinese American Politics in the Cold War Years and *Asia First: China and the Making of Modern American Conservatism* offer two very different but ultimately complementary perspectives on the role that China played in mid-century U.S. domestic

politics. The former examines how Chinese Americans broke free from China's fortunes to forge their own path through American political systems, and the latter explores how conservatives' embrace of Chiang Kai-shek's Republic of China government helped them create a foreign policy identity and thrive in elections. In both cases, the question of support for a changing Chinese government had profound implications for American party politics, and both volumes offer new perspectives that both synthesize and build on existing scholarship.

By focusing on the divergent political development of Chinese American communities in New York and San Francisco, Charlotte Brooks's *Between Mao and McCarthy* moves beyond past narratives that assumed either uniformity or apathy in U.S. Chinatowns. Brooks argues that a combination of changing immigration laws, Cold War geopolitics, and GMD overreach helped to reorient Chinese Americans from a China-centered politics to one focused on local and domestic American issues. Differences in the development of Chinese populations in San Francisco and New York (the former had a larger population of merchant families and therefore more children born with U.S. citizenship), as well as the unique political histories of each city, ensured that the evolution of Chinese American political participation did not take the same path everywhere. Brooks suggests that the influence of China politics and the GMD lingered much longer in New York, which created factions that thwarted Chinese Americans' success in politics. Chinese Americans in the Bay Area, however, have experienced significant electoral success. In six well-researched chapters, Brooks highlights a number of events and individuals familiar to readers with a background in either U.S.-Chinese relations or Chinese American history, but often discussed in isolation. Instead, *Between Mao and McCarthy* weaves together overseas Chinese propaganda campaigns with housing disputes and the personal politics of Chiang Kai-shek to demonstrate their interrelated functions in shaping eventual Chinese American involvement in Republican and Democratic local party politics.

The role that China's diplomatic fortunes played in U.S. domestic political contests also forms the major focus of Joyce Mao's thoughtful volume, *Asia First*. In this case, however, the object of concern is the conservative right, particularly leaders and politicians, and how they leveraged concern for the Republic of China into a coherent approach to foreign policy to counter liberal containment. Here again, many of the book's characters will be familiar to scholars of postwar U.S. politics, but Mao digs deep into the writings and archives of such figures and organizations as William Fife Knowland, Alfred Kohlberg, the John Birch Society, and Barry Goldwater to demonstrate how their unique brand of orientalism allowed them to use China policy to promote anticommunism, oppose the United Nations, and chart a course of conservative internationalism that would address Cold War concerns and take the place of the political right's prewar tendencies toward isolationism.

Both volumes share a desire to move beyond the assumptions that scholars bring to their topics, arguing for greater complexity in the development of Chinese American or conservative politics. Brooks breaks free from the tendency to view postwar Chinese American communities as a dichotomy of pro-GMD forces and left-leaning sympathizers of the new communist Chinese government, demonstrating instead the diversity of political thought and the evolution of local reorientation of political engagement long before the Asian American Movement emerged in the late 1960s. Mao convincingly maintains that persuading Republicans to adopt the "Asia First" policy allowed conservatives to succeed in factional struggles within the GOP and then achieve electoral victory against Democrats. The strategy of "Asian First," she explains, is too often only aligned with McCarthyism or the post-1949 debate over "who lost China," but ran significantly deeper and longer as Cold War hot spots consistently emerged in Asia.

With a shared focus on China in the early Cold War, there are naturally a number of events that make an appearance in both books: the repeal of Chinese exclusion during World War II, the Chinese Civil War that exiled Chiang Kai-shek's government to Taiwan, the Korean War that set the U.S. irrevocably at odds with the People's Republic of China, and the political turmoil of the 1960s. Two of these many episodes addressed in both books illustrate how the authors make their arguments and how they serve to counterbalance each other: Soong Mei-ling's 1952 visit to the U.S. and the 1964 U.S. presidential election.

For Brooks, the Soong visit demonstrates just how far apart the East and West Coast Chinese communities had already drifted from each other. By the early 1950s, San Francisco's Chinese Americans increasingly focused on local politics and "dashed about stumping for their chosen candidates and ballot initiatives" to the extent that "few paid any attention to Madame Chiang's presence in the city" (133). Upon her arrival in New York, by contrast, Soong was greeted by leaders of traditional organizations, and to the extent that they engaged in American political debates, they did so with the end goal of promoting the larger goals of the Republic of China (ROC). Pro-Nationalist advocates like Ernest Moy and William T. S. Wu campaigned for presidential candidate Dwight D. Eisenhower, seeing a natural confluence between their goals of maintaining U.S. support for Chiang's government and supporting the Republican Party. According to Brooks, that GMD members also joined the Democrats' campaign for Adlai E. Stevenson says more about the tendency of the overseas branch of the Nationalist Party's to infiltrate everything than it does about ROC preferences for the outcome of the election.

Mao meanwhile unpacks an idea that Brooks takes for granted, that there was a natural cooperation between the GMD and the GOP, itemizing the ways in which the Chiang regime reached out to China supporters in the U.S. to ensure their support, including through the Soong Mei-ling visit in 1952. That the most receptive targets were on the political right led to a natural cooperation between conservatives and "Free China." Along the way, Mao assumes something that Brooks problematizes:

that GMD "ability to motivate citizens overseas to the cause of Free China, as well as the alacrity with which China Lobbyists worked to change foreign policy and public opinion, demonstrated the plausibility of international relations practiced on an extrastate basis" (58). Taken together, the two accounts demonstrate the problems with accepting uncritically the idea that, when Soong Mei-ling visited the U.S., Chinese Americans and Republican leaders alike simply flocked to her standard.

The 1964 presidential campaign of Goldwater is another point of confluence between the two volumes. Brooks argues that long GMD influence made the Chinese American population of New York substantially more conservative than either the rest of the state or their San Francisco counterparts, but also notes that supporters of Goldwater continued to cling to issues centered in China politics more than domestic issues. That status quo did not endure past the 1960s. In *Asia First*, Mao asserts that the GMD-oriented merchants of American Chinatowns found a natural home in the Goldwater campaign, while Goldwater himself maintained a more nuanced understanding of U.S.-Asia policy but used a hardline stance on communism in East Asia to cultivate support. Here again, the Goldwater conservative's perspective on China is complicated by digging below the accepted wisdom to unpack the range of arguments behind support of the GOP candidate.

The one voice largely absent from both works is that of the ROC government itself. Though Brooks includes copious materials from pro-Nationalist Chinese American newspapers, along with the U.S.-based diaries and personal papers of several prominent ROC luminaries who ultimately settled in the U.S., she builds her understanding of how the GMD tried to shape American Chinatowns essentially from U.S. records. With research already sweeping in scope, it is perhaps beyond the capacity of this book to compare how the narrative that emerges from these sources would differ from that in GMD party documents and ROC governmental papers housed in Taipei. But in doing so, Brooks could have revealed the differences between policy objectives and outcomes when it came to ROC efforts to solicit Chinese American support. Similarly, Mao is very effective in her study of U.S. political figures, their perspectives on China, and how these contributed to their ability to achieve their own and their party's ambitions, but the ways in which these figures might have been courted or manipulated by Chinese officials emerges as a clear area for future work. Though Mao acknowledges from the outset the agency of Chiang Kai-shek, Soong Mei-ling, and other prominent Nationalist Chinese leaders, those voices do not drive the narrative.

Along with recent works by Madeline Yuan-yin Hsu and Ellen D. Wu on changing Chinese American communities at mid-century, as well as persistent interest in better understanding the connections between foreign policy and domestic politics, both *Between Mao and McCarthy* and *Asia First* urge us to move beyond the accepted wisdom about the GMD, Chinese Americans, and the Republican Party to unpack the myriad variations and implications of political support for the Republic of China in the U.S. during the Cold War.

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Sarah Bridger. *Scientists at War: The Ethics of Cold War Weapons Research*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. x, 350. $45.00.

Sarah Bridger's *Scientists at War: The Ethics of Cold War Weapons Research* is a vital and prize-worthy contribution to both the history of American science and the development of the Cold War from the 1950s through the 1980s. Its central concern is with the ethical and policy debates among American scientists involved with work related to national security and the military-industrial complex. Starting with what she dubs the Sputnik "consensus" (243), Bridger explores how the eagerness of American scientists to participate in the marriage between science and the state in the 1950s (a development which she acknowledges had its roots in World War II, and particularly the Manhattan Project) gave way to anguished debates during the Vietnam War. These debates often pitted an older generation of scientists who saw their role as impartial advisers pledged to serve the state against younger colleagues who were repulsed by the contributions of American science to the continuation of an unethical, immoral, and futile war in Vietnam. She concludes with President Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI or "Star Wars"), which offered a chance for reconciliation within the American scientific community as Sputnik-era insiders and Vietnam-era dissidents united in opposition against a weapons system they viewed as unworkable and dangerous.

Though some sections of this work are inevitably richer and move novel than others, the breadth of Bridger's narrative and analysis helps to distinguish *Scientists at War* from similar studies of American science in the Cold War. While there is a rich body of literature on this subject, much of it focuses more narrowly either on a handful of notable figures, such as Leo Szilard or Edward Teller, or on particular universities, laboratories, or subsets of the scientific community (most frequently those involved in the U.S. nuclear weapons complex). In casting a wide net, both chronologically and in the actors she considers, Bridger not only offers a compelling narrative of change over time, but also illustrates the ways in which interactions between scientists and policymakers could lead to unintended consequences with wide-ranging repercussions. For example, the well-intentioned efforts of insider scientists and advisers to push the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations away from an emphasis of nuclear warfighting helped to give birth to a new emphasis on the technology of counterinsurgency. This, in turn, encouraged and facilitated a disastrous U.S. intervention in Vietnam that divided both the country and the scientific community.

The chapters dealing with the divisions within the U.S. scientific community during the Vietnam War are particularly strong in linking internal debates among scientists

to larger cultural and political changes in the 1960s. Of particular interest is Bridger's account of the way in which policy and ethical disagreements spawned by the role of science and scientists in persecuting the war led to more fundamental debates over the very nature of objectivity within the profession. This debate, which was fueled by the broader New Left movement and its critique of the limits of neutrality and objectivity, not only strained individual relationships among scientists, but also encouraged the creation of alternative institutional frameworks. For example, Charles Schwartz and Martin Perl founded Scientists and Engineers for Social and Political Action (SESPA) in response to the reticence of more traditional professional associations (such as the American Physical Society) to take a position against the war. At the same time, increasing links between younger scientists and antiwar protesters on American college campuses led the U.S. government to increasingly look to off-campus and private sector technical experts in place of the academic collaborations of the 1940s and 1950s.

Bridger's account of Vietnam-era debates at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), which had a long close relationship with the military-industrial complex, provides a fascinating window into the tumultuous and often anguished personal and institutional conflicts among scientists in the late 1960s. The musings of a young biology graduate student, Jonathan Kabat, at a meeting on ballistic missile defense at MIT's Lincoln Lab provides a poignant example of the awakening of some younger scientists to the costs of complicity in the Cold War. "[S]itting here and hearing this stuff over and over again," he lamented, "the offense and defense, and the penetration, and do any people feel after a while that it's all just completely insane? How do you feel about this stuff personally? I am addressing this to anyone who cares to answer it. It is depressing the life out of me" (177).

Though its most important contribution is in the history of science, *Scientists at War* also provides valuable insights into the way in which both individuals and institutions within that community shaped the development of Cold War national security policy in the U.S. from the Eisenhower administration through the Reagan era. In doing so, Bridger is at great pains to take a balanced and neutral approach to the debates of her subjects, countering the critiques of scientific complicity in the Cold War with the voices of scientists who either clung to the notion of objective scientific truth or, like Teller, actively embraced and encouraged such collaboration even at the height of the Vietnam War.

My one major critique of this work is that I would have liked to see Bridger draw slightly sharper conclusions to complement her impressive narrative and analysis. Her epilogue uncontroversially asserts the need to balance "respect for the value of scientific knowledge" with "awareness of the social forces shaping science" (272). Bridger's own study of scientific dissent from within official channels during the Vietnam War, however, suggests the limits that even socially conscious "house doves" within the scientific establishment faced in affecting meaningful change via the narrow channels of technical expertise. Nevertheless, this is a landmark book in the study of science, the state, and the Cold War that should be required reading for anybody interested in these important topics.

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Jennifer Nelson. *More Than Medicine: A History of the Feminist Women's Health Movement*. New York: New York University Press, 2015. Pp. xi, 265. Cloth $89.00, paper $26.00.

Following up on her first book, *Women of Color and the Reproductive Rights Movement* (2003), Jennifer Nelson returns to the topic of women's health care, focusing again on race and class issues within feminist organizing. Tackling the commonplace assertion that the women's health movement ignored or marginalized the concerns of women of color, she includes specific case studies to show how feminists "were attentive to the ways in which race and class affected women's reproductive health access" (93).

The book begins with the World Health Organization's 1948 declaration defining health as more than simply the absence of disease, and each chapter demonstrates the ways in which feminist conceptions of health care activism encompassed more than medical issues. The first chapter traces the origins of the community health center model in South Africa, in the clinics established by Sydney and Emily Kark in the 1950s. Nelson focuses on H. Jack Geiger and his instrumental role in the creation of Neighborhood Health Centers, tying his antipoverty and health care activism to the work of Physicians for Human Rights in the civil rights movement.

Chapters 2 and 3 describe the work of the Abortion Birth Control Referral Service and the Aradia Women's Health Center in Washington State. The focus is on the feminist goals of compassionate and culturally appropriate health care and empowerment through education, and the tangible ways in which feminists attempted to improve medical care by training women volunteers to provide services and by evaluating other medical providers. Nelson uses feedback forms from women who had undergone abortions to highlight responses to the procedure in the years before the entrenchment of "pro-life" or "pro-choice" political positions (12). She recounts that many women reported mixed feelings or ambiguity about their experiences, even as they acknowledged the importance of terminating their pregnancies. As she notes, this is a rare and valuable opportunity to listen to women themselves rather than the dichotomized voices that now dominate public debate on the issue.

This section of the book also starkly documents the impact of geographically isolated and expensive abortion services and the very basic, practical assistance women needed to access the procedure, even in places where it was legal in the years before *Roe v. Wade* (1973). From the finances required to make the journey, to the difficulties of finding somewhere to stay in an unfamiliar state, the book vividly illustrates the heavy burden for women unlucky enough to live far from affordable comprehensive reproductive health services. This history takes on a

particular significance today, given the recent wave of restrictive legislation that continues to shrink the availability of abortion across the country.

The pace of the book picks up in the second section, as Nelson moves onto the impact of anti-abortion protests on clinics. In chapter 4, she documents activities at the Atlanta Feminist Women's Health Center, which became the main target of Operation Rescue's campaign to harass and intimidate abortion providers and service users in the 1980s. Despite death threats against staff, clinic invasions, and arson attacks, Feminist Women's Health Centers continued to provide services, even as the assaults depleted resources.

Nelson briefly describes the attempts by anti-abortion movement leaders to align their mission with civil rights activism, as well as the dismissive response of black activists working on reproductive health. Although she later mentions suspicions among people of color about the intentions of white family planning promoters, the interaction between these two issues is not fully developed. It would have been interesting to consider more explicitly how the racial arguments of anti-abortion protests shaped negative attitudes toward women's healthcare in this time period, and its legacy today.

In chapters 5 and 6, Nelson focuses most explicitly on women of color, beginning with the work of activist Loretta Ross within the National Organization for Women, and then expands her study to encompass a broader view of the women of color reproductive justice organizations that proliferated in the 1990s under the umbrella of the SisterSong Collective. Although Ross concluded that the mainstream feminist movement "took steps to address racism and broaden its agenda" (191) under pressure from women of color, she expressed frustration over the limited approach of white women, and increasingly advocated coalition activities. The SisterSong Collective connected reproductive issues to a broad range of human rights concerns and encouraged advocates for "freedom of choice" to expand their horizons to embrace the wider vision of "reproductive justice" instead (218). This shift, connecting women's health activism back to the radical stance of community health organizing from the beginning of the book, returns the reader to the core issue summed up by the title "more than medicine."

As these latter chapters often reinforce the idea that white feminists were too narrowly focused on abortion rights to fully appreciate the concerns of women of color, especially in regard to sterilization abuse and the role of poverty and social marginalization in the spread of HIV, they work against the author's earlier assertions that the feminist women's health movement was attentive to intersecting issues of race, class, and gender from the start. To be fair, the picture Nelson paints is complex, and there were clearly areas where white women and women of color, and men, worked together successfully to expand services and challenge discriminatory practices. Yet the structure of the book makes it difficult to synthesize these moments and to understand the successful ingredients for communities of women's health activists to work *together* to transform reproductive health care. The book is a richly detailed descriptive study, although it provides less analytical impact than the author's earlier work. Nelson describes this second volume as the completion of the project begun with her first book, and indeed the two work well together.

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Mary Ziegler. *After Roe: The Lost History of the Abortion Debate*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. xxx, 367. $39.95.

Law professor Mary Ziegler's prodigiously researched *After Roe: The Lost History of the Abortion Debate* adds a useful layer to our understanding of the history of the American abortion rights controversy. In addition to a great deal of archival research, she summons up the voices of activists on both sides of the issue through a hundred personal interviews. Too often, students of legal doctrine and political activism forget what was at stake for people before and after *Roe v. Wade* (1973).

Ziegler contends that in the first decade after the Court decided Roe, both sides' views were fluid. Historians had wrongly concluded that the decision immediately revealed a "fault line in American gender politics" (xii). If Ziegler had not limited her study to *after* Roe, and paid more attention to the lead-up to the case, she would have found evidence undermining both parts of this argument.

Roe is important precisely because of its place within a longer abortion rights story. Looking just at the late 1960s when some states began to adopt the Model Penal Code's recommended reforms of abortion statutes and the second oral argument in *Roe* reveals that the opposing lines had already hardened. The discourse was far from fluid. The distance between the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church's lawyers and the various voices of feminism was already great and the tone the two sides took was hardly conciliatory. They simply refused to talk to one another. The bitterness of this divide was evident in federal cases from Ohio (*Steinberg v. Brown* [1970]) and Louisiana (*Rosen v. Louisiana State Board of Medical Examiners* [1970]). The intractability of the two sides in those cases (that were not argued before the Supreme Court) reappeared in the amicus briefs of *Roe*'s appeal. These divisions persisted, so that in the immediate period after *Roe* there was not nearly as much fluidity as Ziegler suggests. Perhaps private correspondence and interviews evidenced a fluidity in positions not found in public statements?

Nor is Ziegler's contention that for years after the decision reasonable conciliators tried to find some common ground really new. This was true at the highest levels of the federal government. President Gerald Ford was a Republican who was comfortable with abortion rights; his successor, President Jimmy Carter, opposed abortion but tried to be open-minded. Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan, followed the advice of his campaign advisers to insist that a strongly worded anti-abortion plank be added to the GOP's 1980 platform, but his primary opponent, George H. W. Bush, had no such inclination. The case law following *Roe* showed the same

attempt by federal judges to find acceptable middle ground. This history is both well documented and recognized, not lost.

Finally, I wonder if Ziegler's choice to organize her history thematically, rather than chronologically, worked well. It is extremely confusing to start a story and then lose its thread when it jumps backward and forward. Events and opinions build over time. Ideas only have meaning when they occupy a specific position in the space/time continuum. Later actors can incorporate the ideas and work of earlier ones, but individuals working in the 1980s social movements cannot develop their concepts based on the work of their counterparts in the 2000s.

I should add one stylistic hiccup. Ziegler continually punctuates her account with refutations of other scholars' work. This is not uncommon in legal scholarship, but lay readers will find that these intra-textual asides derail the narrative and distract from the testimony of her interviewees. Given that one-fourth of the book is taken up by its annotation, moving all of the secondary sources to the endnotes would have cleaned up the text without losing any of the author's authority.

Full frontal attacks on *Roe*, while not completely abandoned, are no longer center stage. Instead, state legislatures have focused incremental assaults relying on the "undue burden" test articulated by Justice Sandra Day O'Connor in the *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* (1989). O'Connor's test may have been intended as a narrow compromise to save the essence of a woman's right to abortion, but it opened a huge gap for legislatures to "regulate" abortion throughout pregnancy. The abortion rights controversy did not start with the 1973 decision in the U.S. Supreme Court case *Roe v. Wade*, nor did it end there. It has dominated politics, law, and news headlines for more than forty years. The seemingly endless controversy continues to plague the country, as Ziegler has so cogently reminded us.

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Luke A. Nichter. *Richard Nixon and Europe: The Reshaping of the Postwar Atlantic World*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Pp. xx, 237. $99.99.

Richard Nixon's initiatives toward the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union marked his foreign policy. His responses to these particular communist powers and the Vietnam War have been widely researched, resulting in numerous publications. Yet, Nixon's policies toward Western Europe have received less attention. *Richard Nixon and Europe: The Reshaping of the Postwar Atlantic World* adds to our understanding of the transatlantic relationship from 1969 to 1975. When Nixon assumed office, relations with Western Europe were strained and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was in disarray. The president was determined to improve the relationship with America's European partners and revive NATO. The "Nixon Doctrine" outlined what this partnership entailed: the Europeans were expected to assume greater responsibilities in their own defense, monetary, economic, and political affairs. As Luke A. Nichter's book shows, Nixon accomplished that goal but in ways unforeseen in 1969.

In February 1969, Nixon successfully toured Europe in order to listen to European concerns and devise better venues of consultation and cooperation. NATO was Nixon's top priority. Not only did its members have to bear a greater share of defense costs, but they also had to address social and environmental issues. The resulting Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society (CCMS) proved to be a lasting and successful endeavor of NATO.

However, U.S.-European relations soured after Nixon's unilateral announcement in August 1971 to end the Bretton Woods accords. He chose to stop the conversion of dollars into gold and initiate floating exchange rates. For Nixon it was an important step toward increasing European burden sharing, but for Europeans the decision did not reflect the president's promise of consultation and cooperation. Nichter points out that Nixon's choice was a result of domestic pressure and his looming reelection campaign. After his reelection, Nixon proposed 1973 as the "Year of Europe," which was a dismal failure and served to highlight the vast difference between American and European expectations. In April 1973, National Security Adviser Henry A. Kissinger defined U.S. responsibilities in global terms and European responsibilities in merely a regional perspective, which did not help warm transatlantic relations. Nixon's proposal of a new "Atlantic Charter" led to a NATO communiqué that confirmed the importance of NATO.

European integration proceeded in 1973 with the admission of Great Britain, Ireland, and Denmark to the European Community (EC). Nichter devotes two chapters on Great Britain's admission to the EC under Tory prime minister Sir Edward Heath and the subsequent renegotiations of its obligations by Labour prime minister Harold Wilson. Despite sporadic American criticism of the EC, presidents Nixon and Gerald Ford (after Nixon's resignation), along with Kissinger, favored continuous British membership. In a June 1975 referendum, the British electorate agreed.

An EC declaration regarding transatlantic relations was finally agreed upon in the Helsinki Accords of 1975. Nichter emphasizes that Nixon and Kissinger were increasingly frustrated with the slow and tedious intra-EC negotiations and the discussions between the U.S. and European allies. They doubted that further European integration would be favorable to American interests.

Nichter documents that Nixon had great expectations for Europe yet, in the end, far less consultation and cooperation occurred between the transatlantic partners than envisioned by both sides. In part, Europeans were at fault because they were slow to develop a common and collective response to Nixon's plans. Yet most of the blame lies with Nixon. His policies were driven by desires to end the Vietnam War, open doors with China, seek détente with the Soviet Union and, of course, survive the Watergate scandal. Nixon and Kissinger preferred to act unilaterally

and in secret without consulting experienced advisers within the administration or among the European allies.

Nichter certainly sheds more light on transatlantic relations during the early 1970s. He relies heavily on the Nixon tapes and, for the chapters on Britain's EC membership, telegrams from the U.S. Embassy in London. While the author consults other primary sources from various European countries, Nichter's argument is mostly driven by information gathered from the Nixon tapes and hence leaves many questions unanswered. Why did Europe not support the U.S. during the Yom Kippur War? What precisely was Europe's proposal to the U.S. request of a new "Atlantic Charter"? Nichter mentions West Germany's *Ostpolitik* and its potential threat to NATO unity, but fails to elaborate.

However, the Nixon tapes do provide new insights into transatlantic relations. It is obvious that Nixon had little empathy for European concerns and instead focused on maintaining U.S. hegemony in the Western alliance. Both he and Kissinger made that point repeatedly and often in language unsuitable for publication. Nixon was successful in strengthening the NATO alliance, but the Europeans ultimately were the ones that reformed the EC, established a unified monetary system, and further enlarged the EC. The strengthening of the EC might be the most unforeseen yet fortuitous consequence of Nixon's policies aimed at reshaping the Atlantic world.

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Finis Dunaway. *Seeing Green: The Use and Abuse of American Environmental Images*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. Pp. viii, 337. $40.00.

"We have met the enemy and he is *some* of us" (67). This was the response of some environmental activists to a poster famously featuring Walt Kelly's comic strip *Pogo* captioned, "We have met the enemy and he is us" (65). Wryly noting that the "most frequently repeated refrain to describe the environmental crisis" in the 1970s came from "a cartoon marsupial" (65), Finis Dunaway brilliantly unpacks the influence of this famous line by the opossum named Pogo, explaining why it has frustrated many environmentalists.

Dunaway argues that visual images from the Cold War to the present have powerfully shaped debates about our environmental crisis. *Seeing Green: The Use and Abuse of American Environmental Images* explores a variety of iconic environmental images featured in posters, cartoons, photographs, movies, television news coverage, and advertising campaigns. Images that have become iconic—in addition to *Pogo*, for example, the "crying Indian" shedding a famous tear over littering, gas masks, long lines of cars queuing up for gasoline during the oil crisis of the early 1970s, the cooling towers of Three Mile Island, among many others—have made environmental problems increasingly visible, but at the same time obscured some of the most important causes of these problems, as well as potential solutions to them. It is a persuasive argument, and an important one.

What was wrong with *Pogo*'s clever pronouncement? *Pogo*'s message was ultimately: we are all at fault, and the solutions lie with each one of us. Should we not all take responsibility? But, environmentalists pointed out, we are not all *equally* at fault, as a matter of fact; the problems are systemic, and the solutions cannot be as simple as persuading everyone to recycle. Media campaigns urging individual responsibility not only ignored but actively obscured structural reasons for our environmental ills. *Seeing Green* traces the evolution of a neoliberal, individualized, consumerist interpretation of a media narrative about environmental problems, which Dunaway argues, ultimately neglected the necessary larger perspective: questions of power and injustice, the tension between the ethos of capitalism, and lasting solutions to environmental problems. As the book progresses chronologically through a series of pivotal historical/environmental moments, themes begin, as in a fugue, to emerge: a focus on isolated problems and neglect of longer lasting and more systemic ones; a reliance on images of children; the erasing of non-white victims of pollution; and in particular, says Dunaway, images that seemed to universalize both environmental problems and culpability. Everyone was equally endangered, and equally at fault. But everyone was not, it would turn out.

After dramatic news coverage of Three Mile Island, for example, the national media ignored the Rio Puerco radioactive waste spill on Navajo land, an accident that had far more toxic effects and raised questions that did not fit the narrative of universal harm and universal culpability. Celebrities mobilized to warn of the danger of alar in apples, but not to publicize the effects of pesticides on field workers.

How did this happen? Were conspiracies at work? Dunaway is far too subtle to put it so simply.

Dunaway's narrative begins with a "prehistory" of environmental icons, focusing on the fears of nuclear fallout, and then, following publication of *Silent Spring* in 1962, pesticides. From these beginnings, advertising experts claimed that excessively "wordy" messages would not attract attention the way striking images could (14). These were clever advertising people. They were right about images, and very savvy in their deployment of them. The Advertising Council, for example, an industry group which included, in particular, representatives of bottling and packaging industries, actively promoted campaigns urging individuals to be sure to recycle, and to avoid littering (rather than pressuring companies to change packaging practices). The Ad Council used its clout to prevent environmental groups from broadcasting public service announcements calling for more structural responses. The media also mocked environmentalists' attempts to focus on collective efforts to reorient our energy strategy to solar power, for example.

It was not all the media's fault, Dunaway concedes. Environmentalists sometimes assumed a technological determinism that optimistically imagined that solar

technology alone would hold solutions, without overt political struggles over power. Among the themes that recur throughout the book is the reminder that political power was always at issue, and generally shoved or finessed out of the public debate.

Dunaway's readings of images, and his weaving together of their implications, are often brilliant. The number of examples he has found, and his choice of examples, make for a richly textured story. One very minor quarrel I have is that at times he tends to tell us how these images affected "the public." It is notoriously difficult to know how "the public" (a kind of chimerical beast, really) responds. I do not want to emphasize this as a criticism very much. The book is not that kind of study; it is not a survey of public opinion. The public whose reactions Dunaway has traced—and this is a scholarly accomplishment—are those, most often, of environmental activists, and of their conservative critics. What Dunaway has done very well indeed is to show us the complicated implications and lessons that were and are available to be drawn from these iconic, and in many cases nearly ubiquitous, images. And we can see in the shape of current media debates how astute Dunaway's interpretations have been and continue to be. We live with these implications, and with the limitations they have imposed on our national discourse about environmental problems, or in Dunaway's more precise term, our environmental crisis. I hope this book finds a very wide audience, and provokes continued discussion. I hope teachers assign it in their courses. It is an excellent—and necessary—book.

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Jen Corrinne Brown. *Trout Culture: How Fly Fishing Forever Changed the Rocky Mountain West*. (Emil and Kathleen Sick Book Series in Western History and Biography.) Seattle: Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest, in association with University of Washington Press, 2015. Pp. x, 238. $35.00.

Imagine one of the most iconic images of western Americana: the solitary trout fly-fisherman casting his line amidst a backdrop of stunning Rocky Mountain scenery (reminiscent of Norman Maclean's *A River Runs through It and Other Stories* [1976]). What could be more natural than man communing with nature by fishing for wild trout in a remote flowing river in the American West? Almost anything, according to Jen Corrinne Brown, who spends the entirety of her brilliant history of fly-fishing in the Rocky Mountain West disabusing us of our simplistic, romantic notions and revealing how "the exceptional (and oversold) trout fisheries of the West are neither wild nor natural" but "rather the product of anglers, fisheries managers, tourists, guides, local business people, and regional boosters and their century-long profound manipulation of the Rocky Mountain environment" (3–4).

The title of this wonderful book—*Trout Culture: How Fly Fishing Forever Changed the Rocky Mountain West*—is a clever play on words: culture refers to the human constructs of class, race, gender, imperialism, industrialization, consumerism, conservation, boosterism, leisure, and tourism that created and shaped a "trout empire" in the Rocky Mountain West (and Brown adeptly weaves all of these forces into her narrative). It also refers to the "print culture" that promoted trout fishing and conveyed its elite sporting values to a wider audience through magazines like *Field & Stream*. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, it refers to the artificial propagation of trout ("fish culture") throughout the American West, as conservation managers literally manufactured trout and, in the process, contributed to the near extinction of native cutthroat varieties while dramatically expanding the numbers of nonnative rainbow, brown, and brook trout.

Beyond making trout, conservation managers designated native coarse fish (non-trout species such as the Utah Lake sculpin and the Snake River sucker) as "trash fish" and destroyed them with dynamite, nets, and fish toxicants. In addition, postwar dams, while harming the runs of anadromous species like salmon, unwittingly expanded the habitat for nonnative trout. The tailwaters below bottom-release dams became a fly-fishing paradise for sportsman in search of giant "lunkers." More recently, managers of fisheries ironically reintroduced native cutthroat while using toxicants to kill the very nonnative trout that they had stocked at great expense. Brown skillfully presents this picture of environmental complexity that will forever tinge even the most ardent fishing enthusiast's romanticism. By the end of the book, the reader comes to realize that the fly-fishing gentleman on the cover of *Trout Culture*—a pipe-smoking, horse-mounted, fedora-wearing sportsman—not only represents the elitist Anglo male sporting culture of the Victorian era, but the rod and fly he wields is the product of industrial mass production while the river he's fishing has been stocked with charismatic nonnative trout.

A western fly-fisher herself, and now a professor of history at Texas A&M, Corpus Christi, Brown is disabused of her own nostalgia when her uncle takes her on a pilgrimage to her late grandfather's favorite fishing hole near Bozeman. "Would it be a hidden place on the Gallatin River or some out-of-the-way mountain lake?" she wonders. "My imagination went wild trying to imagine the type of secret fishing Eden that my grandpa frequented" (152). She finds, instead, that her grandfather's secret fishing spot was "an irrigation ditch under a billboard adjacent to a busy highway," conveniently located near the American Legion Bar (156). Near the beginning of *Trout Culture*, Brown quotes Wallace Stegner's famous observation that "The real people of the West are infrequently cowboys and never myths." She then leads us to understand that western fly-fishermen were (and are) not myths, and the environment that surrounds them was (and is) not mythical, but rather the product of complicated historical processes that have become so hidden and "naturalized" that we scarcely realize how dramatically western rivers and trout have been manipulated. This is a must read for historians of the environment and the American West.

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Michael Stewart Foley. *Front Porch Politics: The Forgotten Heyday of American Activism in the 1970s and 1980s*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2013. Pp. x, 401. $30.00.

In *Front Porch Politics: The Forgotten Heyday of American Activism in the 1970s and 1980s*, Michael Stewart Foley seeks, by focusing on "front porch politics," to demolish two long-established interpretations of the 1970s and 1980s: that the main story in town was a conservative political realignment, and, conversely, that it was a widespread retreat from civic life." Foley provides an "on-the-ground history" of countless ordinary Americans—"accidental activists"—who, motivated by an immediate, and often ominous, sense of threat and danger (whether from government, corporations, the law, or fellow citizens with opposing interests) "followed their concern, their anger, their outrage into the streets" (3, 6).

In little more than three hundred pages, Foley takes us on a dizzying journey that covers a huge variety of campaigns from across the political spectrum and all over the U.S. that span more than two decades. Drawing on the example of the civil rights, New Left, and antiwar movements, Foley's "front porch" activists took to the streets, challenged established elites, staged provocative street theatre, engaged in civil disobedience, and embraced the notion that the "personal" was "political." Intriguingly, these activists continued to look to the government, whether local or national, to provide solutions to their problems even as trust in politicians and experts fell away precipitously in the aftermath of the collective national traumas of Vietnam and Watergate.

Foley devotes considerable space to "front porch environmentalists" (94) who took on major corporations and other vested interests in an effort to preserve, or clean up, the environment. In Pittsburgh, a group of forty neighborhood activists formed the Group Against Smog and Pollution (GASP) to campaign against poor air quality. In Minnesota, farmers campaigned ferociously—if ultimately unsuccessfully—against a planned 430-mile high-voltage power line that would run from North Dakota to the Twin Cities. They ran surveyors off their land, lobbied politicians, faced down state troopers, and even carried out sabotage. In Seabrook, New Hampshire, the Clamshell Alliance mobilized on a massive scale in an attempt to prevent the construction of a nuclear power plant, while in Love Canal, New York, a vibrant citizens' movement, led principally by homeowners and mothers, eventually compelled the federal and state government to purchase two hundred working-class homes that had been built on top of a highly dangerous toxic waste dump and relocate all of the area's residents. As Foley shows, front porch environmentalists were more likely to succeed when they took on a real threat to local health rather than a potential or feared threat.

During the 1980s, meanwhile, Americans who faced the loss of their jobs, homes, or farms as a result of the economic downturn, fought back. Convinced that they had played by the rules in order to secure a piece of the American Dream, everyday folks "started hundreds of small organizations and launched dozens of campaigns" in order to defend "the dream they sensed was being taken from them" (180). In what Foley terms "one of the great lost stories of recent American history" (191), the communities of Youngstown, Ohio; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and Weirton, West Virginia, responded to a wave of devastating plant closures and job losses by articulating a theory of community property rights and campaigning for the right to buy, and operate, closed factories for themselves. Although this heroic initiative was largely doomed, in 1984 steelworkers did succeed in buying the Weirton Steel factory from National Steel as part of an employee stock-ownership plan; the plant thrived until the late 1990s. When, during the late 1970s and early 1980s, falling prices threatened to wipe out countless family farmers across the Midwest, many responded by lobbying Congress for a farm bill, rallying supporters, organizing "tractorcades," and using civil disobedience to stave off farm foreclosures. Meanwhile, homeowners mobilized in support of property-tax relief, tenants campaigned for meaningful rent-control measures, squatters took over disused buildings in Philadelphia and New York, and dozens of cities (including Atlanta and Seattle) saw demonstrations and mass marches against homelessness. In Washington, Mitch Snyder and the Community for Creative Non-Violence staged occupations, engaged in fasts and candlelit vigils, and ran shelters as part of an intensive campaign against the crisis of homelessness that blighted the nation's capital.

The 1980s also saw major campaigns by AIDS activists, who offered desperately needed support services to victims of the terrifying epidemic, raised money for medical research, developed pioneering sex-education campaigns, and engaged in increasingly confrontational politics to challenge—and change—public attitudes and government policy. On the other side of the political spectrum, anti-abortion activists took to the streets, setting up sidewalk counseling, blockading clinics, and even resorting to violence as they sought to push back against *Roe v. Wade*.

As Foley acknowledges, his story is one of "modest victories" and plenty of defeats; usually the best outcomes achieved by front-porch activists were "partial accomplishments or solutions" (11). Front porch politics were often weak on the national stage when confronted by well-resourced and tactically astute opponents; one of the reasons, perhaps, why front porch activists have declined in recent years. According to Foley, the so-called "culture wars" of the 1990s and 2000s have largely been fought out in the media (especially on talk radio, twenty-four-hour news, and the Internet), with little in the way of grassroots activism. He laments that Americans "seem to have lost our belief that we can come up with solutions . . . lost our willingness to step off the front porch and participate in the political life of the nation, at the grass roots" and, in the process, "lost an important part of our democratic soul" (330).

Front Porch Politics is a bold, ambitious work that offers a refreshingly vivid reinterpretation of American politics during the 1970s and 1980s. Although it leaves

largely unanswered the bigger questions of how (or, indeed, if) front porch activism shaped the nation's wider political transformation, Foley's book will doubtless inspire a new generation of scholars to revisit this fascinating era.

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Carroll Pursell. *From Playgrounds to PlayStation: The Interaction of Technology and Play*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015. Pp. 200. $28.95.

From Playgrounds to PlayStation: The Interaction of Technology and Play by Carroll Pursell is an extensive account of the influence of technology on the ways in which Americans have played and entertained themselves over the last two centuries. Pursell, who describes the work as "basically a social history" with "a measure of cultural analysis," undertakes an exploration of the effects of technological developments, changing work patterns and ideas about work, and issues such as "creativity, professional development . . . and gender, race and class" on leisure-time activities (2). Pursell broadly defines "technology" to include not just equipment but also rules, regulations, and entertainment venues. Similarly, "play" encompasses nearly every activity engaged in by Americans for purposes of relaxation or entertainment. The overall result is a whirlwind Cook's tour of the history of leisure-time pursuits in the U.S. that, despite the numerous proofreading errors, makes for quick reading.

Pursell's intentions are ambitious and, in many ways, the book's breadth is one of its strengths, as Pursell manages to discuss such varied subjects as dolls, chemistry sets, Disneyland, model airplanes, stereo systems, golf, water parks, and Pong all within a mere 165 pages of text. Along the way, the reader is introduced to a plethora of interesting facts and details. For example, extreme sports include not only snowboarding and bungee jumping but also extreme ironing, in which competitors press clothing under water or on top of mountains.

Pursell is particularly strong when he pauses to discuss a particular topic in some depth or to examine how a particular form of play fits into the larger context of American history. Chapter 2, for example, focuses solely on playgrounds. Pursell traces the dual purposes playgrounds served in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by providing urban children with a safe place to play away from such new, dangerous forms of technology as streetcars and automobiles and inculcating in working-class children the habits that would make them compliant, productive employees in industrialized workplaces. Similarly, the extreme sports chapter offers one of the best accounts of the ways in which technology has interacted with play as Pursell describes how contemporary young people in California's San Joaquin Valley searched for places in which to ride their skateboards by using Google Earth to find swimming pools in the backyards of foreclosed houses. Such moments of detailed discussion, however, are too few, and much of the work consists of an uninspired recitation of names, dates, and inventions, often culled from Wikipedia.

Overall, the book lacks both a compelling thesis (beyond the obvious claim that play was influenced by changes in technology) and, in many areas, original insight. Several of the topics that Pursell covers have already been explored by such scholars as Paul Boyer, John F. Kasson, and Steven M. Gelber, and much of his analysis is largely a repetition of their arguments. Beyond a few scattered references, Pursell also fails to devote much attention to the subject of race. Pursell's discussion of the intersection of gender, technology, and play is also quite problematic. He begins with the claim that play has always been heavily gendered and technology primarily associated with men. He avoids a discussion of those forms of play favored by women on the grounds that they did not involve technology and downplays the extent to which women engaged in the technologically influenced pursuits favored by men. His argument, however, ignores the evidence in the historical record, including evidence that Pursell cites, and the work of such scholars as Virginia Scharff, who discusses women's early adoption of the automobile, and Miriam Formanek-Brunell, who describes doll play among nineteenth-century boys. Pursell's failure to provide a more nuanced discussion of gender, technology, and play is even more curious given the fact that he acknowledges in the conclusion that women and girls often engaged in the same types of play as men and boys did.

Despite these limitations, *From Playgrounds to PlayStation* fills an important gap in the literature on the history of play. The topic of children's play has already been addressed by Gary Cross in *Kids' Stuff: Toys and the Changing World of American Childhood* (1997) and Howard P. Chudacoff in *Children at Play: An American History* (2007). These works, however, do not discuss the intersection of technology and play in any depth nor do they address adult forms of recreation. Although flawed in some respects, Pursell's work serves as a good general introduction to the interplay of technology and recreation in American history and will no doubt serve as a starting point for more in-depth studies of a variety of leisure pursuits.

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Steven Mintz. *The Prime of Life: A History of Modern Adulthood*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. xvi, 409. $35.00.

How come more Americans do not embrace adulthood, while living an unprecedentedly healthy and wealthy middle age? Steven Mintz's *The Prime of Life: A History of Modern Adulthood*, does not answer that question. Still, Mintz comes close to writing a jeremiad about what has been lost, about adulthood as a rich set of experiences and a way of being that may be disappearing.

At the same time, *The Prime of Life* also offers a graceful synthesis of several different bodies of historical

scholarship. It is a book that will prove enormously useful for graduate students and others who want guidance into the literature of family history.

Throughout, Mintz focuses relentlessly on the present. A large number of paragraphs begin with the word, "Today." Mintz's today is sometimes "just now," that is, the second decade of the twenty-first century. It is sometimes a continuing period that has been emergent over the course of the second half of the twentieth century. It is sometimes an era that is enmeshed with much longer histories, stretching back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The relationship of his "today" to a variety of pasts is constantly changing. And keeping up with the chronologies and the periodizations mobilized by Mintz can be confusing.

The Prime of Life is about family life in the U.S., although the exceptionality of the American story varies depending on what is being discussed. Many of the categories that Mintz uses are ones that come out of the European and American family social history produced in the 1960s and 1970s. As in that literature, the families within which adulthood is lived are predominately nuclear and isolated from wider kin structures. But as a work written "today," in the early twenty-first century, some attention is also paid to those sexual minorities whose lives more or less reproduce or mimic an idealized heterosexual nuclear family. And Mintz also covers characters with cultural roots from "elsewhere," from the wider cultural worlds of those who have lived as adults in his America.

Adulthood, as Mintz understands it, begins with adolescence, moves on to courtship, and then stops for a long while at marriage and divorce. The care of young children is understood as central to the experience of adulthood. Work, on the other hand, is curiously peripheral. The one chapter devoted to productive labor is mostly about discontent and absence, and about the loss of work as a central experience that once organized lives. Little in the book is explicitly about care work and about the many adults—inside and outside of households—who do care work in our society. Missing from the narrative is a discussion about how adulthood ends: about retirement, old age, grandparenting, and life in what the French call *le troisième âge* (a happy period after working life and parenthood, but before decrepitude and decay). And there is nothing about disease, dementia, or the organizing role that medicine has played in the later lives of adults who live in our privileged corner of the world. For Mintz, adulthood has a beginning, and a middle, but not much in the way of endings.

On the other hand, *The Prime of Life* portrays many of the anxieties that adulthood produces, putting particular emphasis on a fear of adulthood that he believes is distinctive to our time. And his book may help future historians understand how many adults living in this particular historical moment thought about their lives.

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Harold H. Bruff. *Untrodden Ground: How Presidents Interpret the Constitution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. Pp. 557. $55.00.

Harold H. Bruff's book *Untrodden Ground: How Presidents Interpret the Constitution* is a must read for those interested in understanding the myriad dynamics that shape presidents' impact on constitutional interpretation. The author assesses each administration in chronological fashion to shed light on our understanding of the U.S. Constitution. No other book to my knowledge has been so ambitious in assessing each president's contributions to constitutional interpretation, and few other books are infused with such lively prose (such as, "chronically addled North Koreans" [271], "a sporty little rebellion" in Guatemala [292], the "colorless" Dean Rusk [295]).

Bruff summarizes well the influences that mold presidential interpretation of the Constitution: "the President's character, experience, and values; the incentives that the office and current politics create, the practical problems that must be solved, and an awareness of the activities of their own predecessors" (457). From President George Washington's exercise of the treaty power to President Andrew Jackson's supervision over the executive branch; and from President Abraham Lincoln's view of his emergency powers to President Harry Truman's understanding of the Commander-in-Chief Clause, the book examines a variety of settings in which circumstances forced presidents to take action that impacted the interpretation of the Constitution. These include decisions implicating constitutional interpretation, such as the use of military force, as well as interpretations of the text as justifications to refuse to enforce laws or turn over information to Congress. Presidents affect our understanding of the Constitution by both words and deeds.

Judicial interpretation of the Constitution is studied in every law school and in many political science departments. Much ink has been spilled by legal academics and political scientists to generate theories on how judges should approach that critical task. Clashes between originalists and interpretivists take place on and off the bench. And, there are widely divergent views held by those in each interpretive camp. No consensus, for instance, has been reached as to the degree that originalism even is possible given the lapse of time or to whether interpretivism permits objective constraints.

Irrespective of the ongoing originalist/interpretivist debate, Bruff is correct that legal and political science scholars have devoted relatively sparse attention to how members of the coordinate branches interpret the Constitution. The author makes a strong case that presidential interpretation of the Constitution by word and by deed matters *more* in the real world than judicial decisions. (He brushes aside the parallel question of constitutional interpretation by members of Congress.) When presidents sign executive agreements or break treaties, in a sense they interpret the Constitution, as they do when

they fire subordinates, exercise the recess appointment power, and impound funds. Accordingly, his book examines the issues arising in each administration that have prompted questions of the Constitution's reach.

Those expecting a taut argument about constitutional interpretation in *Untrodden Ground* may be disappointed. The author instead paints a broader picture of each presidency, freely covering those aspects of each administration that he finds relevant in providing insight into the individual, whether President James Polk's expansion into Oregon (114), President Jackson's view of patronage (90), or President Truman's decision to release the nuclear bomb (263). Such accounts may not touch directly on a president's interpretation of the Constitution, but the book as a whole can serve as an invaluable resource for those studying historical instances in which presidents have faced decision making that implicated constitutional questions.

Finally, those expecting a normative account of presidential interpretations also may be disappointed. Does it matter if the presidential interpretation is reflected in deed, such as in President Thomas Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase, or rather in a statement such as his justification for pardoning those convicted of Sedition Act violations? With the possible exception of the pardon example and a few others, presidential interpretation is reflected in action and unaccompanied—unlike judicial interpretations of the Constitution—by scholarly efforts to persuade the public. Presidents are not judges, and they want to be evaluated for their conduct, not constitutional analysis. Should less precedential weight therefore be accorded presidential actions manifesting constitutional positions as opposed to more reflective articulation of constitutional interpretations?

Moreover, should presidents defer to interpretations of coordinate branches and, if so, under what conditions? Should they defer to interpretations of prior presidents more than to coordinate branches? Does the extent to which the constitutional provision implicates presidential power directly as opposed to the rights of individuals matter? These and other questions can be studied by examining the steps presidents have in fact taken and what justifications they have used over time.

Alternatively, perhaps, the search for a normative theory is misguided, which is why Bruff presents what presidents have done, but does not prescribe what presidents should do. The one exception is history—the author concludes that "[t]he ongoing arguments take place in a framework created by what has happened and what issues have been opened or closed by developments in our national life" (458). The author endorses historical practice as at least one signpost. Bruff leaves for another day the question of whether to construct a normative account of presidential interpretation and, if so, what principles to follow. *Untrodden Ground*, however, blazes the trail.

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Gary Scott Smith. *Religion in the Oval Office: The Religious Lives of American Presidents*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. 647. $34.95.

In *Religion in the Oval Office: The Religious Lives of American Presidents*, Gary Scott Smith builds upon his earlier *Faith and the Presidency: From George Washington to George W. Bush* (2006). Indeed, at several points Scott refers to the "twenty-two men" he has now profiled as a way of drawing conclusions across the two books. In this new contribution, Smith tackles the religious histories of eleven more presidents: John Adams, James Madison, John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, William McKinley, Herbert Hoover, Harry Truman, Richard Nixon, George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and Barack Obama. Each chapter reads as a religious biography of an individual president that mostly focuses on their time in office, though not exclusively so. The chapter on Quincy Adams, for example, devotes equally as much effort to untangling the role that Adams' faith played in his lengthy post-presidential career as an abolitionist firebrand. In order to shed light on what are private beliefs, Smith mines information from a variety of sources, including speeches, correspondence, and testimonies from friends.

Certainly there is much valuable information to be found within these pages. While chapters on presidents who have already been the subject of much scholarship on their religious beliefs (i.e., Adams, Madison) are not likely to strike readers as particularly fresh, Smith's commentary on lesser known chief executives like McKinley will.

Further, in addition to religious beliefs, Smith also explores how a given president used religious rhetoric, the kind of relationship the president had with different religious constituencies, and how the president's faith impacted his policies. Some of this material is quite interesting. Smith includes a wonderful discussion of the role that religion played in the 1928 presidential campaign (203–209), where attacks on Al Smith's Catholicism caused lasting tension for Hoover with Catholics. Hoover spoke out against religious bigotry in the campaign, but he rarely condemned specific attacks on Smith. Another section of note includes Smith's fascinating overview of the politics behind Nixon's East Room worship services (273–277).

However, for all of the book's positive qualities, I am troubled by three parts of Smith's approach. While his overall thesis—"that many presidents were more deeply religious and had more vibrant personal devotional lives than most scholars have recognized"—is acceptable in the abstract, one does question whether Smith stretches beyond his evidence (416). Consider Madison, a man who said nothing about his religious opinions as an adult. He never joined a church and he rarely used biblical language. As a result, there is an ongoing debate about whether Madison was an orthodox Christian, a Deist, or something else. Smith concludes that he was a Unitarian. But given the lack of information, I am skeptical whether this is a question that can even be answered. Drawing conclusions based on such shaky ground as the kind of

books Madison *did not* suggest for Jefferson's library or his use of the phrase "God bless you" in just three letters remains problematic (59, 61).

Indeed, Smith's insistence on proving that religion was a meaningful force in every president's life leads him to repeatedly make these kinds of questionable judgments. Hoover and Nixon were both raised as Quakers, a religious tradition known for its pacifism. Despite both presidents' complicated relationship to their faith, Smith concludes that each emphasized securing world peace due to their religion (217, 283). But one wonders what president, religious or secular, would *not* make avoiding war a priority.

This observation leads to my second criticism. My concern is that Smith downplays the strategic nature of a president's religious behavior. Smith trumpets findings like how Bush referred to prayer in 220 different speeches (299). Yet often the speeches that Smith cites as proof of a president's convictions were delivered to a religious group or at a setting like a funeral where a religious performance would be expected. These speeches may simply be presidents playing to their audience. Further, as I show in my own research, presidents often make a conscious decision to use religious arguments for their political benefit. When Bush talked about prayer in the context of the Gulf War, for instance, it is likely he was only doing so because of prodding from his pollster and his aides. While Smith is aware of the political nature of presidential religion, his default position is to say religious talk is genuine. I would like to have seen more acknowledgment of when it is not.

Finally, in his judicious conclusion, Smith weighs whether faith has had a positive or negative impact on presidential history. From the body of the text, though, the reader is struck by how often Smith defends problematic presidential actions that he says were based upon religion. Jackson's horrid Native American policies are presented as testament to the impact of his faith, leading Smith to conclude that "Jackson strove valiantly to base his life and work as president on Christian principles, and in some ways, he succeeded admirably" (158). McKinley's expansionist policy in the Philippines, which Smith says stemmed from his certainty that America was a chosen nation, is framed as "understandable and even defensible, not malicious or malevolent" (188). And Hoover's unwillingness to confront Japanese aggression, a decision that would potentially contribute to war just ten years later, is in Smith's reading a result of his Quakerism and "given the widely held assumptions of the late 1920s . . . made sense" (219). There seems to be a compelling argument against religion that Smith never considers.

I wish Smith had written a more nuanced book that willingly accepted that some presidents might be less religious than others, that religion is quite often used strategically, and that religion has had both good and bad consequences for presidential history. That being said, Smith still deserves credit for adding to our knowledge of this important topic.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

José Amador. *Medicine and Nation Building in the Americas, 1890–1940.* Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 219. Cloth $69.95, paper $29.95, e-book $9.99.

José Amador's *Medicine and Nation Building in the Americas, 1890–1940* is a comparative history of public health programs in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Brazil. It argues that a variety of historical actors, including doctors, military officers, peasants, and representatives of philanthropic organizations, developed, led, and participated in public health programs and, by so doing, not only improved the health of citizens, but also contributed to the formation of identities. Amador should be applauded for the book's comparative focus and its fine organization. His critical analysis of published and unpublished primary sources including novels, hygienic manuals, newspapers, public health records, periodicals, photographs, cartoons, and paintings is exemplary. The author expands the history of public health and the history of colonial and tropical medicine. Amador acknowledges the work of historians who defined tropical America in relation to migration, trade, slavery, and plantation societies, but underscores his focus on how medical professionals, systems, patients, and ideas shaped societies after emancipation.

Using the idea of "entangled histories" (9–11), Amador shows how public health programs in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Brazil developed through the work and participation of numerous individuals, both inside of and outside of these locales, and how these programs played parts in the creation of national, regional, and cultural identities. Amador states, "These uneven interactions . . . trace the impact of public health initiatives in different tropical locales . . . the workings of these entanglements . . . challenge . . . assumptions about imperial power, and . . . critique the limitations of nationally bounded frameworks" (9). Amador applies this methodology by considering how public health problems were defined and dealt with in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Brazil. Amador studies the attempts made to eradicate yellow fever in Cuba, hookworm in Puerto Rico, and both diseases in Brazil and the meaning behind these attempts both inside of and outside of these places.

Amador succeeds in writing a well-organized, comparative history. He not only compares three places, but also evaluates international, national, and regional contexts, different time periods, and diverse historical actors. He separated the book into three clearly defined and well-connected sections: the first considers narrative representations of public health dangers; the second addresses public health systems; and the third speaks to how experts evaluated public health approaches to define cultural identities. Amador relies on and analyzes an outstanding collection of primary sources including novels, public health records, photographs, cartoons, medical journals, and newspapers. His research depended on investigating sources on three continents, a fact that reinforces the comparative nature of his work. The one

discernible weakness of his book is the decision to not fully expand his analysis of Gilberto Freyre in chapter 4. Amador dedicates only two pages to considering the influence of transnational academic networks on the development of Freyre's ideas. But, as Amador acknowledges in his conclusion, there is much more historical work to be done: "there are many more questions that remain to be explored" (156). His well-written narrative and his critical analysis should inspire other researchers to take up the potential research projects he points to in his concluding paragraph.

Medicine and Nation Building contributes to at least two historical specialties: the history of public health and the history of tropical and colonial medicine. Historians of public health will welcome Amador's careful explanations of public health innovations, programs, successes, and failures. Amador defines the significance of his work, describing it as the "first cultural and social history of public health that analyzes archival sources from Cuba, Puerto Rico, Brazil, and the United States" (6). The book furthers the history of tropical and colonial medicine by encouraging readers and scholars to consider the connections between international, national, and regional institutions, experts, and ordinary men and women and the sources they created or that were created about them. Amador explains, "These sources map tropical America as a regional configuration connected by the advance of medical discourses and disease eradication programs" (8). Well written and meticulously researched, Amador's text will be warmly received by historians of medicine and public health and scholars of the Caribbean and South America.

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Paulo Drinot and Alan Knight, editors. *The Great Depression in Latin America*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2014. Pp. 362. Cloth $94.95, paper $26.95.

In *The Great Depression in Latin America*, a group of Latin Americanists examine the divergent trajectories followed in individual countries during the global economic crisis of the 1930s. All the major Latin American countries receive a chapter written by specialists most familiar with the national stories: Argentina (Roy Hora), Chile (Angela Vergara), Brazil (Joel Wolfe), Peru (Paulo Drinot and Carlos Contreras), Colombia (Marcelo Bucheli and Luis Felipe Sáenz), Venezuela (Douglas Yarrington), El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua (Jeffrey L. Gould), Mexico (Alan Knight), and Cuba (Gillian McGillivray). The product of a scholarly conference, the volume lacks, beyond its subject, any real thematic unity, with the authors employing their own distinct analytical focus (sociocultural, sociopolitical, as well as strictly economic and political economic). Given the variety of themes, approaches, and countries, it is impossible to do justice to the volume in a brief review and I will highlight only a few of its contributions. The chapters work largely with the published literature. There is little presented in the way of new sources, archival or otherwise, that would significantly recast our understanding of the information or data on the period and subject. They do, however, offer new interpretive perspectives, and some are quite novel and compelling. For example, Hora's chapter on Argentina argues persuasively for the coexistence of the continued possibilities for middle-class social mobility and improved social welfare alongside a harsher reality in the world of work, reflected in the rise of Communist unions in textiles, construction, and other industrial sectors. Wolfe similarly presents a provocative argument about the negligible impact of Getulio Vargas's policies in Brazil, especially those affecting labor, in the 1930s. All the chapters make thought-provoking arguments that historians will find useful when discussing the period.

The introduction begins with the surprising proposition that Latin America as a whole weathered the Great Depression better than the U.S. (3), a surprising proposition given Latin America's much greater reliance on foreign trade, which globally declined by half of its value in the 1930s. The editors, Paulo Drinot and Alan Knight, qualify such a statement by noting that countries such as Chile, with its high unemployment, unpaid salaries, shelters, and soup kitchens, or Cuba, with the catastrophic collapse of the sugar industry, would seem to suggest it was far worse in some Latin American countries. Moreover, the bold assertion is really not fully developed in any of the individual chapters save Knight's own chapter on Mexico and in his wide-ranging, insightful conclusion to the volume. For Mexico, Knight argues that the confluence of oil—the one Latin American commodity not to suffer a serious deterioration in the terms of trade in global markets—revolutionary policies such as land reform, the expansion of industrial employment in labor intensive consumer goods industries, and the possibility of peasants' return to subsistence farming when times turned bad, cushioned the effects of the Depression and spared the country the kind of ravages suffered by the likes of Chile and Cuba. In the absence of hard data to prove the "back to the *quelite*" argument (a return to subsistence agriculture, an option available everywhere in Mexico?), it will remain for historians to explore that intrepid assertion. For Latin America generally, in the book's final chapter Knight draws on Michael Bernstein's study and Bernstein's thesis that the stubbornness of the Depression in the U.S. was due to the very advanced nature of the country's economy and the comparative recovery necessary to repair it. Knight puts it quite bluntly, "Compared to the United States, for example, Latin America did very well" (179). Beyond the obvious caveat that the effects of the Great Depression varied widely in the U.S., from the utter collapse of hard (anthracite) coal mining in Pennsylvania to the dust bowl in agriculture on the Great Plains to the relative prosperity along the Pacific coast, Knight might have qualified the argument by clarifying why some Latin American countries fared better. Certainly nowhere in Latin America, save perhaps briefly in Cuba's 1933 Revolution (the 100 Days Government), was such an ambitious set of policies like Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal adopted to revive the economy and palliate the social effects of the Depression.

Unemployment may have been higher in the U.S. (though underemployment and the informal sector in Latin America were surely larger), but with regards to other social welfare variables (housing, infant mortality, daily caloric intake, etc.) I would be surprised if they had not gotten considerably worse in Mexico and other Latin American countries when compared to the U.S. in the Depression decade. Per capita income also certainly did not rise faster in Latin America—the growth in industrial employment was often accompanied by compressed wages (as Hora notes in his chapter, though Knight suggests, albeit with limited evidence, that this was not the case in Mexico)—and using only trade coefficients, though pleasing to neoclassical *pensadores y políticos*, is too narrow and problematic a metric.

The volume clearly seeks to bring economic history back into the conversation in historical scholarship on Latin America, a welcome initiative, though not an easy one in the case of the 1930s. As several authors point out, the policies and institutions adopted to deal with the global economic crisis were largely already in place in Latin America and those that were new, such as in banking (the creation of central banks—some already established in the 1920s—and industrial credit banks) were far more influential in the postwar period. Also industrialization in countries such as Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico had begun well before the Great Depression. The growth of the state and its role in the economy was significant but not dramatic. The 1930s were arguably more important, more of a turning point in the region, culturally and socially than they were economically. The Depression years witnessed a new racial and cultural self-confidence and artistic expression (the birth of the modern Latin American novel, the spread of *indigenista* themes in art and music, among others). The political experimentation and diversity of regimes and ideologies in the region during the decade responded directly to such influences. However, the volume's most important contribution might be to question the widely held assumption that the Depression years, economically were a watershed in the region's subsequent tumultuous twentieth century.

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Colin M. MacLachlan. *Imperialism and the Origins of Mexican Culture*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. 340. $35.00.

First, it is important to note what this book is not: it is not a deeply researched monograph or an up-to-date historiographical exploration of Mexican history and culture. Rather, its scope is different: it is macro, overarching, and "interpretive" (32). It embodies the author's decades' long reflections on the history and meetings of empires. According to Colin M. MacLachlan, "Hispano-Indo Mexico became an heir to a lengthy historical process including early Iberian tribalism, Rome, the Visigoths, Spanish Islam, Judaism and Western Civilization in general" (29–30). *Imperialism and the Origins of Mexican Culture* traces specifically how these civilizations might have contributed to shape the history of Mexico. MacLachlan does not focus solely on the "hybridization that took place," the "mestizo culture," but also delineates "a continuum" that located "Indo-Mexico, Europe and Spain on the same road to modernity" (32).

There are a number of preconceptions—Indo-Mexico, mestizo, continuum, and modernity—that needed more explanation at the start. Why introduce the term Indo-Mexico and never define it or justify its practice? The elaboration of "New Spain's mestizo culture" also falls short (249). The proffered definition recognizes "mestizo" as "both a biological and cultural term," given that "one could be a cultural mestizo by adopting elements of European culture" including "language" while "retaining religious fragments, words, customs and food from the indigenous side" (23). Yet such interpretation fails to engage with a cohort of research post A. Magnus Morner (R. Douglas Cope, Matthew Restall, Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru, and Joanne Rappaport) that has fruitfully complicated shifting constructions of socio-racial identity while also including African contributions to the postconquest Mexican mix.

Perhaps even more challenging are the author's assumptions concerning continuums and modernity, which he does not introduce with any methodological detail. Rather, these appear haphazardly throughout the text. Readers might agree with the most grand and obvious, for example, that "all organized human existence appears to follow a similar path from small groups huddled in caves or under rock formations to more complex conglomerations over time" (34). More problematic are suppositions at the next level of detail, such as "empires and human civilization encounter similar opportunities and obstacles and find similar solutions for their times" (30). Sporadic comments forward a Eurocentric schema, for example, "while Europe's basic trajectory followed a similar path to that of Indo-Mexico, it had evolved at a different rate with significant variations" (110).

So what were those overarching if not chronologically synchronous "evolutionary adaptations" to "modernity" along the lines of those in Europe (237) that Indo-Mexico also "would have followed . . . had time not run out" (13)? In the economic sphere, preconquest Mexico "verged on a commercial revolution along the lines of medieval Europe in 1000–1300" (89). The author suggests it would have experienced in some future the "movement toward private property . . . and a rational market economy including symbolic value" (i.e., money) (13). Socially, the author concludes that "a general reworking of the social structure seemed inevitable" with such transformations encompassing the debatable conclusion that "allocating status on the basis of individual economic contributions instead of birth" became "similar to the general economic process in Europe" (68).

Generalizations concerning eventual parallel religious paths also seem questionable, starting with the assumption that Christianity had "a coherent, comprehensive belief system" (204). In contrast, "Indo-Mexico's beliefs" appear as "still only partially formulated" (204) given that the Aztecs "had yet to move theologically from gods

in grotesque nonhuman form to gods in human form" (75). They also still needed to address the "balance between reward and punishment" although "initial steps toward such a concept had been taken" (221). Another assumption is that wars have discernable guidelines: the Mesoamerican Flower Wars, undertaken for each side to acquire captives for human sacrifice "suggested that Indo-Mexican warfare had moved toward rules governing wars, as had occurred in Eurasia" (74).

It is somewhat ironic, given the work's Eurocentric comparative focus, that another theme is to combat what the author forwards are "Eurocentric interpretations," which portray the conquest, the "encounter and the clash of cultures" as a "simplistic paradigm of an advanced civilization descending on an exotic collection of territorial groups still emerging by varying degrees from tribalism" (15,16). Significant publications by James Lockhart's cohort and subsequent scholars (Kevin Terraciano, Elinor Burkhart, Matthew Restall, Susan Kellogg, and Camilia Townsend) have demolished that stereotype. Scholars also reject interpretations that indigenous-produced documents such as those quoted from the *Broken Spears* (Miguel León Portilla, *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico* [1992]) provide straightforward insight into Aztec thought. Instead, these documents should be considered as forwarding agendas written significantly after the conquest. Facts needed checking: Juana la Loca did not die before her husband, Phillip the Handsome (189).

To conclude, this was a frustrating but challenging read. It provides abundant context for readers without background knowledge of Mexican history to consider key themes concerning continuity, parallelity, and hybridity while forcing experts to reconsider the grand sweep of these histories.

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Pablo Mijangos y González. *The Lawyer of the Church: Bishop Clemente de Jesús Munguía and the Clerical Response to the Mexican Liberal Reforma*. (The Mexican Experience.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015. Pp. xxx, 335. $45.00.

Pablo Mijangos y González has created an erudite intellectual and political history of the Catholic Church in nineteenth-century Mexico. The author's efficient prose, built on the foundation of a judicious exploration of archives in Europe and Mexico, provides a compelling reinterpretation of the basis of Catholic opposition to liberal reforms. Although structured around political circumstances within Mexico from the 1830s through the 1860s (all observed through the life and thought of a prominent bishop, Clemente de Jesús Munguía), this book consistently traces the transatlantic roots of Catholic intellectualism. The combination of breadth and depth in Mijangos y González's comprehensive account converts Munguía from a spiritual and political interlocutor for his time into a prism that transmits an underappreciated worldview to the reader in our time.

Mijangos y González is engaged in two missions simultaneously: in the first, he generates another blow against the battered idea that post-independence political conflict in Mexico reflected the death throes of the forces of tradition (the Catholic Church) against the forces of modernity (the secular nation-state). The author joins a growing chorus of studies of popular and religious politics that demonstrate the many ways in which actors from across the social spectrum sought to carve out a dignified existence within an evolving political environment. For the church hierarchy, this meant advocating a brand of Catholic republicanism in order to preserve institutional autonomy and a role in public life. Even though the fraught dialogue between religious and secular authorities failed by midcentury and gave rise to a destructive civil war that resulted in a resounding defeat for the church, Mijangos y González includes an illuminating coda: the legal and political setback ultimately created greater social and spiritual freedom for the church, nourishing social Catholicism in Mexico during the rule of Porfirio Díaz. The modernizing spirit of the church, the author suggests, endured throughout the nineteenth century.

The author's second and more revelatory objective is to illuminate the intellectual debates surrounding the role of the church in republican Mexico. Here the polarizing figure of Munguía comes into clear view as a clergyman of nearly unrivaled influence over church policy at midcentury. But much more than a reactionary who drew from medieval Catholic currents to oppose liberal reformers, Munguía emerges here as someone who selectively cited Enlightenment thinkers in order to mold a republican government that would protect church interests. If Mijangos y González agrees wholeheartedly with the accepted notion that Munguía's strident words directed toward public officials after 1852 accelerated the prospects for actual war, he also makes clear that the bishop only did so after decades of advocacy for a compromise that would contain what he described as the "tyranny of passions" that had driven the young nation into decline and strife by the early 1830s (20).

In order to capture the essence of Munguía's thinking and the church's positions vis-à-vis the state, the author shrewdly grounds his analysis in Munguía's formidable writings. One or two unique publications provide the skeletal structure around which most chapters are assembled. After careful contextualization of each source, Mijangos y González dives deeply, tracing the intellectual lineage of Munguía's thought as it evolved over time. This approach not only illustrates the influence that Enlightenment thinking held for Munguía, but it also sheds light on how his actions and thoughts shaped developments in Europe. For instance, in the second half of the book, the author convincingly demonstrates how Munguía and another prominent cleric, Pelagio Antonio Labastida, took advantage of their ultramontane reputations to influence Vatican policy toward Mexico while reinforcing their local authority. The focus on key texts simultaneously affords Mijangos y González the opportunity to broaden his exploration of the impact that Catholic

thought had on intellectuals and public officials in Mexico. The best developed example of this is the author's analysis of Munguía's *El derecho natural*, a treatise on constitutional interpretation that he published in the wake of the devastating U.S.-Mexican War. Here the author explores how Munguía drew from a broad spectrum of European thinkers to develop a legal argument in support of Catholic republicanism. More importantly, Mijangos y González focuses on how Munguía cited Mexican liberal thinkers like Juan Bautista Morales, a participant in the Constituent Congress of 1824, to defend religious intolerance. This secular defense of Catholicism, which Munguía designed as an abstract educational text for lawyers and priests in Mexico, reveals the sophistication of clerical thinking that liberal statesmen regarded as a very real threat.

There is much to recommend in *The Lawyer of the Church: Bishop Clemente de Jesús Munguía and the Clerical Response to the Mexican Liberal Reforma* and little with which to quibble. If anything, the book understates the degree to which the growing literature on popular politics is similarly interested in challenging the conventional narrative of a reactionary Catholic Church bent on preserving its colonial power. Bottom-up initiatives regularly engaged priests in an active dialogue about religious and political autonomy that did not necessarily reject all values associated with liberal citizenship. But even if Mijangos y González's formidable contribution does not mark the beginning of the paradigmatic shift in the understanding of how representatives of the church engaged with civil society in nineteenth-century Mexico, it conveys with unprecedented clarity and depth both the local and transatlantic sources of church-state conflict. Most crucially, it offers a comprehensive and global perspective of how Catholic thinkers in the nineteenth century formed and were formed by the modernizing intellectual currents of their day.

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Jason Ruiz. *Americans in the Treasure House: Travel to Porfirian Mexico and the Cultural Politics of Empire*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014. Pp. xiii, 275. $55.00.

Americans in the Treasure House: Travel to Porfirian Mexico and the Cultural Politics of Empire is a highly readable and jargon-free examination of American travel writers, journalists, and photographers in Mexico during the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz (1876–1911) that illuminates the "interplay between representations of travel and the politics of U.S. imperialism" (2). Thirty years after the military conquest of Mexico and the cession of its northern half to the U.S., Díaz sought to modernize Mexico through massive U.S. investment, an economic conquest that underwrote the development of its railroad, mining, and agricultural industries. Travelers frequently marveled at Mexico's railroads, telegraph lines, and modern cities, as well as the beauty and charm of its people, but they also expressed doubt about the ability of Mexico's large Indian population to adapt to capitalist modernity and discipline, "to conform to American ideals regarding health, labor, family size, monogamy, and gender differentiation" (4).

Jason Ruiz examines Porfirian Mexico as an object of colonial desire from different frames of reference in five chapters: cultural representations of Mexican ruins and Indian women through the lens of photographic media; laudatory depictions of Díaz as the patriarch of modernity; the problem (and the promise) of Indian difference; the redemption of the "Indian" through the racial contrivance of the "mestizo"; and finally, Veracruz as a case study of "Porfirian nostalgia" (179), when revolutionaries plundered the capitalist treasure house during the Mexican Revolution (1910–1920).

In the first chapter, Ruiz analyzes "the sexual politics of colonialism" (38) through postcards, illustrated magazine articles, and traveler photographs to illustrate how the aestheticized "use of poverty to represent Mexico's desirability" emerged as one of the "key tropes" (31) of travel photography during the Porfirian era. The Mexican government, however, regarded images of poverty-stricken Indians just as threatening to the Porfirian project of modernity as sexually explicit images. Ruiz suggests, for example, that Charles Waite's photographs of barely concealed bodies of Indian women engaged in handiwork and other poses "betray a latent eroticism" (33), although one wonders what is latent about Waite's photographs of nude Indian girls, which led to his arrest by Mexican postal authorities for attempting to mail pornographic material.

In the second chapter, Ruiz examines the myriad ways travelers and journalists describe Díaz as the embodiment of the values of progress and order necessary for modernization and U.S. capital expansion—a patriarch and benign despot "whose autocratic self-styling was exotic to American democratic sensibilities but nonetheless appealing" (96). Chapter 3, a discerning if catchall chapter, analyzes the travel discourse of Indian difference—"lazy, backward, and resistant to change" (106)—and examines travelers' prescriptions for how to refigure native peoples as susceptible to capitalist conquest. Photographers and journalists viewed North American Indians as either "vanishing" or dangerous, unlike native peoples of Mexico who posed no threat to U.S. capitalist expansion (except of course the Yaqui and other northern tribes). Ruiz correctly notes that although whites were a small minority in Mexico, unchanged by Díaz's attempts to whiten the racial makeup of the nation through immigration from the U.S. and Europe, travel writers found ways to diminish their fear of *mestizaje* (racial mixing) in Mexico—despite their own deep anxieties about race-mixing in the U.S.—by describing the mestizo elites as Europeanized "Spanish Mexicans" (121–122). Ruiz also explores male travel writers' concerns that Indian women did not "adhere to what many Americans saw as proper ways of performing gender," and that Indian men and women were "inadequately differentiated from one another," in contrast to many American women's views that "native women were bound to the metate [grinding stone for

corn] and their babies and were thus 'victims' of their highly gendered but primitive society" (129).

In chapter 4, Ruiz examines the "eradication of Indian difference" through mestizaje—the whitening of the nation—and "the cultivated Mestizo," as one writer put it in 1888, as the "most promising element in Mexican society" (164). A 1911 guidebook predicted that Indians' "national life is almost gone . . . and their customs—which are not distinguished for pulchritude, aid in their obliteration" (167). These writers held the belief that mestizaje would spell "the gradual extinction of the Indian race, by gradual absorption into the more powerful mixed class" (168). This "idealized mestizaje," according to Ruiz, was mainly cultural and "as much performance as it was corporeal presence" (175). Many of these American writers had thus constructed the notion of Hispanicized mestizo families as the solution to the problem and racial redemption of Mexico's Indians—decades before Mexican educator, politician, and essayist José Vasconcelos proclaimed the "fusion" of races into "the cosmic race," *la raza cósmica*, in 1925.

If the U.S.-Mexico border served as a site of "revolutionary tourism" (215) after 1911, in his final chapter Ruiz shows how Veracruz—the "ultimate contact zone . . . where Mexican, Caribbean, Anglo-American, and European cultures collided" (190)"—had come to represent "the devil in Mexico"—a "venereal city" of "wharf rats," degenerate sex, tropical disease, Communists, and pleasure-seeking U.S. sailors. In their nostalgia for Porfirian order and progress, Ruiz concludes, many American travel writers longed for the time when Mexico would again be open for business.

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Christopher R. Boyer. *Political Landscapes: Forests, Conservation, and Community in Mexico*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2015. Pp. xix, 337. $26.95.

Christopher R. Boyer's superb history of forests, forestry, and conservation in Mexico makes innovative contributions to the historiography of the Mexican Revolution and postrevolutionary state formation, as well as to Mexico's environmental history. Based on exhaustive research in regional and national archives, most notably the archive of the forest service, *Political Landscapes: Forests, Conservation, and Community in Mexico* traces the dynamic between government forestry policy designed in Mexico City, and indigenous and *mestizo* villagers in the states of Chihuahua and Michoacán during the twentieth century. Boyer's thesis is that deforestation in Mexico during the twentieth century was driven by the "politicization" of landscapes. He builds on James Scott's *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (1999) by arguing that state intervention to adjudicate local conflicts over forests and impose rational forest management, even when paired with a commitment to both conservation and social justice following the revolution, created "political landscapes" that produced deforestation.

Boyer's history of deforestation in modern Mexico begins with the centralization of the Mexican state and dynamic acceleration of export-driven development during the regime of Porfirio Díaz (1876–1910). During this period, land enclosures and privatization, combined with the dynamic expansion of the railroad, mining, ranching, and logging, led to the appropriation of village commons and a massive cutting of Mexican forests. Deforestation produced an early conservationist backlash from forestry experts like Miguel Ángel de Quevedo. Joining the scientific consensus of the time, Quevedo pushed the Díaz regime to regulate deforestation and helped to found Mexico's forest service and national forestry school. Since many rural people pursued the opportunities offered by Porfirian development by renting village forests and producing railroad ties, lumber, and charcoal, early conservationists, like Quevedo, viewed them, in a positivist vein, as incapable of rational forest management, which produced a tension between rural communities and conservation that would last for the remainder of the century.

Boyer then turns to examine the "political landscapes" created during the period following the revolution. Beginning with the 1917 constitution, Mexican revolutionary governments claimed authority over land and natural resources in terms of the imperative of rational management. At the same time, however, postrevolutionary governments sought to meet the swelling demand for agrarian reform by distributing estate land to villagers. Agrarian reform posed a problem for conservationists like Quevedo who viewed rural folk's control of forests as a threat to the national interest of scientifically managed natural resources. Conservationists pushed forward legislation, including a 1926 Forest Code, which imposed regulations on how villagers exploited their forests. However, Boyer demonstrates that villagers continued to find clandestine ways to extract value from the forests that often led to deforestation, an important continuity between the Porfirian and postrevolutionary periods.

Nonetheless, Boyer indicates that the Forestry Code, combined with agrarian reform during the government of Lázaro Cárdenas (1934–1940), laid the foundation for an early Mexican experience of what he calls "revolutionary forestry" or, as it is known today, community forestry. During the 1930s, foresters sought to raise villagers' "environmental consciousness" and introduce modern systems of forest management. While granting village control of forest production, revolutionary forestry required local communities to organize cooperatives and to work with foresters to establish modern systems of forest management that would produce rural development. Restoring control of forests to villages went hand in hand, then, with the expansion of a technocratic bureaucracy that more effectively penetrated villagers' lives in the name of scientific management. Still, Boyer underlines that the ultimate goal of revolutionary forestry was to transfer control of forestry production from commercial timber companies to local communities, while establishing ecologically and socially sustainable forms of logging.

Boyer then traces a history of Mexico's forests that will be familiar to scholars of postrevolutionary economic

development. During the 1940s, successive Mexican governments moved away from Cárdenas's populism to a model of state-managed capitalist development designed to industrialize the economy. For forestry officials, building modern forest industries required a partnership between the state and large commercial timber companies that possessed the capital and technological resources to manage forests rationally, while modernizing the Mexican countryside. New state-capital partnerships known as Industrial Units for Forest Development superseded rural cooperatives as the motor of Mexican forestry development.

For state officials, industrial forestry would produce development and combat rural poverty, which they viewed as the cause of peasants' "irrational" uses of the forests. Boyer continues this detailed and nuanced account of state-directed forestry development through the populist forestry programs of the 1970s, which reduced regulations on logging and encouraged clear cutting in the name of colonization, commercial agriculture, ranching, and forestry in certain zones where forests were deemed "underutilized" or as holding little value. During the 1970s, and in contrast to the 1930s, the author shows how populism meant allowing large commercial timber companies, many of them "paragovernmental," and local villages alike to fell forests throughout Mexico.

Boyer's account of forestry in Mexico concludes with the neoliberal reforms of the 1980s and 1990s. Noting declining rates of deforestation during the 1990s, he argues that economic restructuring during this period allowed rural communities the autonomy to manage their forests by reducing the role of paragovernmental timber companies in the forestry sector. According to Boyer, the dismantling of the extensive bureaucracy and regulatory apparatus that governed conservation and forestry development, the "depoliticization" of the landscape in his words, opened up a space for villagers to exercise new forms of local management. However, *Political Landscapes* cannot be read as a simple celebration of the emergence of community forestry under neoliberalism. As Boyer compellingly demonstrates throughout the book, community forestry had long roots going back to the revolutionary forestry of the 1930s. Over time, villagers, often via their direct engagement and negotiation with state agencies, forest officials, and foresters, developed a better understanding of sustainable forestry practices that would shape their management of local forests during the period of neoliberal reforms. Boyer depicts foresters and forestry experts, especially after the 1960s, as not only imposing state programs on local communities, but as sympathetic mediators committed to the revolution's ideology of social justice and agrarian reform. Community forestry in Mexico today, he argues convincingly, must be understood as a legacy of 1930s-era revolutionary forestry and the long, contradictory, and negotiated history of postrevolutionary state formation.

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Mary Kay Vaughan. *Portrait of a Young Painter: Pepe Zúñiga and Mexico City's Rebel Generation*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2015. Pp. xiii, 289. Cloth $84.95, paper $24.95.

Mary Kay Vaughan's *Portrait of a Young Painter: Pepe Zúñiga and Mexico City's Rebel Generation* is an extraordinary contribution to the literature on the Latin American sixties. First, Vaughan combines her expertise as a historian of education with an original approach to biography as she delves into multiple sites of learning. In doing so, she reconstructs the making of José "Pepe" Zúñiga's subjectivity: "the cognitive, active, feeling, experiencing self" (4). Second, she masterfully connects the subjectivity-making dynamics with broader processes such as the transformations in children-development discourses, entertainment, and the "domestication of violent masculinity." Third, Vaughan explains how the making of that generational subjectivity affected the creation of a critical public sphere in the 1960s.

The book relies on interviews with Pepe and members of the Zúñiga family as well as with other artists and friends. Vaughan also looks at movies, radio shows and songs, textbooks, theater plays, and paintings in an effort to understand how those cultural materials were at the same time shaped by and shapers of new ideas about freedom, mobility, and the self. Vaughan combines thick readings of those materials with a reconstruction of the contexts in which they were appropriated.

The book consists of ten chapters. The first five chapters focus on Pepe's childhood years. The journey starts with Lupe, Pepe's mother (chap. 1), and tells the story of her profound love for José, Pepe's father, as well as of the Zúñigas' years in Oaxaca, marked by economic hardship and family disputes, often "solved" through the use of violence. Chapter 2 offers a wonderful depiction of life in Mexico City's *vecindades* (tenant homes). Vaughan discusses the values that guided new childcare practices. The Zúñigas deployed a code of morality characterized by the values of dignity, respect, honor, duty, work, and justice, also stressed by Francisco Soler, known as Cri Cri, in his songs and radio shows. In addition, Cri Cri spoke of the children's rights to freedom and enjoyment as well as protection and love. Those discourses also resonated in the school (chap. 3). Vaughan analyzes new textbooks, which vindicated hard work, while encouraging children to develop their individual talents for both national *and* individual empowerment. Pepe recalls that he privileged the school mandates centered on individual application and performance (for example, at drawing). All in all, he perceived the school as a liberating zone vis-à-vis the family. Yet, within the family he had a "teacher," his father (chap. 4). Pepe learned from the aesthetic sensibility of his father. They also watched Hollywood films together. Vaughan reconstructs the possible meanings they drew from these various movies (from Hollywood comedies to *film noire* and Italian neorealism). They shared a common interest in understanding "the emotional complexity that lay outside and beyond the limits of convention" (97), an interest that was at the

heart of Pepe's involvement with the arts and that possibly helped father and son navigate the intricacies of their family life (chap. 5). Populated by unforgettable characters, Pepe's family life was oriented by several codes: religion, loyalty (to the blood or nuclear family), and "modern" affection. These latter two were conflicting for the Zúñigas, yet while the mother and father quarreled over many issues, their closeness was cemented on sharing entertainment. Entertainment, and especially the diverse uses of popular cultural materials, is at the center of the formation of new subjectivities and ways of living.

The second part of the book delves into Pepe's transformation into an artist. Chapter 6 approaches Pepe as an adolescent striving to break away from some family traditions to become, for example, a sound technician. Yet his most powerful decision was to enroll in night classes at La Esmeralda, a center of art education that opposed the more formalistic approach of the Academia San Carlos. As chapter 7 details, Pepe learned to master new techniques as he encountered new friends from different social and regional origins. These friendships become part of a bohemia that was piece and parcel of a new, critical public sphere, one perhaps defined in the tenets of the movement Nueva Presencia, founded in 1962 by Benito Messeguer and others. Nueva Presencia was a neo-humanist movement that "celebrated personal liberty, human empathy, and emotional expression seeking to break free of societal, aesthetic, and political fetters" (157). Generally occluded in the narratives of the 1960s, those trends of social and cultural questioning were "precursor and a catalyst" of the more exuberant movements of the late 1960s. Chapter 8 shows that, although many of those emerging artists criticized the authoritarianism of the Mexican State, they benefited from the artistic projects it funded, including the construction of the Museo de Antropología, where Pepe and his friends worked in 1964. After finishing his education at La Esmeralda, Pepe was unconvinced of his identity as an artist. Not until 1968, when massive protests swept through the streets, did Pepe finally begin to "live" as an artist: he started to sell his work, and to participate in contests and exhibits, which earned him a scholarship to study in Paris. In fact, Pepe argues that his artistic expression matured when living in Europe (chap. 9). In chapter 10, Vaughan points out that, unlike the collective and politically engaged undertones of the post-1968 artists, Pepe's generation developed individualized forms of expressing personal feelings, with varying degrees of conceptual and intellectual engagement. Its male painters, including Pepe, "embodied the transformations of male sensibility," and used the feminine to express emotional experience and their "longing for freedom and expression" (222). This conclusion connects very well with the insights into the 1960s critical public sphere. It is still unclear, however, how that generation's subjectivity had an impact on the political transformation of Mexico. Despite this oversight, the book is still a landmark study on subjectivity, that evasive yet crucial "force" of history that allows for the connection of the individual and the collective. It will be mandatory reading on the sixties, an era of transforming subjectivities worldwide.

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Todd Hartch. *The Prophet of Cuernavaca: Ivan Illich and the Crisis of the West*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 235. $29.95.

Todd Hartch's insightful biography of Ivan Illich is an essential book to own. (Note: This is not the *Ivan Illych* of Leo Tolstoy fame, but that will soon become obvious.) There are certainly value-added reasons to purchase *The Prophet of Cuernavaca: Ivan Illich and the Crisis of the West*. A sharp black and white photo of Illich (1926–2002) dominates the book's cover. Illich's "sarcastic, knowing smile" (4), his penchant for controversy, his rabble rousing in the Catholic Church—all of which Hartch does a great job describing in the book—are well portrayed in that cover photo set in chiaroscuro. Even from the first glance, the cover photo assures us that this biography will frame Illich in both light and shade.

Hartch's formidable scholarship on Christianity (both Catholic and Protestant) in Latin America is on fine display. The Illich biography only extends and deepens Hartch's contention that both the local (close up) view as well as the larger (panoramic) view of Christianity is necessary to understand the emergence of the global South as the new center of *World* Christianity. The foregoing aesthetic and historiographical facets, however, simply add value to the depiction of Illich.

Hartch plumbs the written record with patience and perseverance to uncover all the facets of Illich's life. Hartch hints at Illich's contradictions from the very beginning: Illich's brilliance *and* intemperance. Hartch slowly unravels Illich's story. He does not deliver it all at once, but makes you wait for it. Dramatic tension appears throughout the text, even after Hartch provides a rough thumbnail of Illich's life trajectory in the introduction. An especially great example of that dramatic tension is the way Hartch leaves the reader wondering how in the world Illich could actually set up an *anti*-missionary training institute with thousands of U.S. dollars and resources. But the priest did it. Illich established two institutes in Cuenavaca, Mexico, in the 1960s to *discourage* as many missionaries as possible from coming south of the border. In essence, Hartch describes Illich's life, but withholds the full rationale behind Illich's odd anti-mission. He reveals what happened but does not explain *why*; at least not right away.

Hartch's main thesis is that to understand Illich you need to see his life as a priest, and his activity as one, fundamentally connected to his so-called secular period—1969 and after. Yes, he gave up being a priest (subjected to a Dostoevsky-like trial in the Vatican we might add!); yes, Illich's writing from the 1970s onward was not on the surface "about" religion. But even after leaving the priesthood, Hartch finds a son of the church, deeply in

love with Christ's body on earth. Illich's love for God and the church, according to Hartch, motivated him. It compelled Illich to see how institutionalization corrupted the church. For Illich, planning—the drive to turn humans into managed resources—appeared tragically first in the church and then spread to its deformed societal progeny (i.e., the modern institutionalized world—schools, government, medicine, etc.). This, for Illich, was the fundamental crisis of the West he prophesied against.

Hartch delivers biography at its best, taking the reader to the darkness of the soul and to its inner light. He uncovers Illich's motivations and justifications. He answers the *why* behind Illich's odd anti-mission. What seemed cruel to many—his cutting words, his mockery, his sarcasm—was a kind of tough love. Illich's anti-missionary project was actually an act of saying "NO!" to the church as an institution. That apophatic "NO!" signified a belief that the church was personal, like living bodies. Saying "NO!" forces one to question the way things have always been. But the best biographies do not let their subjects off the hook either. Hartch reveals the contradiction at the heart of Illich: he was content to deny would-be missionaries the same experience of mission that led to his own reevaluation of the West and its institutional corruption crisis. In this, Illich evinced the same calculated planning, engineering, and human resource management he excoriated elsewhere. There was hubris in Illich, Hartch explains. Sometimes Illich was closer to the Promethean failures he railed against, than the Epimethean hopeful brother he longed to be.

Hartch reminds us that history-as-story has so much to say. The book's biggest strength lies in its contours, which already hold so much analytical depth that theoretical add-ons are simply not always necessary. Buy this book, read it, and assign it to graduate students and undergraduates alike. Amidst the contradictions, the cruelty and compassion, the sarcasm and earnest, Hartch allows Illich to rise from the depths in both light and shade.

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Colleen A. Vasconcellos. *Slavery, Childhood, and Abolition in Jamaica, 1788–1838*. (Early American Places.) Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015. Pp. xvi, 151. Cloth $59.95, paper $24.95.

Twenty years ago, Wilma King published *Stolen Childhood: Slave Youth in Nineteenth-Century America*. Largely based on the slave narratives of the Federal Writers' Project, this was the first book to offer a detailed examination of the lives of American slave children. Now Colleen Vasconcellos has attempted to provide a similar study for Jamaican slavery. However, because there are hardly any slave narratives for Jamaica, *Slavery, Childhood and Abolition in Jamaica, 1788–1838* assesses not only the lived experiences of Jamaican slave children but also how the planters and the slave community defined childhood in the five decades preceding emancipation. In particular, the book's concern is to unravel the impact of the abolitionist movement on the ways in which Jamaican planters viewed and treated the children on their plantations.

King structures her book around particular experiences of slave children, ranging from work and leisure to education and trauma. Although her source material sheds far more light on planter attitudes toward Jamaican slave children, rather than the lived experiences of these children, Vasconcellos has opted for a similar structure as King. She divides this short book into four chapters. The first examines how abolitionism and, in particular, the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 affected the lives of slave children as workers. It also explores how slave children responded to the changes in their working conditions up to the passing of the abolition act in 1833. Two thematic chapters follow this broad overview, one that deals with mixed-race slave children and the other with education, respectively. The last chapter covers the so-called apprenticeship period of 1834 until 1838, when children born after August 1, 1834 were free and the rest were apprenticed part-time to their former owners.

Unfortunately, to recover the lived experiences, Vasconcellos reads far too much into her limited source material. She also shows little awareness of the problems associated with some of her sources. For example, she cites regularly from Matthew "Monk" Lewis's *Journal of a West India Proprietor* (1834) but fails to mention that he was both a novelist and an absentee owner, who only visited his Jamaican estates twice. She tends to read Lewis's and other planter accounts more as evidence of the real conditions of slave childhood than as responses to abolitionist pressure. Even more problematic for a book that argues that the abolitionist movement was the main driving force behind changes in planter ideas about slave children and practices relating to them, is the frequent use of the diary by the planter Thomas Thistlewood. This very rich diary, which unlike Lewis's was not published, covers the period from 1750 to 1786. In other words, it precedes the formation of the abolitionist movement. Therefore, by invoking Thistlewood's diary entries from the 1750s and 1760s, Vasconcellos in fact seems to suggest that many aspects of slave children's lives remained unchanged by abolitionism.

While Vasconcellos makes a relevant argument regarding the impact of the abolitionist movement on planter ideas and practices, it is far from novel. For instance, I have argued the same in my work on Jamaican slave women, while Christer Petley and Daniel Livesay have done so in their studies on interracial sex. In addition, although this is the first book that focuses solely on slave children in the British Caribbean, much of the material has already been discussed by others. From the late 1980s onward, books on slave women, slave medicine, and slave demography have addressed slave children's lives. As such, there is little here that will surprise scholars of Caribbean slavery. Interested non-specialist readers, however, will require more context to follow the argument. Vasconcellos, for instance, never explains what the Jamaican Assembly was or the powers it held.

At times, however, Vasconcellos does offer some interesting views on sources that scholars have already

extensively mined. For example, her discussion of how white society labels mixed-race children without a white father provides new insights on the topic. And her argument that after August 1, 1834 childhood in Jamaica became age-specific with children under six gaining the freedom to be children while those over six quickly became adults is very insightful. Finally, although the book does not "give slave children a voice," it does demonstrate that slave children were crucial to the viability of the plantation system and central to what Catherine Hall (in *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* [2002]) has called "the war of representations"—the struggle to depict the truth about the system of slavery in the British Caribbean.

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Sara Fanning. *Caribbean Crossing: African Americans and the Haitian Emigration Movement*. (Early American Places.) New York: New York University Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 167. $35.00.

This concise monograph makes a useful contribution to a growing literature on nineteenth-century Haiti and its place in the wider Atlantic after independence in 1804. Sara Fanning's particular focus is on African American emigration to Haiti during the republic's early years of nation-building. It is thus both a history of the U.S. and Haiti.

The emigration scheme began in 1824 and proved an ill-fated enterprise. Haitian president Jean-Pierre Boyer revived an idea introduced by his predecessors to solicit African Americans to relocate to Haiti. He hoped that the project would encourage U.S. diplomatic recognition for his alienated republic. Haitian emigration was marketed to U.S. slaveholders and politicians as a "release valve for racial tensions" (56). Such tensions increased following the 1820 Denmark Vesey rebellion, which elevated fears of a Haitian Revolution on U.S. soil. For African American emigrants, relocation to Haiti implied a rejection of U.S. slavery and support for an independent black state. The four thousand African Americans that arrived in Haiti were beset with problems of drought, a smallpox epidemic, hunger, high food costs, and unfulfilled promises of land grants. By the next decade, only eight families remained, while the rest returned to the U.S.

Although it "backfired spectacularly" (121), Fanning seeks to recover the emigration scheme from the footnotes of each country's history and argues for its greater importance within the context of the massive migrations of the nineteenth century. In an early chapter, Fanning compares the Haitian emigration project with similar movements across the Atlantic, particularly from Europe to North America. After describing the migrations schemes of the period, Fanning regards the African American emigration as distinct in its purpose. It was a "political act" (61), a relocation that was every bit as racially motivated as it was hopeful of improved economic opportunities in a new place.

Further chapters examine the respective conditions in the U.S. and Haiti and how these influenced the decision to emigrate and the development of Boyer's plan. The book joins other recent studies that stress a more complex role for Haiti in great power visions of the early to mid-nineteenth century. Fanning argues that Haiti was not totally ostracized by the U.S. even if there was a fundamental dissonance between one country ruled by black men and another with an entrenched system of slavery in place. On the contrary, she maintains that Haiti entered lively debates between southerners and northerners in the U.S. over slavery, trade, and diplomacy with some northern publics strongly supporting recognition of Haiti. The gains they envisioned were economic as much as symbolic. Fanning conjectures that an alternative could have been realized in the 1820s; the U.S. could have recognized Haiti then (official recognition would not come until 1862 on the eve of the Emancipation Proclamation), and both societies would have evolved quite differently. For Haiti, official recognition could have provided support for the crushing 1825 indemnity agreement to France, which unfairly strained the Haitian economy for decades. For the U.S., recognition of a black state would have had far-reaching implications for race relations. Boyer and his allies were astute to this and expended much energy in trying to secure support. When formal diplomatic overtures broke down, the Haitian president intended African American emigration as a path to recognition.

Some of this ground has been covered before. Chris Dixon, Millery Polyné, and Leon Pamphile, among others, have given us thoughtful studies of Haitian–African American relations after independence. What distinguishes Fanning's work is the close attention she devotes to the experiences of the migrants. She draws on some primary Haitian documents and a fair amount of U.S.-based sources such as newspapers, which occasionally featured letters from emigrants, passenger lists, shipping records, and consular reports. While these sources do contain traces of emigrant voices, they are not profuse. In spite of the thinness of the material, Fanning engages in an imaginative reading of the sources by using educated assessments of their environment to flesh out the details. Fanning explains the channels through which recruitment was launched and provides a sense of the lives and occupations of the black men and women who left cities in Baltimore, New York, and Philadelphia to set sail for Haiti. This serves to substantiate one of the book's main arguments that the emigration scheme meant something different to the African Americans than it did to the powers who organized it.

For all its commitment to this theme, it is curious that the book makes no mention of the Haitian emigration campaign of President Fabre Geffrard to attract African Americans to Haiti in the 1860s. Over two thousand emigrants arrived, including the celebrated Bishop James Theodore Holly. This later project makes her conclusion that in the period after the 1830s Haiti "played a diminished role in African American political and economic visions" (123) quite surprising.

Notwithstanding this omission, *Caribbean Crossing* offers new information on 1820s Haiti and Boyer's emigration plan. Its clear prose and argument make it accessible

to general readers and worthwhile for students in courses on Haiti and Atlantic world history.

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PHILIP A. HOWARD. *Black Labor, White Sugar: Caribbean Braceros and Their Struggle for Power in the Cuban Sugar Industry*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 303. $47.50.

Black Labor, White Sugar: Caribbean Braceros and Their Struggle for Power in the Cuban Sugar Industry is a major addition to the scholarship on twentieth-century Cuban history and the Cuban sugar industry. Scholars have long recognized the critical role of British Caribbean and Haitian laborers in the Cuba sugar industry, but very few scholars have published book-length studies about who these laborers where, why and how they went to Cuba, the labor conditions they experienced, and the ways they resisted the power of their employers. Philip A. Howard's book provides a well-researched, well-written, and insightful interpretation to this generally unknown, but critical, aspect of Cuban history and political economy. As such, it will be of interest to scholars who work on Cuban history, Caribbean history, migration and diaspora studies, and the complex relations between race and class.

Howard's book is arranged into six well organized and written chapters. The first chapter offers an excellent overview of how and why British Caribbean and Haitian workers went to Cuba. He does an admirable job explaining why Cuban sugar producers imported foreign labor after 1916, as well as showing why conditions in the British Caribbean (especially Jamaica) and Haiti compelled people to leave their homes and look for work elsewhere. The remaining chapters provide a sophisticated analysis of how working conditions on sugar estates compelled foreign workers to develop multiple strategies of resistance. These strategies were in response to the systematic attempts by sugar companies, and the Cuban state generally, to impose racialized hierarchies of power and exploitation on Afro-Caribbean workers. By highlighting this interaction between the dominant ideologies of racialized class exploitation and Afro-Caribbean resistance to that oppression, Howard successfully brings to light the very human story of how British Caribbean and Haitian workers developed their own unique class and racial consciousness within Cuban society. The chapter on Garveyism in Cuba (chap. 5) is especially noteworthy because it highlights how British Caribbean workers in Cuba were not only influenced by the ideas of Marcus Garvey, but how they adapted some (but by no means all) of Garvey's principles to the concrete conditions they faced in Cuba. Most of the writing on foreign workers in Cuba highlights their *function* as cheap labor, but gives little if any information on the agency and creativity of these people: Howard's book does a great deal to humanize the story of British Caribbean and Haitian life and labor in Cuba.

As with any good work of scholarship, however, a reader might be left with more questions than answers. One example relates to Howard's claim that anarcho-syndicalist ideas and activists had a major influence on Afro-Caribbean workers, especially within Garveyite groups in Cuba. Howard rightly states that Garveyism in Cuba never became a mass-based movement among Afro-Caribbeans or Afro-Cubans. British Caribbean organizations in Cuba that did acknowledge Garvey's influence were equally, if not more, influenced by other radical or subaltern ideologies or cultural practices, such as socialist, anarchist, or even popular evangelical practices. But, at least for this reader, there is still not enough solid evidence to support Howard's claim that anarcho-syndicalism had a strong influence over British Caribbean or Haitian workers. Anarchists of different kinds were certainly very active in Cuba, especially between the 1890s and the 1920s. But the evidence to date indicates that their influence was mostly in the urban areas and among artisans or skilled workers, especially recently arrived Spanish immigrants. While Howard shows that anarchist organizers *wrote about* the plight of rural workers, there is very little evidence that proves how widespread or popular anarchist ideas and practices were among rural workers, whether Cuban or Afro-Caribbean. More research on Cuban anarchism outside the urban centers is necessary to substantiate Howard's claim that anarchist ideas and practices were influential among large numbers of sugar workers.

Howard's book is very well researched and he did extensive work in archives in Cuba, Jamaica, and the U.S. His use of both unpublished and published sources is impressive and his interpretation of the sources is nuanced and informative. There are, however, several important sources not cited in the book. Howard rightly credits the work on British Caribbean and Haitian migration to Cuba by Jorge Giovannetti and Marc McLeod, and he cites their published articles. But there is no mention of Giovannetti's and McLeod's pioneering doctoral dissertations, both of which are rich with evidence and analysis about British Caribbean and Haitian life in Cuba. In a similar vein, Howard cites an important article by Matthew Casey on Haitian labor and leisure on Cuban sugar plantations, but he does not cite Casey's pathbreaking dissertation on Haitians in Cuba (2012). Finally, there is no mention of the recent book by Robert Whitney and Graciela Chailloux on British Caribbean workers in Cuba (2013). To be fair, it might be the case that, in the often drawn-out process of book manuscript revision and submission, Howard did not have the chance to consult Casey's dissertation or Whitney and Chailloux's book. Still, despite these omissions, *Black Labor, White Sugar* will be compulsory reading for anyone interested in twentieth-century Cuban history and Caribbean history.

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YEIDY M. RIVERO. *Broadcasting Modernity: Cuban Commercial Television, 1950–1960*. (Console-ing Passions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 252. Cloth $89.95, paper $24.95.

The Cubans affinity with modernity reaches deeply into the sources of Cuban national identity. During the

nineteenth century, it served as a way through which Cubans distanced themselves from Spain; in the twentieth century, a way that Cubans distinguished themselves from the rest of Latin America. A none-too-subtle claim to exceptionalism, to be sure: they were different—Cubans insisted—more advanced, more cosmopolitan, more modern. Cuba was the first country in Latin America to have railroads, Cubans boasted; the first country to use steamships; the first country in Latin America to introduce a system of electric lighting; and the first country to have direct-dial telephone service. The list of Cuban "firsts" is long. Cuba was also the first country in Latin America to have television, a national television network, and to transmit color broadcasts. These latter themes serve as the subject of Yeidy M. Rivero's splendid study, specifically, the impact of television in Cuba during the critical decade of the 1950s. As Rivero chronicles so well, Cubans celebrated television as a marker of modernity, both as evidence of Cuban mastery of a superior broadcast technology and as corroboration of Cuba as an advanced consumer society. Simply put, Rivero correctly observes, television served as a means through which "Cubans reiterated their standing as citizens of a modernized country" (50).

By the late 1950s, an estimated four hundred thousand television sets were in use across the island, earning Cuba another first: the highest per capita television ownership in Latin America. However, Cuban affinity with modernity was situated incongruously in the context of dependent capitalist structures, within a fragile sugar export economy, subject always to fickle world prices, expanding world competition, and declining national production. Modernity arrived to Cuba principally in the form of foreign imports. Television was no exception, in this instance as U.S. technology with U.S.-trained technicians. Cuban broadcasters also imported the prevailing formats of U.S. programming, especially variety shows, panel shows, amateur talent programs, and quiz shows, including locally produced versions of *Queen for a Day*, *This Is Your Life*, and *The $64,000 Question*.

During the mid-1950s, as the world price of sugar tumbled and the Cuban economy contracted, Cuban broadcasters sought to reduce costs associated with expensive locally produced programs and turned increasingly to cost-effective acquisition of U.S. programs. Cuban television was saturated with U.S. television programs, what Rivero aptly characterizes as a "sweeping importation of U.S. movies and shows dubbed in Spanish" (71–72). These included *Jungle Jim*, *The Cisco Kid*, *Lassie*, *Highway Patrol*, *El Sargento Preston*, *Hopalong Cassidy*, *Annie Oakley*, *Las Aventuras de Rin Tin Tin*, *La Vida Legendaria de Wyatt Earp*, and *Superman*, among many others.

Television thus served as a medium through which U.S. cultural forms reached deeply into the Cuban popular imagination, offering representations of moral systems, the depiction of life styles, and popular notions of history. Television during the 1950s propelled a generation of Cuban middle-class children into department stores to buy dress-up outfits and accessories so they could pretend to be Hopalong Cassidy, Roy Rogers, Dale Evans, and Annie Oakley. Vast numbers of children in Havana were dressing like Davy Crockett and Superman, playing with Highway Patrol model cars, and wearing Dick Tracy toy wrist radios.

Cubans across the island thus experienced much of the innocence that informed the content of U.S. television programming during the 1950s. They watched the morality tales unfold in the narrative structure of U.S. productions that included good guys versus bad guys, cowboys and Indians, cops and robbers, heroic dogs, and Superman defending "truth, justice, and the American way"—all at a time when an island-wide revolutionary movement expanded against the dictatorship of General Fulgencio Batista. These are stark contrasts indeed.

The triumph of the Cuban revolution in 1959 transformed the role of television. It is perhaps impossible to understand the course and character of the early years of the Cuban revolution without an appreciation of the impact of television. The revolution was a television spectacular. Fidel Castro's triumphant processional arrival into Havana on January 8, 1959 was broadcast live across the island. Its impact cannot be minimized. To rephrase the Gil Scott-Heron lyric, this was a revolution that was indeed televised.

Television developed early as the means of mass communication of choice through which the leadership of the revolution communicated directly with millions of Cubans across the island. The medium was splendidly well suited for Castro's oratory style. By the end of 1959, Rivero is correct to emphasize, Castro had become the most important television celebrity in Cuba: he had indeed "informed and guided the nation through television" (143). The nation was transfixed. What radio was to Franklin D. Roosevelt, television was to Castro—only more so. Not without irony, of course, that the medium that had played so important a role in the diffusion of "the American way" also served as a means to discredit it.

Rivero has written an important book, rich with new information and original insight. It is a welcome addition to the expanding scholarship on Cuba media studies. Rivero offers a thoughtful history of the role of the new medium during a critical time in Cuban history, as a factor that both contributed to and was a consequence of the very circumstances that it chronicled.

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Maurice St. Pierre. *Eric Williams and the Anticolonial Tradition: The Making of a Diasporan Intellectual.* (New World Studies.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015. Pp. 254. Cloth $59.50, paper $27.50.

Eric Williams is perhaps best known as the author of the pioneering study *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944), and later became the first prime minister of his native Trinidad and Tobago, when it achieved independence from Great Britain in 1962. In this important book, Maurice St. Pierre reconstructs the path from the academic to the politician. He examines the origins and development of ideas and the production and dissemination of

knowledge that helped transform Williams to the leader of a social movement. *Eric Williams and the Anticolonial Tradition: The Making of a Diasporan Intellectual* thus aims at intellectual history attuned to questions of race and imperialism. By analyzing speeches, correspondence, and other personal papers culled from several archives, St. Pierre delves into the making of a public intellectual in the "anticolonial tradition."

Organized around eight chapters, the book's core argument is that Williams deployed his life experiences in the "language of colonialism" (1, 2, 7) by being visible in a public sphere that would challenge this very colonial system. St. Pierre casts Williams as a Caliban figure who "cursed" colonial power, but his thesis is compelling for the contention that Williams's skills in the transmission of ideas from disciplinary boundaries to political arenas were instrumental to the process of decolonization. In this vein, the book is in step with attempts to recover Caribbean epistemologies. Moreover, because St. Pierre follows the itinerant Williams from Port-of-Spain to Oxford, to Washington, D.C., and back to Trinidad, the book maps a geography of intellectualism that calls for a more expansive idea of Caribbean frontiers.

The chapters move in chronological order, beginning with Williams's formative years under colonial rule and his experiences abroad. In the first two chapters, St. Pierre develops the motif of the individual in a series of encounters with dominant social forces, from the cricket field to the halls of Queen's Royal College and Oxford University. Relying heavily on Williams's autobiography, *Inward Hunger: The Education of a Prime Minister* (1969), St. Pierre strikes a balance to provide both a critical voice and his subject's point of view. There is a nice rhythm here between anecdote and synthesis, and the reader appreciates details that become integral to the larger story. These include nuggets on Williams's relationship with C. L. R. James, as well as the depiction of the young Williams as the "'reluctant *marchand*' of his mother's penny loaves [who] had become . . . the willing *marchand* when it came to marketing his intellectual efforts" (45). If these stories contribute to the plot of a colonial *bildungsroman*, they are also evidence of Williams's attention to the fluid boundaries between academic and market spaces, and to the symbolic and material trappings that allowed him to build a public profile beyond the colonial limits imposed on him.

The middle section of the book places greater emphasis on political history. St. Pierre traces Williams's exposure to activist circles at Howard University, a meeting ground of the black diaspora that greatly influenced his thinking. As a result, the teacher-scholar acquired social capital abroad that would afford political clout upon his return to Trinidad and Tobago. The latter chapters chart Williams's rise as a leader of a social movement. St. Pierre focuses on Williams's speeches in the "University of Woodford Square," a new public space for the "politicization and systematic education of the masses" (74). These gatherings amounted to a growing political awareness at once individual and collective. Williams established the People's National Movement party in 1956 and developed the project of national unity, although not without consequences for the future. By way of George Lamming, St. Pierre contends that efforts to construct an ideology of independence masked a "national dilution" of cultural and racial differences (126). The critique of authority gains momentum, but the author downplays it in favor of highlighting Williams's leadership over the contentious negotiations with the U.S. to lease rights to a military base in Chaguaramas in 1941. This is a fascinating chapter that places Williams at the center of the problem of growing American imperialism.

St. Pierre's insistence on the trans-Caribbean vision of Williams leads him to address in the final chapter the measure of Williams's intellectualism in the broader Caribbean. The chapter offers a reappraisal of Williams's thought in light of the legacies of Aimé Césaire, Juan Emilio Bosch, Lamming, and Frantz Fanon. While this move feels necessary, it also exposes a few problems. For one, the summaries do not match the depth covered in the preceding chapters. The section on Césaire plays up the poet-playwright's reappropriation of Caliban but leaves out Césaire's role in the departmentalization of Martinique. This inconsistency can be explained in part by St. Pierre's focus on Caliban as an emblematic figure; yet comparing Césaire's compromised political position to that of Williams might have complicated, in a good way, the repeated reference to Caliban. In fact, the afterword, which concludes on the bleak note of the "obsolescence" of Williams's intellectualism, all but acknowledges the need to go beyond the Shakespearean foil.

The survey approach to these writers betrays the book's lack of sustained engagement with theories of diaspora that would give critical depth to the profile of a "diasporan intellectual." To be fair, the problem may lie in the methodological ambivalence underlying Caribbean intellectual history, as Anthony Bogues has pointed out. What systems of thought are privileged as somehow essential to an idea of Caribbeanness? What are the implications of one man's intellectualism for the linguistic, social, and cultural contexts of the wider Caribbean? Indeed, what is the place of intellectual history in Caribbean Studies? St. Pierre addresses these questions in the introduction but ends up writing an intellectual biography of Williams. In this way, this is a stimulating book and a major contribution. However, given that St. Pierre sets out to theorize Williams's ascent in the context of social movements, one may well wonder why he leaves out the contributions of a host of other actors (artists, women, religious figures) to the making of Williams's intellectualism.

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Renée Alexander Craft. *When the Devil Knocks: The Congo Tradition and the Politics of Blackness in Twentieth-Century Panama*. (Black Performance and Cultural Criticism.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2015. Pp. xiv, 240. $69.95.

Renée Alexander Craft has written an excellent ethnographic study that centers on performance analysis of the

Afro-Latin Congo celebrations that are a part of, though distinct from, the Carnivals held every year along Panama's Caribbean coast. Craft carefully examines the larger geopolitics, the intra-regional, and transnational elements of these collaborative rituals and their subversive resistance to centuries of first Spanish, and more recently, upper-class Panamanian dominance. These elaborate dances, music, and religious role-playing incorporate creative responses to changing historical conditions, generational transitions, and more recently the role of globalized development, tourism, and the drug trade in Panama. Far too many studies of Panamanian history and social formation have focused on the transisthmian canal and its impact on the republic's society and politics. New works, such as Craft's, refreshingly explore other aspects of Panama's complex and diverse cultures.

The descendants of African slaves, who live along the "Costa Arriba" or northern littoral of the isthmus, have long been ignored or marginalized in Panamanian society and history. These folk have fashioned a unique cultural expression through performance art and their own syncretic religious beliefs to both defy and ridicule their Spanish enslavers through "hidden transcripts" famously elaborated by anthropologist James C. Scott among others. They continue this Congo tradition while continuously introducing important changes in their rituals. Their ancestors were the *cimarrones*, runaway slaves from sixteenth-century Spanish conquistadors. These self-liberated blacks lived in the region of Nombre de Dios and Portobelo and often collaborated with English, Dutch, and French pirates and smugglers. As a part of the African Diaspora to the Americas, they established transnational links through a long history of resistance to help form a unique Afro-Panamanian identity that has persevered through centuries of struggle and is celebrated with dance, masks, and satiric humor via Congo performance art. Craft spent many years of investigative field work in Portobelo and became acquainted with the key actors and participants, such as the famous major devils, Celedonio Molinar Ávila and Carlos Chavarría. Her interviews with the devils, kings, queens, princes, and angels of these ceremonies form the great strength of this work and show how what we think of as tradition is constantly reinvented, recalibrated, and rediscovered in light of changing circumstance. The book's fine collection of photos gives the reader a strong sense of how powerful and engrossing these rituals are, a feat difficult to capture through words alone. Craft created her own performance pieces and artistic projects based on her experiences on the isthmus. These have been shown in the U.S. and Portobelo and originated from her view of *praxis*—that of not just observing and chronicling but also becoming and creating from her witnessing of and participation in the Congos.

Spanish colonial officials originally used the Christian faith and its notion of the devil to intimidate slaves into obedience. But after these slaves escaped and established their own communities called *palenques*, they turned the idea of the devil on its head and employed it in their pre-Lenten celebrations to parody the Spaniards, U.S. Zonians (American Canal Zone workers), local leaders such as General Manuel Noriega, and today's global tourists. Craft delineates how the Congo festivals operate within this "double consciousness" (141–142) and how they evolved from a somewhat isolated tradition to an intra-regional one after the government constructed road links to the various towns and villages in the area. More recently, globalist contacts via cruise ship tourists who visit Portobelo and Colón comprise the main "outgroup" audience. Locals depend on the "taxes," donations, and souvenir purchases from tourists, which has to a degree altered performances to satisfy these new consumers' expectations of the exotic. Yet Afro-Panamanians continue to hold their own "local" versions of the Congos for their own communities as the main audience/participants.

This work has great merit for expanding our knowledge of Panama "beyond the Canal" and how it fits into larger diasporic narratives and transnational histories of Africans in the Western Hemisphere. As a historian, I would have liked a little more development on the historical origins of these practices and traditions. While Craft provides a solid historical overview, more could have been done on the *cimarrones*' impact on Panama's colonial history and even the role of the famous slave rebel Bayano (also called Vaino) who has been fashioned into something of a national hero of Panamanian identity today. Also, the differences between the West Indian Panamanian community and that of the Afro-Panamanians who at various junctures were referred to as colonial blacks, *costeños*, or *negros nativos* might have been examined more. The complexities of racial/cultural prejudice that West Indians endured from Panamanians (they derogatorily called these Protestant, English-speaking blacks, *chombos*, a racial slur, for many decades) and their special critique of isthmian racism could add a bit more nuance to the author's already superb racial analysis. Having attended and paid a Congo "tax" myself, when visiting Portobello in 2002, I wondered about another irony at work here. Craft does a fine job of showing how Afro-Panamanians during these rituals "played" observers such as the General Noriega, and Euro-U.S. tourists, but I wondered if she ever had any suspicions of being "played" herself? A final concern absent from this work is the appalling lack of Panamanian government spending on its Caribbean coast citizens, so many of them Afro-Panamanians mired in poverty and unemployment while the same government pours huge sums into prestige projects for its lighter-complexioned Pacific coast citizens in the capital. The marginalization of the Costa Arriba and nearby Costa Abajo has long been a sore point for local critics of Panamanian racism. But these omissions aside, Craft offers us an exciting exploration of an evolving Afro-Panamanian identity whose artistic invention continues to raise important questions about power, resistance, and ethnic affirmation in the twenty-first century.

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GUIOMAR DUEÑAS-VARGAS. *Of Love and Other Passions: Elites, Politics, and Family in Bogotá, Colombia, 1778–1870*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2015. Pp. xii, 268. $55.00.

Guiomar Dueñas-Vargas's *Of Love and Other Passions: Elites, Politics, and Family in Bogotá, Colombia, 1778–1870* is a fascinating, highly readable study of changing notions of gender roles, courtship, marriage, and feelings of love among Colombia's elites from the late colonial period to the republican era. The book focuses on the relationships—friendships, courtships, affairs, marriages, and failed marriages—among a handful of Colombia's elite families and couples (the small number dictated by the availability of sources). With her wonderful sources of diaries and letters, Dueñas-Vargas is able to burrow into the interior of her subjects' lives, providing rich, almost novelistic descriptions of her actors' emotional states and private thoughts. She also traces families over time, providing insightful contrasts between mothers and daughters, uncles and nephews. The book gallops along, moving through stories of loves won and lost, lives conjoined by marriage or affairs and then separated by death or disinterest, tales both amusing and heartrending.

Beyond the engaging narratives, Dueñas-Vargas argues that the independence era ushered in critical changes in the experience of love, the selection of partners for marriage, and the gender roles within marriage. Concerning love during the colonial period and independence era, she posits that Colombia's elites often associated passionate love with extramarital affairs that were seen as dangerous; however, by mid-century transgressive passion was replaced by romantic love (sublime, almost religious), under which erotic desire was sublimated. Rather than love just existing outside of marriage via passionate affairs (often between elite men, such as Colombia's president Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, and those of other races and classes), love came to be expected as part of marriage. In the colonial era, marriages arranged by parents and the Catholic Church were the norm, but after independence love and romantic attraction became the chief considerations when choosing a spouse (with the advice of friends, instead of family). Dueñas-Vargas is not asserting that economic interests and family alliances were no longer important, just that these prosaic considerations had to align with romantic love between the betrothed. Finally, the experience of marriage evolved with the expectation that a betrothal of lovers, "a meeting of souls" (173), would become devoted spouses, emotionally and intellectually compatible and supportive, instead of inhabiting the completely separate spheres of the colonial age. Throughout the book, Dueñas-Vargas views love as both a socially conditioned phenomenon and a personal experience, which is, of course, true, but does limit her ability to generalize, as she acknowledges.

Why, when, and how fast (and thoroughly) these changes occurred is more complicated and less clear than the above sketch suggests. The influence of Romanticism and the disruptions and social changes marked by the independence wars were instrumental in bringing forth this change. The author argues that independence eroded patriarchal authority over families and gave children more say in spouses. New visions of virile masculinity, emerging from the war, and social disruption also allowed open affairs between military men and daring women (such as with President Francisco de Paula Santander and Nicolasa Ibáñez). The idea that passionate affairs had to remain hidden "changed temporarily during the period of independence" (85). However, after the "independence spring" where "patriarchal control" was lessened, the return to conservative governments in the 1830s also marked a "return to the old familial order" (93). Yet the causes behind these changes, especially the agents acting to create these changes, remain mysterious. Were conservatives really powerful enough to affect emotions? Did changes in emotions and marriage patterns determine politics, or vice versa? These are intriguing, but unanswered, questions.

Dueñas-Vargas also provides a welcome focus on Soledad Acosta de Samper, one of the most important female writers and thinkers of nineteenth-century Spanish America, who always merits more attention, given her low visibility outside of Colombianistas. New notions of romantic love and the "winds of liberty" (202) even challenged gender norms to some extent, as women such as Soledad Acosta and her sister-in-law Agripina Samper found space in marriage for their intellectual pursuits, while their spouses were made fragile and cried womanly tears over their sweethearts. However, Dueñas-Vargas argues marriage quickly restored the Roman Catholic status quo, with women remaining the bearers of morality and respectability. The new liberal, bourgeois sense of marriage was not at all in conflict with the Catholic Church, in spite of other political differences. Soledad Acosta and her husband, José María Samper, began their married life as committed liberals with these new notions of love and liberty; yet José María grew increasingly conservative as he aged. Further exploration of how changing politics affected the couple's domestic life and gender relations would have been worth pursuing.

Dueñas-Vargas should be lauded for publishing this work more or less simultaneously in English and in Spanish as *Del amor y otras pasiones: Élites, política y familia en Bogotá, 1778–1870*. Translations are becoming increasingly rare and often suffer from years of delay, so this work's immediate availability in both languages serves as a model for publishing in Latin American Studies. Dueñas-Vargas's study merits this international audience, as it explores such critical evolutions in quotidian life across the independence divide. Hopefully, this book will inspire others to continue this work, especially the intriguing questions of how these changes refracted back to influence political culture and broader intellectual horizons in nineteenth-century Spanish America.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

CLAUDIA RAPP and H. A. DRAKE, editors. *The City in the Classical and Post-Classical World: Changing Contexts of Power and Identity*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Pp. xiii, 265. Cloth $95.00, e-book $76.00.

This is a short book on a big topic: the changing relationship between cities and imperial states in the classical world. In their introduction, the editors assert that they offer a new approach that focuses on "the expansion of the framework of political thought and social interaction from the ancient city to the Roman Empire, and the further transformation of these phenomena as a result of the influence of Christianity, which led eventually to the amalgamation of the idea of Christendom with that of empire." Their concern is "to understand how changes in the political framework affect the enactment and articulation of citizenship and political identity" (5). The essays that follow cover that transformation in a lopsided fashion. There is a single essay on the conception of community in the Greek polis by Josine Blok. Rolf Strootman takes us on an express journey from the expansionist kingdoms of the Near East (starting ca. 2000 B.C.E.) to the Roman imperial cult. We have two essays by Jill Harries and Caroline Humfress, respectively, on the development of Roman law in the imperial period. Seven of the remaining eight essays focus on Late Antiquity from the fourth to the sixth centuries C.E. Such a division leaves gaps and, although completeness is a spurious virtue, opens the issue as to whether the debates of the fourth century onward were qualitatively different from those of earlier periods.

Without taking the long view, many of the essays in this volume risk overemphasizing the extent and importance of change within Late Antiquity. The classical city appears remarkable more for continuities in political structure that are observable from the sixth century B.C.E. to the seventh century C.E., rather than for variations. Although the essays would like to stress change or the collapse of the urban model, Michele Renee Salzman's study of Leo the Great is noteworthy in how the processes that she traces retain similarities with much earlier inventions of tradition, and Claudia Rapp finds the ideology of the polis even in the anti-city of the monastic desert.

The late antique focus requires a further level of complexity since there are two separate but clearly related ontological shifts from the world of the polis: the individual in an imperial system (the citizen) is also the Christian in a divine order. H. A. Drake argues that these transformations came together in the early sixth century in which the Christians' and emperors' empires become indistinguishable, but was probably an ideologically contentious view. An identification of the Roman citizen as a Christian would explain the aggressive religious policies of Justinian that attempted to conceptualize the struggles with the Persians as a religious war. Even in the sixth and seventh centuries, however, pagans and Jews might not have felt that their religious practices were incompatible with their Romanity. Other traditional modes of citizenship appear to have continued within sixth-century Christendom, and Susanna Elm, rightly in my view, emphasizes the smoothness of the topographical transformation from pagan to Christian city and the continuities in the political class that entailed.

My major criticisms, however, are different: twin reluctances to think through the processes that bring a particular social or intellectual formation into being or to engage abstractly with the social and intellectual processes analyzed. Structural features of empires may generate some of the phenomena. Strootman's essay, for instance, argues for the transmission of a Near Eastern ideology of kingship through Alexander and the Hellenistic kingdoms to the imperial cult. Nevertheless, if there is a link, and this has been assumed previously, one needs to explain why these aspects of Near Eastern kingship were adopted and not others: one could point to common difficulties in political communication in extended and autocratic polities. Emily Albu ventures into the debate on Roman maps (or their absence) to argue that Late Antiquity saw a "revolution in spacing and mapping consciousness" (214). However, even if the forms of representation of the world became different in the fifth and sixth centuries (which requires explaining away a lot of evidence), the textual worlds of the Hellenistic and early imperial geographers seem to me to be fundamentally similar. By the early medieval period, Christendom could be imaged and imagined, but so could Augustus's Empire. Arguably, all empires needed ways of imaging their territorial power. If there was such a revolution, how and why did it come about? Similarly, as Claudia Moatti writes, extensive polities are very likely to entail migration, leading to non-local forms of identity, and may also be a feature of interconnected elites in many periods of the classical Mediterranean. Are the happenings in the "high empire" qualitatively different from what happened in other periods? In contemporary Europe, Moatti notes that new forms of layered identity seem to threaten older exclusive national identities, suggesting a common causality with Roman cosmopolitanism. Bryan Ward-Perkins observes that Ausonius of Bordeaux celebrates his Romanity as if the text is a straightforward representation of a common reality. It could mean that everyone has bought into a Roman ideological system or that a member of a local elite wishes himself to be seen as a loyal Roman. Ward-Perkins sees the text as signifying a fourth-century reality, but one can find similar sentiments in Aelius Aristides centuries earlier; even Philo of Alexandria and Flavius Josephus can be read as asserting an identification with Rome in obviously contentious contexts. By contrast, Humfress offers a model to explain local adoptions of imperial law building on local objectives to maintain social order. Imperial law provides a background to continued localized power structures. In the archetypical hierarchical arena of law, she finds social power promulgated from below.

The problem that this book sets for itself could be expressed simply as the means by which citizens of local polities integrated into an imperial polity. It is not a new

problem. We can read the issues in two ways, as an extension of the polis's government throughout a wide territory (as in the chapters on law) or as an issue of membership of the political community (as in most of the rest). As Clifford Ando explains, the fundamental concerns were discussed by Cicero, and within Hellenistic political philosophy the relationship between individual and polity in extensive territorial states was the core issue. The loss of sovereignty at a local level within imperial formations presents problems central to ancient and modern discussions of empire. Yet, the essays hardly engage with political theory; terms such as "empire," "nation," and "identity" are used throughout without definition. "Sovereignty" does not, I think, appear. "Citizen" and "subject" are used as if interchangeable (clearly, they are not). Ward-Perkins declares the fourth-century empire unusual, but all empires are odd. Against what paradigms should we judge?

As Ando hints in his conclusion, the essays do not problematize the flows of power, the role of "nonstatal forms of social dependency," the history of subjectivity, or the media through which status is monumentalized and traditions invented (255). Such an approach speaks of methodological confidence, but risks reinventing wheels happily turning in political science. It also obscures the potentially innovative insights from antiquity, such as Moatti's conception of an accumulative identity, which is as radical a riposte to essentialist models of identity as one could imagine.

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Sara M. Wijma. *Embracing the Immigrant: The Participation of Metics in Athenian Polis Religion (5th–4th Century BC)*. (Historia-Einzelschriften, no. 233.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014. Pp. 197. €53.00.

The title of Sara M. Wijma's monograph, *Embracing the Immigrant: The Participation of Metics in Athenian Polis Religion (5th–4th Century BC)*, raises the expectation that this might be a book that connects the ancient Athenian and the modern worlds in the articulation and discussion of key issues of democratic cultural identity and the inclusion of immigrants (both forced and free). The book, however, does not take up that challenge; the subtitle is the better indication of its content and intended audience. The book is part of the "Citizenship in classical Athens" project directed by Josine Blok at Utrecht University and funded by the Dutch Research Council. The form is that of an academic dissertation with lengthy footnotes (sometimes containing material that should be brought to the main text and sometimes providing extensive bibliographies irrelevant to the book's argument) and regular use of specialized (often untranslated) terms and sources that may make it difficult for most twenty-first-century readers to engage or appreciate the important issues and the challenges to traditional interpretations it raises. By gathering together evidence for the ways in which participation in religious cult reflects the ambiguous status of the resident foreigner (*metoikos* or metic) in Athens, both insider and outsider, the book makes a substantial contribution to the study of Athenian social history. What is missing, and what would have made the book more interesting to a wider audience, is a discussion of the identity and origins of the Athenian "immigrant" population and the role of slavery and manumission in creating that population.

In her introduction, "Defining Polis Membership," Wijma goes over some well-tread ground, even while claiming to establish a "new paradigm" (13). She notes the participatory character of Athenian citizenship ("sharing in the polis" [16]) and emphasizes the importance of ritual participation in polis life for male and female Athenian citizens alike and also for non-Athenian residents and slaves. These are important points but, as the author admits, "not entirely new" (19). In her review of the historical background of the metic status, Wijma acknowledges that "behind the façade of unity created by a single status stood an immensely varied community of immigrants and freed slaves," but immediately continues on to speak of metics as those who had "long been visiting Athens as traders, diplomats, mercenaries, and travelers" (27).

Chapter 1 focuses on the participation of metics in the Athenian festival of the Panathenaia (Athena's birthday party) held every year in early summer and more extravagantly every fourth year. Wijma usefully articulates the different ways metics participated in the festival and in the festival procession whose most well-known representation is on the Parthenon frieze (now largely in the British Museum).Chapter 2 considers metic participation in three other Athenian festivals, the Lenaia Dionysia, City Dionysia, and the Hephaistia. The Lenaea Dionysia was a winter festival from which foreigners were excluded but in which metics participated in a manner "undifferentiated" (73) from citizens. Wealthy metics financed competitive choruses alongside their wealthy citizen peers. In contrast, at the City Dionysia, with a large foreign participation, metics were classed as foreigners and excluded from participating with citizens in choruses (83–85). At the Hephaistia, "an agonistic festival . . . celebrated by and thus concerned with the young and strong men of Attica" (93), metics were given the meat of three sacrificial oxen, according to a fragmentary inscription of 421 B.C.E. Wijma suggests that this inclusion in a polis festival sacrifice reflects the significant role that metic men played in both the Athenian army and navy and should be understood as recognition of that contribution. Later, in the fourth century, the Athenian writer Xenophon suggested that metics be relieved of these military responsibilities—with the benefit that Athenians would no longer be serving with "Lydians, Phrygians, Syrians, and barbarians of all sorts" (93 quoting *Poroi* 2.3). It would seem likely that many of these non-Greek metics imagined by Xenophon as serving alongside Athenians would have come (or their parents would have come) to Athens as slaves. That the Athenians "embraced" ex-slaves as fellow soldiers is remarkable, and some discussion of this issue and of the slave trade in the Mediterranean world would strengthen Wijma's effort to argue for a new understanding of

Athenian society not bound by traditional notions of rigid status boundaries between Athenian and foreigner.

Chapter 3 moves from the polis to the smaller constituent units of Athenian democracy called demes, self-regulating communities of various size throughout the territory of Attica organized into the polis of Athens. Wijma looks here at the ways in which deme communities included foreigners and non-demesmen in religious rites and activities. Two specific cases receive special attention: the fifth-century decree of the deme of Skambonidai, which grants to the metics "a share" of the proceeds from a sacrifice; and an honorific decree of the deme of Eleusis rewarding the Theban Damasias for his contributions to the deme festival of Dionysos (116–119). These two cases draw attention to the importance of social integration at the local community level. However, the remaining cases of deme recognition of Athenians from other demes does not directly further her argument.

Finally, chapter 4 looks at the interesting story of the worship of the Thracian goddess Bendis in Athens. Sorting out the chronological and historical details of the introduction of Bendis's cult and of the relation between her Thracian and Athenian worshipers is a challenging task, and perhaps beyond the scope of Wijma's book. Wijma ends her discussion of Bendis with what she sees as her most provocative suggestion: "can we, then, imagine the unimaginable?" (155), that the Thracians who took care of the cult of Bendis were given membership in the traditional Athenian "brotherhoods" (phratries), the custodians of the Athenian citizen community.

A short conclusion sums up the book's argument and suggests ways to extend the discussion beyond Athens and also beyond metics: "To understand the position not only of metics but also of Athenian women, ephebes, girls, children in general, Citian merchants, immigrants from Herakleia, or even slaves, we should always investigate the ways in which these groups shared in the rites of the communities they lived in" (162–163). The phrase "or even slaves" is symptomatic of the way Wijma recognizes but seems uninterested in the servile origins of many Athenian metics. Certainly this must have been the case for many of the Thracian metics who worshipped Bendis in Athens, but both the basis and the implications of this social reality are left unexamined. In sum, Wijma's *Embracing the Immigrant* is a substantial work of scholarship that makes a major contribution to the study of classical Athens. Even though opportunities for engaging an audience beyond the narrow world of classical scholarship are missed, Wijma's work supports an emerging recognition of the complex character of ancient Athenian (and Greek) society. She opens the door to future productive discussions across geographical and chronological boundaries of the profound ways in which religion and religious participation both create and challenge social and political identity.

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Michael D. Dixon. *Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Corinth, 338–196 B.C.* (Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies.) New York: Routledge, 2014. Pp. xviii, 231. $140.00.

This book is a most welcome addition for understanding the history of Corinth under the Macedonians during the formative period 338–196 B.C.E. As Michael D. Dixon states, "one modest aim of this monograph has been to provide archaeologists with a historical framework with which to approach Hellenistic Corinth" (209). I can say, as an archaeologist who works in Corinth, that this has been admirably accomplished. *Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Corinth, 338–196 B.C.* is a very readable account that is simply written, straightforward in its organization and presentation, and as such will be a very useful handbook to be consulted by archaeologists, historians, and students for years to come. It is important to note that the author worked at Corinth as an excavator as a member of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Corinth Excavations, under the direction of Charles K. Williams II and Nancy Bookidis in 1997. As such, he gained a firsthand knowledge of the city and its monuments. Subsequent discussions with many others familiar with Corinthian archaeology and history supplemented his field experience. The author's research for his dissertation "Disputed Territories: Interstate Arbitrations in the Northeast Peloponnese, ca. 250–150 B.C." (2000) also immersed him directly into Corinthian history. Therefore, he was well equipped to write a much-needed history of Corinth; there has never been a Hellenistic history written about the city. The important work by James Wiseman, "Corinth and Rome I: 223 B.C.–A.D. 267" (*Aufstieg und Niedergang der Romischen Welt*, vol. 2, part VII, no. 1 [1979]: 438–548) overlaps a few decades with the current study, although it focuses on a later period and is of course an exception.

Dixon outlines the three primary aims of his book as follows: "To provide an account of Corinth in the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods that addresses its political, military and economic histories"; "To understand fully why the Macedonians desired so strongly to possess Corinth and why they endeavored so fiercely to maintain it"; and "To comprehend how the Macedonian's presence within Corinth affected its citizens" (2).

Macedonia controlled Corinth for the periods 338–243 and then again from 224–196 B.C.E. During the intervening years, 243–224, Corinth belonged to the Achaian koinon. As the framework for the current study, this chronological structure is useful in our understanding of the history. Unfortunately, there are relatively few contemporary literary references to the city as well as relatively few inscriptions from Hellenistic Corinth. The latter may be attributable to the situation that the agora of Greek and Hellenistic Corinth has yet to be discovered and is likely to be found to the north of Temple Hill.

The Corinthians had a contentious relationship with Philip of Macedon for years prior to the battle of Chaeronea, which they fought in 338 B.C.E. with contingents from Leukas and Corcyra and with their allies, the Athenians

and the Thebans. The Corinthians Demaratus and Deinarchus negotiated the city's surrender arranging favorable terms for Corinth including cooperation with Philip. This may have saved the city from the same kind of punishment that Thebes received. Following the battle, Philip installed a military garrison on the citadel of Acrocorinthus that would become the centerpiece of Macedonian influence in the Peloponnese for almost 150 years. Demaratus and Deinarchus became the leaders of the pro-Macedonian faction in Corinth. Philip used this association with the city to promote panhellenism, an alliance with the Greek poleis against Persia, and his establishment of the League of Corinth in 338/7. A feeling of good will, *eunoia*, formed between the Macedonians and the Corinthians, and this feeling continued during the period of Macedonian influence under the leadership of Alexander the Great and his successors at Corinth. Furthermore, the Macedonians never prevented the Corinthians from continuing their religious practice and there appears to be strong continuity of cult from the Classical through the Hellenistic periods.

Although the author suggests in his first chapter that the "archaeological remains at Corinth preserve little trace of the Macedonians" (6), by his fifth chapter, he is discussing the construction of the South Stoa at Corinth as the probable work of Demetrius I Poliorcetes. As the largest building in the Greek world when it was constructed, probably around 300 B.C.E., this of course would be a huge exception! The author is correct that in fact we do not know, for certain, who constructed the building of the South Stoa but it must surely have been a Macedonian. The building, 600 Greek feet, would have been the ultimate symbol of the *eunoia* between the Macedonians and the Corinthians. Of course, nearby in Sicyon, Demetrios I Poliorcetes (after destroying Sicyon on the plain in 303 B.C.E.) built a new city on the plateau!

The racecourse to the north of the South Stoa in Corinth held a prominent location, which lends support to the idea that the festival celebrated there would have been an important one in Corinthian history, although it need not have been necessarily a torch race. Also, the North Stoa in its third phase was utilized during the late fourth century B.C.E. and must have been an essential building. The author is correct that no trace of the king's residence, mentioned by Polybius, has been identified within the city.

Following the defeat of Philip V and the Macedonians by the Romans in 196 B.C.E., the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, controlled by the city of Corinth, was the site where the Roman general Titus Quinctius Flamininus declared the liberation of Greece during the Isthmian Games. The Macedonians were intimately involved with Corinth until the very end of the Second Macedonian War.

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Trevor S. Luke. *Ushering in a New Republic: Theologies of Arrival at Rome in the First Century BCE*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014. Pp. xii, 328. Cloth $85.00, paper $50.00, e-book $50.00.

This book is well researched and well documented, but it selectively covers ancient Rome's Late Republic and Augustan Principate. By examining a series of prominent persons' departures from and returns to the city of Rome, the author argues that these dynasts drew upon a rich and varied body of political, religious, and historical traditions, ceremonies, and associations in order to construct self-representations designed to promote themselves and to define their relationship to the state. Following an introduction that explains the study's approach, the first half of the book (chapters 1–4) analyzes episodes in the careers of Lucius Cornelius Sulla, Pompey the Great, Marcus Tullius Cicero, and Julius Caesar; whereas the second half (chapters 5–8) treats Augustus. The book closes with a conclusion, illustrations, bibliography, and index.

Chapter 1 argues that Sulla employed numerous omens to present himself as a heaven-sent savior to the troubled Roman state. Sulla's self-representation can be reconstructed in some detail, thanks to Plutarch's biography of the man, which was heavily based upon Sulla's autobiographical memoir, whose text is now lost. According to Plutarch, Sulla's consulship of 88 B.C.E. coincided with omens that were thought to herald the ending of one *saeculum* and the beginning of another. It should be pointed out, however, that this saecular turning point pertained to the Etruscan people, not to the Romans. But as Trevor S. Luke argues, Sulla likely used this turning point to signal his arrival to rescue the state at a critical time. Sulla's use of a non-Roman saecular scheme for a Roman context illustrates a common pattern throughout this study: the totally eclectic way in which Roman dynasts drew upon ideas and traditions, as long as they served the purpose.

Chapter 2 addresses the consulship of Pompey and Crassus in 70 B.C.E. and offers a cogent interpretation of Pompey's appearance before the censors. But the author's portrayal of the consular pair as reforming rather than overthrowing the Sullan settlement of the Roman state remains unclear. Pompey and Crassus were not committed Sullans, but rather, they were self-serving political opportunists.

Cicero's departure from and return to Rome in connection with his exile of 58–57 B.C.E comprise chapter 3. Given his well-documented career, stemming from his own voluminous writings, this case study benefits much from Cicero's own testimony. The politican's self-representation was bound up with his status as savior of the Republic from the Catilinarian Conspiracy in 63 B.C.E. and Publius Clodius Pulcher's unflagging persecution of him; and Cicero's portrayal of his return to Rome in his lost epic poem *De temporibus suis* was modeled after Homer's *Odyssey* and Odysseus's return to Ithaca to set things straight.

Chapter 4 focuses on Julius Caesar's return to Rome in January of 44 B.C.E. after presiding over the Latin Festival. On this occasion some people greeted Caesar as *rex*,

only to be corrected by Caesar saying that he was Caesar, not rex. Luke discusses this event in the larger context of Caesar's absolutism, his relationship to the Republic, and the controversy (both ancient and modern) concerning whether Caesar intended to adopt the title of king. Luke argues (unconvincingly to this reviewer) that Caesar employed the ceremony of the Latin Festival at the Alban Mount to dispel rumors that he desired the title of king. This study reveals a basic methodological flaw throughout the whole book and perhaps in modern scholarship on the ancient world generally. It seems to proceed from the assumption that every detail of an event recorded in our surviving ancient sources must have been laden with profound significance or symbolism consciously designed by the event's principal performer or orchestrator. As one famous analyst of dreams once observed, "sometimes a cigar is just a cigar." In the messy and chaotic human process known as history, that is probably true more often than not.

Chapter 5 serves as a bridge between the great dynasts previously surveyed and Augustus, the subject of the remainder of the book. This chapter concentrates on the honors showered upon the young Octavian following his victory over Sextus Pompeius in 36 B.C.E. and shows how these honors and Octavian's use of them resulted in an informal deification of the young and rapidly rising triumvir.

The last three chapters involve a close but wide-ranging reading of Augustus's *Res Gestae*, in which, "The framing of the inscription by these images of arrival suggests that the narrative structure of the whole draws on the form of a ceremonial procession of civic entry like the triumph or a Hellenistic royal *parousia*, which begins with an initial arrival and concludes at a destination of a significant ritual-civic space in the city" (197). As the author points out, the *Res Gestae* begins with Octavian's arrival in Rome following Caesar's assassination and ends by guiding the reader to the Forum of Augustus, which enshrined Augustus's position as supreme *princeps* in the state. Although the reviewer found the author's treatment in chapter 6 (184ff.) of the spurious books of Numa (discovered in 181 B.C.E.) and the bronze table of Capys as unconvincing and totally irrelevant to the *Res Gestae*, his wide-ranging analysis of the *Res Gestae*'s form, structure, and organization is interesting and thought provoking. Students of Augustus and the *Res Gestae* are likely to profit from reading the author's treatment.

Chapter 8 argues that in sections 9–13 of the *Res Gestae* Augustus strove to present himself as a latter-day King Numa, and the book's conclusion focuses upon the last two sections of the *Res Gestae* (34–35) and connects them with the Forum of Augustus.

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Richard Alston. *Rome's Revolution: Death of the Republic and Birth of the Empire*. (Ancient Warfare and Civilization.) New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. xv, 385. $29.95.

Rome's Revolution: Death of the Republic and Birth of the Empire belongs to a series on armed conflicts in the classical world. It is, apart from an introductory chapter and a brief survey of the late Roman Republic (chap. 3), a narrative of military and political history from the assassination of Julius Caesar to the death of his heir Gaius Octavius, later Caesar Augustus, some fifty-seven years later. The author's particular purpose is to stress that there was a violent revolution, and that the Republic was broken before being transformed. The critical moment was the formation of the Second Triumvirate in November 43 B.C.E., when the slaughter and the confiscations of land undermined the political dominance of the old aristocracy and marked a point of disjuncture. This story was brilliantly summarized by Tacitus at the beginning of his *Annals*, and often retold in more recent times, which raises the questions, for whom the book is written and whether there is anything significantly new here.

Richard Alston relies largely on the chief ancient sources to inform his work. This limited selection of sources signifies that the book is not meant for the professional scholar or the more advanced student. It is irritating that important books on specific source material and historical issues, which appear in the bibliography, do not find their way into the annotation or affect the narrative as they should. For example, Joyce Reynolds's *Aphrodisias and Rome* (1982) would have shown that Quintus Labienus Parthicus's invasion went beyond Cilicia and approached the Aegean coast of modern Turkey, while L. J. F. Keppie's *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy, 47–14 B.C.* (1983) would have provided more precise details about the land given to demobilized soldiers. The evidence of inscriptions, coins, papyri, and archaeology is immensely rich for this period (with valuable selections of the first three now provided in sourcebooks), and their sparse exploitation here leaves the book looking rather old-fashioned.

For the beginner studying the "Roman revolution" or the general reader, the book does furnish a forceful and well-written narrative. Alston seems happiest when he is actually dealing with military history and primarily depends on the ancient sources, Appian and Cassius Dio, to discuss this main subject. Introducing this period to students, however, is not easy, *experto credite*. One cannot understand Augustus's Principate without knowing something of the Republic. However, the author's brief coverage of the Republic in chapter 3 is unsatisfactory. Arguably the most important event of the Republic, Rome's war with its Italian allies, practically disappears in a short paragraph, and the subsequent impact of Italy on Rome and of Rome on Italy, already highly visible under Caesar's dictatorship, fares little better. Veteran soldiers and money were crucial to the triumph of the Caesarians, as Alston rightly stresses. However, he neglects to explain the nature of Roman money, both coinage and credit, which would have clarified the importance of the Gallic and Spanish mines and of the men who bankrolled young Octavius. Again, it may be taxing to explain to the uninitiated the nature of the equestrian order, but such men provided the middle management between the

dynasts and the veterans and were central to the networks of power highlighted by Alston.

For Alston, Caesar was no revolutionary: this makes it harder to see why he was assassinated by a man like Gaius Cassius, who preferred an old and clement master to a new and cruel one. The importance of the dictator's acolytes, such as Gaius Oppius and Lucius Cornelius Balbus, and Caesar's failure to talk politics with Cicero ushered in a new order: the senate already had a master and the redistribution of land had already begun. As for Augustus, Alston rightly points to dynastic monarchy as the impetus behind the shuffle of republican institutions. The best book on this now is Greg Rowe's *Princes and Cultures: The New Tiberian Senatorial Decrees* (2002). Alston introduces the term "networks" to define Augustus's new order; in the past, scholars simply referred to the power relationship as "patronage." Both terms fall short of describing Augustus's reign. It is an extreme form of networking when both soldiers and civilians swear to defend the emperor and his family and invoke a curse of total annihilation on their own family, should they fail.

The book is a good read, but in-depth analysis must be sought elsewhere.

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Jonathan J. Arnold. *Theoderic and the Roman Imperial Restoration*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Pp. xii, 340. $120.00.

Massimiliano Vitiello. *Theodahad: A Platonic King at the Collapse of Ostrogothic Italy*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press, 2014. Pp. xvii, 333. Cloth $75.00, e-book $74.95.

Late antique Italy, in the period between the removal of the last western Roman emperor in 476 and the annexation of the peninsula by the eastern emperor Justinian by the 550s, occupies a pivotal position in the construction of the overlapping periodizations of Classical Antiquity, Late Antiquity, and the Middle Ages. For most of the period, Italy was ruled by a regime centered on a royal dynasty and army that Roman discourses identified as outsiders or "barbarians," and modern scholarship labels as "Ostrogoths." That term, which has only tenuous attestation in texts from the period, is increasingly contested as a description of either the state or the ethnicity of the ruling junta. Conventionally, "Ostrogothic Italy" has been understood through either of two lenses: as signaling the end of Classical Antiquity, an ersatz sub-Roman state retaining a facade of imperial continuity under foreign domination until its violent destruction (the classicist view), or as the first well-attested "Germanic" state destined to replace Greco-Roman polities by force of arms or ideology and foreshadow the cultures of a future Europe (the medievalist or Germanist reading). Even with the rise of Late Antiquity as a discipline, these views have changed little. The position of Italy as the traditional heartland of the Roman empire freights interpretation of the fate of this Mediterranean region more than any other; late antique Italy continues to oscillate between warning us of preventable fall or irresistible rise.

Two young scholars, Jonathan J. Arnold and Massimiliano Vitiello, have produced studies that, while not breaking wholly from earlier frameworks, address the political and cultural dynamics of this period within an ongoing Roman imperial context. It is a relief that neither engages with the pseudo-anthropological interpretations of recent Germanistic studies that dominated late antique/early medieval scholarship on the postimperial kingdoms. This analysis during the 1990s and 2000s sought to make a putative Germanic "ethnic" ideology the driving force behind changes throughout late antique Western Europe. Instead, both works proceed very much from a statist perspective centered on the policies and deeds of individual rulers: for Arnold, Theoderic (r. 489–526), the dynastic founder of the Gothic monarchy in Italy and, alongside his younger contemporary Clovis I, the most famous of the "post-Roman" rulers of the former western provinces; for Vitiello, Theoderic's nephew Theodahad (r. 534–536), a more shadowy and hapless figure during whose reign hostilities with Justinian broke out.

Arnold addresses Theoderic's reign as one of imperial restoration: returning order throughout Italy after decades of destructive civil war stretching well back in imperial history to the time of Constantine; reviving the writ of imperial government to parts of the former western provinces, in particular south-eastern Gaul, which had been lost in the mêlée of the fifth century; and reengaging rulership with the interests of the aristocracy of Rome and Italy. This is an important story to tell: Theoderic's reign is usually seen as one of hot or cold conflict with the eastern imperial government, a series of intimations of the later war of his successors with Justinian, arising from the underlying tensions of a "barbarian" regime ruling a central Roman region. Instead, Arnold convincingly argues, Theoderic's reign, especially its first decade, should be seen as a continuation of the political dynamics of the late empire, appreciated and praised by Italian contemporaries. Arnold's discussion is founded largely on the readings of two authors, the Gallo-Italian deacon Magnus Felix Ennodius of Milan and the Greek-descended Roman bureaucrat Cassiodorus. Both were beneficiaries and eulogists of Theoderic's reign. An emphasis on a different selection of writers, such as Eugippius, Avitus of Vienne, or the papal biographies of the *Liber pontificalis*, may have produced different perspectives, but Arnold successfully ties his material to other iconographic and material evidence.

Arnold's discussion is particularly strong in fleshing out the pre-Italian career of Theoderic, who had spent his youth in Constantinople and was later extensively involved in court politics there, and how that experience played out later before Italian audiences. The discussion lucidly teases out the differences between Italian regions in their experience of earlier imperial rule and reactions to Theoderic's governance, with a particularly useful discussion of Theoderic's brief presence in Rome. Though the account of Gaul prior to Theoderic's involvement there somewhat conflates the rhetoric of "barbarism"

with reality, Arnold's analysis of the lead-up to and fallout of conflict between competing postimperial regimes at the Battle of Vouillé in 507 offers a new perspective on this well-worn topic.

Arnold's interpretation of Theoderic's regime is a valuable corrective to recent scholarship that sees the period either in terms of ethnic ideology (particularly in the works of Herwig Wolfram and Walter Pohl) or a revived catastrophist reading of "the end of civilization" (Peter Heather, Bryan Ward-Perkins, and J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz). The emphasis on the imperial iconography and terminology that characterizes all relevant sources from the period is salutary. Nonetheless, several fundamental issues of conception or methodology affect this study. First, Arnold's argument for a revitalized Roman imperial Italy rests in part on a contrast with a "barbarized" Gaul under the early rule of the Frankish Merovingian dynasty. But that assumption sees the speck in the other's eye. Gaul, a collection of provinces dominated by vastly wealthy aristocratic families and administered by senior officials under the empire, retained much of its social structure and economic dynamism, and at least a significant outline of its administrative structure, throughout the sixth century. Many of the contrasts Arnold draws between textual evidence from Italy and standard modern interpretations apply also for Gaul; the modern label "Frankish Gaul" is as much a misnomer as "Ostrogothic Italy." The Frankish rulers, like Theoderic, were participants in the military-political structure of the late Roman Empire, not destroyers of it. Secondly, Arnold argues that a confluence of the vocabulary of imperial rulership and terms used for foreign rulers facilitated a conceptual elision between Roman emperors and kings. In fact, royal vocabulary had long been employed in literary sources to describe Roman emperors, and the term "king" (*rex*), throughout the Roman imperial period, was not a translation of non-Latin titles for foreign rulers but a term that described the relationship of a ruler to the Roman government, as a figure whose position was recognized, though subordinated, by the empire. Theoderic's title of *rex* marked him as a governor at the pleasure of the emperor, not unlike Roman provincial governors, rather than as an imperial equivalent. Finally, and most importantly, a work that depends so heavily on the texts of *littérateurs* such as Cassiodorus and Ennodius needs a more developed methodology for the interpretation of literary texts. The assumption, for example, that praise for Theoderic in Ennodius's *Panegyric* and Cassiodorus's eulogistic works reflects personal authorial views is naive (37, 54): acts of supplication to governors, for which panegyrics were produced, involved an ideological feedback loop that usually makes the author's personal views unidentifiable if not irrelevant. The studied indifference of much of Ancient World Studies to the "literary turn" and other theoretical approaches of the 1970s onward has left parts of scholarship without the theoretical and analytical tools needed to successfully analyze issues of rhetoric, discourse, narratology, and genre, a liability in a text-based discipline that is not the fault of this author so much as the field more broadly.

Arnold's instincts, however, are good; these issues are matters for a promising scholar to consider. His study, by stepping away from long-standing paradigms, makes a significant advance to understanding a key period of ancient and medieval history.

Vitiello examines Theodahad, who became king half a decade after Theoderic's death, as a result of Theodoric's failure to establish a successful succession, at the invitation of his predecessor's capable daughter Amalasuintha. He ruled for a little over two years, murdering Amalasuintha early in his reign before in turn being killed by the Gothic military elite on account of his feeble response to Justinian's invasion of the peninsula. The rationale offered for a monograph on this figure—since none exists to date—is not compelling; it is a very old view of history that every emperor or king must have a biography. Nevertheless, Theodahad's brief reign offers topics of substantial interest. He was characterized by late antique sources as cultured, greedy, treacherous, and incompetent. The first of those qualities provides Vitiello with the opportunity for detailed discussion of Theodahad's cultural context, examining the education of the Gothic royal house both in Constantinople and in Italy, and possible ties between the circle of Boethius and Theodahad before and after the great senator's execution by Theoderic. These discussions are the most interesting part of the book and are worthy of further study. Vitiello could have elaborated on how these connections demonstrate the rapid integration of the Gothic aristocracy with both the civilian and military aristocracies of Italy. This assimilation seems unusual only because we continue to be misdirected by the ancient and modern rhetoric of "barbarianism" into presuming a qualitative difference between older and newer residents in the Roman Empire. In fact, new aristocracies, such as those generated by the rise of regional military commanders to senior posts, followed the same path as the Gothic nobility in enrolling their children into the standard educational system that defined elite identity in the late Roman world.

The other important topic in Theodahad's reign is the lead-up to Justinian's war on the Gothic regime. According to our main narrative source, Procopius, Justinian used Theodahad's murder of Amalasuintha as the *casus belli* to justify invading Italy, but the emperor had already set in motion a campaign. This is a historical conundrum: despite fluctuations in the relationship between Italy and the eastern empire, the Gothic regime in Italy was Constantinople's main ally and source of influence in the western Mediterranean. Italy had provided essential strategic support to the emperor's campaign to conquer Africa in the years immediately before Theodahad's reign. Vitiello discusses the evidence for the prelude to the war, which primarily arises from the diplomatic and other correspondence written in the name of Theodahad by his chief minister Cassiodorus. Though offering insights into the documents themselves, the discussion does not greatly elucidate the political or strategic developments leading to war; Justinian's motivation is unconsidered, and much of the historical reconstruction is circumstantial.

Both studies are laudable for their efforts to analyze this period through detailed analysis of the written documentation, properly examined in its Roman imperial and literary context. Specific methodological issues aside, the authors are right to reclaim late antique Italy as part of Roman history, and they contribute valuably to discussions of what really changed in the period after the fragmentation of the Roman Empire.

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Meredith J. Gill. *Angels and the Order of Heaven in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Pp. xv, 324. $120.00.

Angels are powerful puzzles. God sent them, though they appear to have some self-determination in their missions among humanity. He gave them some variety of materiality, difficult to define with precision, but a mixture of air and fire composes their bodies. He gave them form, but no exact, stable aspect confines them. Moreover, but not finally, he demanded their visual representation when he had Moses commission Bezalel to render Cherubim on the Ark of the Covenant. In other words, angels have intimate and complicated relationships with their creator and his human creations, as well as the world of matter and forms. Scripture established these terms, and human history continued to unfold in the wakes of angelic interventions and appearances.

Meredith J. Gill takes on this elaborate world as a way to argue for angels' central role in faith, theology, and philosophy, approximately from the birth of Dante to the Council of Trent. She argues that angels were "good to think" with (she uses Clifford Geertz's "a way of explaining being-in-the world" [103]) for Italian church figures and intellectuals. All had to contend with angels, who were an indisputable and ubiquitous feature of daily life, and all had to have some understanding of their role and meaning within the Christian covenant. For us (perhaps), angels have lost their energy and necessity, but Gill argues persuasively for their essential role in the conceptual, cultural, political, and social worlds of early modern Italy. Her book constitutes the first study of this type: an interdisciplinary analysis of how angels were employed in the very active written and visual cultures of the Italian Renaissance. As an art historian, Gill handles the visual and material data with elegance; her argument is well served by high-quality reproductions, and the range of examples, from well-known works by Michelangelo and Fra Angelico to works probably less familiar to non-specialists, establishes vividly the visual environments in which human protagonists imagined and explained the angelic host. Gill is equally adept at the exposition and contextualization of the textual arguments over angels' being and mission, from their composition, language, free will, place in the hierarchy of creation, and so on. As Gill eloquently demonstrates, angels were the means by which humanity was made and known. Without a theory of angels, a Christian culture could not understand itself.

Angels had a long history before Dante, and they cannot be comprehended without establishing that setting. Gill, therefore, manages these sources (mostly textual, but with reference to visual, too) to argue for a distinctive set of concerns addressed by angels in the period from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-sixteenth century in Italy. Augustine of Hippo and Aquinas are never far from the minds of Renaissance thinkers, she adduces, for this reason. But she argues for profound new meanings in the early modern period, whereby evocativeness, "potentiality, suspension, and quickness" (1) are core meanings of those ephemeral beings she identifies.

Perhaps most centrally, angels are about bodies. Here artwork compellingly reinforces the author's arguments. Gill incorporates iconographical elements to explain most fully aspects of movement (namely, wings), hierarchy and organization (color), actions and roles (attributes), and communication (inscriptions and narrative contexts). While strongly conventionalized (and such conventions are purposefully manipulated by the archaisms of painters like Fra Angelico), those elements comprise a visual, material argument for angels that could not be rebuffed.

Gill includes some compelling passages on great thinkers and makers (Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci, Dante and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, for example) that illuminate roles and concepts embodied by angels. She also uses works like Bessarion's long-hidden chapel at Santi Apostoli in Rome to reveal the narrative fascination angels held in art, as well as their central roles in Neoplatonic philosophies. Art evokes thought, too. And that material thinking is crucial for any understanding of how angels operate and their larger meaning. Angels are simultaneously representation and dissimulation. Their appearances are manifold, and each rendering is in some way "true," but each is also exactly what it is not; art about angels is always concrete and abstract at once. Gill's chapter on bodies and voice is particularly fine on these issues. Besides exploring the paradoxical complexity of art, a mute form of argument, she also emphasizes that art transmits the amplification of sound in words spoken, wings beating, and music harmonizing in the cosmos. Angels participated in this sudden fullness of experience, light vibrating and sounds echoing, which the artists captured in their paintings. This book demonstrates the need for studying these fearful creatures in order to fully understand the thought process of humans throughout history.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

Lawrence Lipking. *What Galileo Saw: Imagining the Scientific Revolution*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2014. Pp. xvi, 314. $35.00.

This book seeks to establish connections with the history of science. Without considering the latest developments that are in fact transforming this discipline into a history

of knowledge, the book expresses that there is more to the history of science than "just science."

The main message that Lawrence Lipking conveys is that "imagination" has to be investigated in order to understand the different stages of scientific thinking. At this level, the book is of historical character. The author travels through major scientific events of the seventeenth century while exploring the formation of its key scientific figures' imaginations. He accomplishes his research by focusing strongly on literary works, followed by philosophical ones such as those of Francis Bacon, John Locke, and David Hume.

Nicolaus Copernicus, Galileo Galilei, Johannes Kepler, René Descartes, and Robert Fludd are the major figures whose scientific achievements are analyzed from this perspective. The number of literary works—in the vast meaning of the term—that are considered in this work expatiates from William Shakespeare and Sir Thomas Browne to John Milton and John Donne. Lipking mainly considers English literature.

The author explores the tension that resulted from the new technical and mathematical sciences, which were increasingly apt to abandon the harmony of the older geocentric-based natural philosophy, and the consequential anxiety that emerged due to the loss of harmony. As a result, the obsessive search for a new world system—primarily carried out by Descartes and Sir Isaac Newton—as a countermeasure to the recently diffused skepticism is a possible interpretation of this historical work.

The two chapters devoted to the relations between Newton and Robert Hooke represent a notable exception. Here, in chapters 8 and 9, the author takes a clear perspective deriving from the history of science and historiography. This is an impressive historical reconstruction, which succeeds in involving Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Robert Boyle, Henry Oldenburg, and the institutional framework of the Royal Society. However, this reconstruction is mostly devoted to an inquiry concerned with the concept of genius in the historiography of the scientific revolution.

From a historiographical perspective, and this is another way of reading the book, the entire work is committed to the question of whether a scientific revolution ever took place in the early modern period. It concludes that, whether there was a scientific revolution or not, "the meaning of modernity and the ways that modern people define themselves depend on the Scientific Revolution. If it did not exist—and perhaps it did not—its place would have to be filled by another story" (219).

There can be no historical or historiographical discussion without explicitly facing the question of methodology. If "imagination" is the key ingredient necessary to understand science from a historical perspective, the methodological focus cannot lie on the scientific knowledge itself, on the institutions that preserve, transform, and pass it down, or on the technological and economic context that required it, but rather on the people that had such "imagination." But whose imagination? Only the biographical approach, therefore, remains available for this intellectual exploration of a potential scientific revolution. The author makes all possible efforts to include as many scientists as he can in his reconstruction. However, certain figures, mainly the ones mentioned above, are quite obviously preferred. This implies a choice and this is the reason that the work cannot but indulge at length on the concept of genius. The approach is not emphatic though, rather the opposite. The comparative analysis of the figures of Newton and Hooke is used to show that the construction of a genius in history begins with and is primarily based on what the genius himself purposefully did in order to be perceived as such during his life. Thus, the concept of genius is no reliable historiographical category and yet, as the author admits, "Whether one thinks that the Scientific Revolution . . . resulted from paradigm shifts in a disciplinary matrix . . . or from changing social practices that shaped new kinds and definitions of knowledge, or from new philosophical, theological, and cultural issues and programs, or from expansion of the known world by chance discoveries . . . or from any other set of circumstances, individual genius fades into the background" (163–164).

This work is the result of a strong but creative methodological tension between the envisioned goal of presenting the culture of science of the seventeenth century and the need to take only singularities into consideration, as if they were the hubs of that network that the author mentions *en passant* but does not want to consider.

The book, which is completed by an elaborated and generous apparatus of notes, bibliographic references, and indexes, is written for readers who already possess a firm historical knowledge of the early modern period. For this reader it definitely is a rich source of inspiration.

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Anders Engberg-Pedersen. *Empire of Chance: The Napoleonic Wars and the Disorder of Things*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. x, 324. $45.00.

"Epistemology suffered a concussion at Austerlitz," writes Anders Engberg-Pedersen in this imaginative and thought-provoking new book (5). Pursuing, as his subtitle indicates, lines of inquiry opened up by Michel Foucault half a century ago, his subject is nothing less than the "new epistemic regime" (247) that arose in the West at the start of the nineteenth century. But whereas Foucault insisted that there was no "demiurge of knowledge" responsible for the shift, Engberg-Pedersen wants to show that one very particular series of events served, if not as the ultimate cause, at least as the immediate trigger: the Napoleonic Wars.

Some readers may pick up the book, with Napoleon rearing on horseback on the cover, thinking it a work of military history. If so, they will quickly be disabused by Engberg-Pedersen's learned excurses on Foucault, G. W. F. Hegel, and John Dewey, to say nothing of his occasional dips into critical jargon, and his lengthy *analyses de texte* of nineteenth-century novels. But while he is a professor of comparative literature (at the University of

Southern Denmark), the book does cover a great deal of material familiar to military historians: canonical works of strategy, including especially by Carl von Clausewitz and Henri de Jomini; military topography and cartography; and war games and training exercises. Engberg-Pedersen has mastered this complex material, and uses it to make his central argument.

This argument is easily stated. In the eighteenth century, European writers on war did their best to imagine their subject as something of a geometrical exercise, over which an accomplished commander could have "pervasive control" (17). This was an era of limited "cabinet wars," of campaigns of elaborate maneuver, and of relatively few major pitched battles. Even as bold a strategist as Frederick the Great insisted that "luck and chance are empty words without meaning" (47). But during the Napoleonic Wars, the scope, speed, and intensity of campaigns all increased remarkably, and as they did, the leading thinkers on war began to emphasize the role of chance more and more. As Napoleon himself remarked (in the epigraph to the book), "chance is the only legitimate king in the universe" (v). The German officer Georg Heinrich von Berenhorst coined the phrase "empire of chance" to describe warfare (4).

Engberg-Pedersen sees vast changes following from this shift. In what he calls the "paraphilosophical discourse of military theory and literature" he traces an "empirical turn" that stressed the way the external, phenomenal world "conditions the possibility of the subject" (this in contrast to Kantian idealism's emphasis on the way subjects themselves constitute the external world) (47). He then suggests that this discourse found its way into the major currents of philosophy through Hegel, who claimed to see, after Napoleon's triumph at Jena in 1806, that "the connecting bonds of the world are dissolved and have collapsed like images in a dream."

Empire of Chance then turns to the way military officers and strategists tried to adapt to this new mode of warfare. They put new emphasis on probability theory, and also on the capacity of commanders to sense and adapt quickly, even subconsciously, to sudden, chance shifts on the battlefield. Engberg-Pedersen has fascinating chapters on how maps and war games functioned as what he calls "technologies of experience, that, through different simulations of the state of war, train the users to manage contingency" (144). The point was not to overcome chance altogether—in the new epistemic regime this would have seemed nonsensical—but rather to tame and control it as much as possible. A final, lengthy chapter then explores the way that canonical nineteenth-century novelists—especially Honoré de Balzac, Stendhal, and Leo Tolstoy—tried to represent war as it was now experienced. Engberg-Pedersen has particularly fascinating material illustrating how Stendhal painstakingly researched and planned out the famous description of Waterloo in *The Charterhouse of Parma*. The book's conclusion then jumps ahead, a bit brusquely, to the twentieth century, suggesting that the new epistemic regime had its highest philosophical expression in John Dewey's pragmatism, and then in the postmodern speculations of Michel de Certeau, Félix Guattari, Gilles Deleuze, and of course Foucault. Engberg-Pedersen even sees "elective affinities" between "French theory" and the military discourse of the Napoleonic years (251).

The book does have weaknesses. For a project this ambitious it is very short (251 pages of text). Engberg-Pedersen can be little more than speculative and suggestive about the connections between the "paraphilosophical" material he investigates, and the broader currents of Western thought. To what extent did his "technologies of experience" make their way into non-military life? To what extent might such "technologies" have developed in that other great arena of modern life where chance and probability theory reign supreme, namely the market? The book also skims very quickly over the actual history of the Napoleonic Wars, with surprisingly little attention to such central subjects as the French Army, or even Napoleon Bonaparte himself. While Engberg-Pedersen has read very deeply in the strategic literature of the period, especially in German, he scants some recent historiography. Recent books by Hervé Drévillon (*L'individu et la guerre: Du chevalier Bayard au Soldat inconnu* [2013]) and Arnaud Guinier (*L'honneur du soldat: Éthique martiale et discipline guerrière dans la France des Lumières* [2014]), might have led him to nuance his claims about the nature of the pre-Napoleonic period.

These issues, however, do not detract seriously from Engberg-Pedersen's achievement in *Empire of Chance*. This is a bold and original work of intellectual and cultural history that deserves a wide readership, and subsequent research to challenge and build upon its provocative arguments.

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Brian E. Vick. *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2014. Pp. 436. $45.00.

Traditional historical accounts of international treaty negotiations have given way to new kinds of diplomatic history that often intersect with modern cultural history, as Brian E. Vick astutely demonstrates in his new book on the Congress of Vienna. Although this famous gathering of the European allies who destroyed Napoleon's French Empire has frequently been viewed as a triumphant, counterrevolutionary event, Vick describes both the diplomatic exchanges and the surrounding political culture as more moderate and enlightened than the historical stereotypes suggest. Drawing widely on mostly German-language sources, he argues that the Viennese negotiations of 1814–1815 should be understood as a modern convergence of Europe's evolving social networks, public spectacles, national identities, newspapers, public opinion, consumerism, religious tolerance, and constitutional politics.

The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon therefore brings new perspectives to the history of post-Napoleonic European state-building by placing the era's diplomacy within the broader contexts of cultural history and by asserting that conservative leaders sought to accommodate many of the spreading popular demands

for political rights and national autonomy. Vick wants to show how Viennese "culture and society were suffused with politicized messages" and how the diplomacy "played out" within a cultural world of salons, concerts, pamphlets, and historical commemorations (20).

He by no means ignores the diplomatic strategies of prominent men such as Prince Klemens von Metternich, Tsar Alexander I, and Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand, but his most innovative chapters focus on the social and cultural contexts in which these leaders pursued their political goals. "Diplomats and rulers, *salonnières* and writers . . . operated within discourses, political languages, and social systems" that constructed "rhetorical envelopes that could only be pushed so far," and that placed even the most powerful persons within confining "historical ecologies" (331).

Vick examines these cultural processes in well-informed discussions of Viennese salons, religious groups, public festivals, male/female friendships, opponents of the slave trade, and souvenir merchants before he finally describes the negotiations that created constitutions or distributed territories in Saxony and Poland. Vienna was a diplomatic mountaintop for powerful men, but it was also a complex social-cultural pyramid for the thousands of minor state officials, musicians, caterers, journalists, entrepreneurs, and clergymen who mingled at dinner parties throughout the city.

Vick's argument for the influence of this cultural context persuasively connects diplomatic work with personal experiences and relationships, but his claims for the moderate, almost liberal, strategies of the negotiators are more debatable. He portrays many of the key diplomats as surprisingly open to new conceptions of individual rights and certain forms of nationalism. Vick explains, for example, that Prussian and Austrian diplomats wanted to affirm equal rights for Jews throughout Germany, so the early plans for new constitutions in the German Confederation included provisions for Jewish emancipation. However, local leaders in the smaller German states managed to block many of these reforms, which meant that Austrians such as Metternich and Prussians such as Prince Karl August von Hardenberg and Wilhelm von Humboldt became the main advocates for Jewish rights. Meanwhile, the leading diplomats generally supported abolition of the slave trade, equal legal rights for minority Christian sects, and limited regional participation in government institutions. According to Vick, the overall diplomatic settlement fused a moderate conservatism with a moderate, liberal respect for individual rights and national cultures because centrist coalitions recognized that political compromises were essential for postwar stability.

Vick thus challenges the common historical belief that the Congress of Vienna repressed the rising movements for European nationalism. This common misperception stems in his view from a later nationalist assumption that modern states should embody a single ethnic-linguistic identity. The Viennese diplomats, by contrast, preferred federated multiethnic states that gave national cultural groups only local or regional influence. Vick does not explain why these "top-down" concessions to nationality could never satisfy the nationalist groups that continued to attract new adherents in Italy, Poland, and other parts of Central Europe, but he rightly rejects the historical dichotomies that sharply divide the ideas or goals of "ethnic-eastern" and "civic-western" nationalisms.

Vick writes about his impressive research in long sentences with numerous dependent clauses, and his specific examples tend to multiply into highly detailed summaries of political correspondence, cultural events, and intricate negotiations. He is also remarkably diplomatic whenever he advances his own historical interpretations. "This is partly true," he writes in a critique of the argument that Metternich opposed Italian constitutions, "but only partly" (250); and his assertions about the influence of public opinion convey the analytical caution that runs through much of his prose: "it does *seem possible* at least to establish *certain* instances where perceptions of public opinion *may have* predisposed statesmen in a certain direction" (309, emphasis added).

This book could therefore be more engaging for students and non-specialist readers if the prose flowed more clearly, forcefully, and concisely. Vick nevertheless develops valuable new perspectives on the diverse cultural forces that shaped the reconstruction of post-Napoleonic Europe. He also offers new insights into the diversity of early nineteenth-century nationalisms and political constitutions, even if he overstates the moderation and liberality of the most famous Viennese negotiators.

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Sally Rohan. *The Western European Union: International Politics between Alliance and Integration*. (British Politics and Society, no. 30.) New York: Routledge, 2014. Pp. xi, 407. $140.00.

Although the Western European Union (WEU) was a mainstay of the postwar European security and defense landscape—it began operation as a modified version of the Brussels Treaty Organization of 1948 and did not formally close shop until 2011—there is no comprehensive narrative of its birth, life, and death. Moreover, the accounts we do have dismiss the WEU as either unimportant or irrelevant to the creation and maintenance of Europe's security architecture. Enter *The Western European Union: International Politics between Alliance and Integration* by Sally Rohan, which not only provides a detailed full-term study of the WEU, but also asserts that it played a crucial role in the organization of European security and defense after 1945. It did so by supporting the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Community/European Union (EC/EU), which is to say the primary institutions tasked with bringing about Atlantic alliance and European integration. In carrying out this dual support function, Rohan argues, the WEU made "a fundamental and life-long contribution to the stability of the European security system" (11).

According to Rohan, the WEU was always bound to play a role in organizing European security. For one

thing, it was conceived explicitly to support two of the most powerful institutions of modern times, NATO and the EC/EU. In addition, it had an ambiguous mandate: it was meant to promote both collective defense and the quite different and sometimes competing process of European integration. From the beginning, then, the WEU was part and parcel of the two most important security and defense initiatives of the post–World War II period.

Following its creation, the story of the WEU unfolded in four phases. In the first phase, from 1955 to 1973, it supported European integration by providing a forum in which the major European states could discuss Britain's membership of the European Economic Community (EEC) and debate common security and defense matters. It also supported the process of Atlantic alliance, even though developments in this area were shaped largely by bargaining between the U.S., Britain, and France. The WEU continued to support alliance and integration during the second phase from 1973 to 1989. The WEU Assembly worked hard to promote discussion of European security and defense issues throughout the period, and in 1987 the WEU Council issued the Hague Platform Declaration, which simultaneously reaffirmed its commitment to the Atlantic Alliance and called for a more cohesive European security identity. The third phase, from 1989 to 1997, was dominated by debates about the future of NATO and the EC/EU and the relationship between the two in a post–Cold War world. As it had done in the second half of the 1980s, the WEU came out in support of both institutions. According to declarations appended to the Maastricht (1992) and Amsterdam (1997) treaties, the WEU was to contribute to the development of the EU as a security institution—by serving as its defense component—and to the solidarity of NATO. The final phase, which ran from 1997 to 2011, saw the emergence of the EU as a security actor in its own right and the dissolution of the now redundant WEU.

The Western European Union is meticulously researched. One cannot fault Rohan's account of U.S. and European preferences in security and defense matters and of NATO and EC/EU politics during the period under review. Her description of the WEU's response to these pressures and opportunities is equally comprehensive. She leaves little doubt that the WEU was committed to supporting both Atlantic alliance and European integration. At the same time, anyone looking for a detailed narrative account of the birth, life, and death of the WEU need look no further. No debate, declaration, initiative, or action goes unexamined. Rohan is authoritative whether she is describing the WEU's contribution to arms control in the 1950s, documenting its deliberations regarding membership expansion in the 1980s, or examining its role in the Balkan conflicts in the 1990s.

Rohan is less convincing in her attempt to show that the WEU played a fundamental role in the construction of Europe's postwar security architecture. To be sure, it supported NATO and the EC/EU, both of which turned out to be highly successful institutions. But it did not cause their success in any meaningful way. In every phase, it did little more than provide a forum for discussion and issue statements of support. Rohan effectively acknowledges the point, highlighting the WEU's cheerleading role, but attributing major developments in the alliance and integration processes to interstate bargaining. The WEU was ever present but rarely if ever influential.

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Rhys Morgan. *The Welsh and the Shaping of Early Modern Ireland, 1558–1641.* (Irish Historical Monograph Series.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 2014. Pp. xii, 230. $120.00.

The study of modern (post-1750) Welsh migration has received considerable attention in recent years with a swath of publications relating to Welsh emigrants in America, Australia, Canada, Patagonia, and elsewhere. However, earlier patterns of migration and settlement have not received the same level of consideration. This is puzzling given the richness of the evidence that is available in English, Irish, and Welsh archives as evident from this book's bibliography. In this context, Rhys Morgan's new study offers fascinating insight into the importance of Welsh involvement, as soldiers and colonizers, in Ireland. Indeed, as he points out, "Welsh men and women played a pervasive role in the English government's attempt to conquer, govern and settle early modern Ireland" (1), but he rightly observes that the Welsh are "a largely invisible group in the historiography of the conquest and settlement of Ireland" (6). As such, Morgan's study is a timely corrective.

Initially, Morgan provides a stimulating introduction that attempts to locate Welsh involvement in Ireland and Britain in this period while also discussing the historiography of Cambro-Hibernic relations in the context of the field. Although the latter is a brief section problematizing "New English" studies, it is a very welcome addition that further debunks the notion that military occupation and colonization was comprehensive or indeed led by "a coherent and united community with shared ideals, goals and beliefs" (6). Moreover, he explains that this study of Welsh participation in Ireland fills the lacunae in our knowledge and distinguishes their contribution from that of their English counterparts as a socially and culturally distinct body.

In the first part of the book, Morgan offers three well-informed and carefully crafted chapters that substantially outline the transition of the Welsh from levies and officers in the English Army in Ireland (approximately 20 percent) to that of administrators and plantation owners from the mid-sixteenth century to the eve of the British and Irish civil wars in the following century. His work tests the contemporary view that those sent to fight came from limited financial backgrounds or the dregs of society. Although many were certainly of meager means, Morgan suggests that they were not criminals or vagabonds, as they were largely drawn from rural laborers as well as tenant farmers and tradesmen. In many cases they were "generally useful men, often sent against the wishes of friends and patrons" (32). More significant is Morgan's

groundbreaking work uncovering the importance of military service for the gentry in early modern Wales. He surveys their role as officers, examines the motivations for enlisting, and again compares them with their English counterparts, particularly the "motivating factors" of honor and status alongside financial gain (48).

Chapters 2 and 3 move these arguments forward. Morgan investigates the role the Welsh had in the Irish government, from their limited involvement as "Castle Welshmen" whose administrative roles were "temporary, located in Dublin and dependent on powerful patrons" to more established positions as provincial administrators by the opening years of the seventeenth century. He observes that they were "largely mid-level figures who wielded influence locally" (72), and explains how their positions were consolidated in the development of plantations that soon followed. In this, Morgan exposes the reality of Welsh settlements in Ireland: the periods of growth as well as decline, the push and pull factors of migration and settlement, and gradual integration into the colonial community. It is impressive work, especially as he disentangles the Welsh from their colonial contemporaries by examining the settlers as "a distinct migrant group." Welsh settlers did integrate over time, but nevertheless had a "unique experience of Irish plantation." This is an important observation and Morgan is certainly correct that they should not "be subsumed uncritically into the New English majority" (103).

In the second part of the study, Morgan draws attention to the Welsh migrants as a community that was able to establish cohesive and enduring socioeconomic and political networks in Ireland in conjunction with its Welsh homelands. Indeed, he offers a corrective to the prevailing view of colonizer and settler, and explores the extent to which the Welsh represented "a distinct group set apart from, and perhaps a threat to, their English colleagues" (107). His detailed investigations in chapter 4 are initially centered on the Welsh at Newry, particularly the career of Sir Nicholas Bagenal and other members of his family. He demonstrates that the Welsh gentry was not an isolated group, but rather was well-connected in England and increasingly in other parts of Ireland. Drawing on marriage alliances and extant correspondence, Morgan also maps some of the close networks created between the gentry of the British Isles, which could have been expanded further to expose the interaction with Irish magnates. The final chapter continues to probe at colonial settlement and the distinctive nature of the Welsh community in Ireland. Morgan asserts that the Welsh were perceived to be a "troubling source of difference in a colonial community that strove for unity and uniformity" (131), and his observations are both well-grounded and subtly argued. He certainly questions the cohesive nature of the "New English" community in Ireland and his sophisticated analysis of Meredith Hanmer's *The Chronicle of Ireland* (1633) shows the centrality of the Welsh in the Irish experiment and how they could position themselves as a loyal, and yet distinctive, community.

The conclusion to the study reflects on Morgan's earlier findings. He is at pains to emphasize that the "New English" model is still very relevant, while acknowledging that further levels of understanding can be revealed by looking at the Welsh experience in Ireland. Significantly, he is aware that further work ought to be encouraged in this field as this will enhance our knowledge of how the early modern Welsh established and sustained networks in Britain and the wider world. Hopefully, Morgan will continue to provide such stimulating assessments of the complexities of the colonizer and settler community.

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Mark Brayshay. *Land Travel and Communications in Tudor and Stuart England: Achieving a Joined-up Realm*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014. Pp. xxiv, 417. $130.00.

Mark Brayshay, professor of historical geography at the University of Plymouth, has written a lengthy, deeply researched, and most welcome study of land travel in early modern England, particularly privileging the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, before turning, in the last two chapters, to the post-1635 era and ending at ca. 1700.

Overall, and with copious documentation especially from archival sources, Brayshay describes (sometimes in greater detail than required) facts well established, but also information assumed to be correct, yet, as it happens, was not. In the first category are lengthy detailed discussions of the increase in travel over time, the kinds of people who traveled and for what purposes, and the development of the highway and road systems to accommodate the intensifying traffic over two centuries. In the latter category are theories about the state of the roads, which were long assumed to have been poorly constructed and maintained, and often impassable in seasons of mud or frost, and the difficulties of land travel in general. These assumptions turn out, under Brayshay's extensive scrutiny, to be largely inaccurate. He establishes that both the ease and frequency of travel were much greater than generations of historians and others have described them. All sorts of people traveled: by foot more than by any other means and out of occupational necessity more than any other purpose. They did so frequently, relatively safely, and with reasonable reliability. This he attributes first to a viable national highway network, spurred especially by the Marian legislation of 1554 and 1555, and then to the largely local upkeep of smaller and more local roads and streets over time. Along the way there are informative discussions of such issues as the impact of increased foot travel on the leather and shoe industries; the emergence of the post system for the rapid conveying of news and letters; the erection of road signs and the production of maps and itineraries; the cost of keeping horses; the onset of travel by cart and coach; and the myriad strategies for funding roads and bridges.

One of the most useful aspects of the work for historians is the seventy-one (!) figures and maps, as well as twenty-one tables, which show such things as travel

routes and road networks, sites of road and bridge repairs, carriers' schedules and destinations, patterns of militia deployment, travel routes of major dramatic companies, routes of royal progresses, carriers' rates, location of posts, and journey times for sending letters from London. Information on these and related subjects will prove enormously useful to those interested in any form of domestic communication between ca. 1500 and ca. 1700.

In general terms, Brayshay's greatest contribution is his overwhelmingly persuasive evidence that travel was safer, easier, and more reliable than previously assumed, and that its advances over the period from 1500 to1700 made for what he calls an "increasingly sophisticated degree of connectiveness" (347) in England and Wales. Though most journeys were local, undertaken on foot, and for purposes such as marketing, longer-distance travel, for a greater diversity of purposes and by horseback or wheeled vehicle, became ever more frequent.

Yet the scope of the discussion has its limits, especially in its preference for the presentation of evidence over analysis, and its consequent predilection for archival sources over more interpretive secondary sources. While it will long endure as a rich, authoritative, and invaluable source of information on travel itself, it eschews any extended engagement with current (and sometimes not so current) discourse about, for instance, the relationship between the circulation of news and the ambient political culture, especially of the seventeenth century.

That may have been a wise decision, as it would have added considerably to the length of an already hefty volume. Yet, it also suggests a book that was long in production and failed to keep up with some of the pertinent scholarship unfolding in the process. In the same vein, for example, Brayshay discusses the role and routes of traveling players without any reference to the Records of English Drama project, which has been investigating and publishing on that subject, among others, for nearly four decades, and he neglects such authorities as, for example, Peter Clark on the issue of migration. Finally, the claim that the advances so well documented here over a period of two centuries constitute a "revolution" in travel (351) seems excessive. By the standards of much of the rest of Western Europe over the same era, and especially in those areas experiencing more endemic warfare, the pace of change in English travel would appear to fall somewhere in the normal range.

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Marcus Harmes and Victoria Bladen, editors. *Supernatural and Secular Power in Early Modern England*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2015. Pp. ix, 237. $124.95.

This collection brings together nine papers that address the operation of supernatural and secular power in early modern England. This is, of course, a massive and diffuse subject. Even if we do not adopt a fully Foucauldian position, power in any developed society is a multifaceted phenomenon that works in a variety of different ways at multiple levels. Accordingly, any collection of essays, like the one under review here, can only provide a very incomplete map of the contours of "power." The problem of grouping such essays in a way that will ensure a degree of intellectual coherence is also challenging. Further complications arise from how the meanings of the terms "secular" and "supernatural" differed in the early modern period from their current usage, and how early modern observers possessed very different notions of the distinction between the two.

The essays gathered together in this volume are grouped into three sections. The first of these sections, on magic at court, begins with Glyn Parry's "John Dee, Alchemy and Authority in Elizabethan England." This serves to remind the reader of the political importance of alchemy in the late sixteenth century and also introduces the backlash against it that was engineered by two successive archbishops of Canterbury, John Whitgift and Richard Bancroft. These two senior clerics viewed alchemy, lumped together with prophecy and astrology (and, indeed, as a later essay in this collection reminds us, demonic possession) as symbolic of religious fanaticism. Pierre Kapitaniak's essay on Reginald Scot is a useful addition to the growing literature on that skeptical author. The author's interpretation of Scot's position in Elizabethan patronage networks and his evaluation of the sources Scot used in *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* are especially interesting. Michael Devine's essay on the contribution of what he terms "treasonous Catholic magic" in Essex to the creation of the 1563 English witchcraft act likewise adds to our knowledge of its subject, while reminding us that witchcraft was sometimes a phenomenon with important political overtones. In the second section, on "Performance, Text and Language," the volume moves across disciplinary boundaries from historical to literary studies. Victoria Bladen provides additional insights into that now much-studied work, *The Witch of Edmonton*, while Fiona Martin looks at the relationship between the supernatural and suicide in a lesser-known work, William Sampson's *The Vow Breaker*. Martin Dawes moves the reader back to more familiar territory, albeit investigated from a fresh perspective, in an essay entitled "The Politics of Supernatural Wonders in *Paradise Lost*," which is especially valuable in attempting to link Dawes's interpretation of John Milton's position on the interaction between secular and supernatural power to the religio-political world of post-Restoration England. The fourth essay in this section, by Catherine Stevens, is a fascinating and original discussion of Ludwig Lavater's *Of Ghostes and Spirites Walking by Nyght*, the English title of the 1572 translation of a work first published in German in 1569. In this essay, Stevens leads the reader through the massive theological, logical, and evidential problems that Lavater had to confront in his Protestant interpretation of ghosts, which eventually led him into ever-deepening confusion. The collection is rounded off by two essays in a section entitled "Witchcraft, the Devil and the Body." In the first of these, Marcus Harmes, again examining a reasonably familiar topic, addresses the reactions of a number of high-ranking

ecclesiastics, notably Richard Bancroft, to the problem of demonic possession in the decades around 1600, and provides further thought on how this issue fit with the ecclesiastical politics of the time. In the second, Charlotte-Rose Millar rigorously examines seventeenth-century pamphlet literature to explore the theme of "Sleeping with Devils: The Sexual Witch in Seventeenth-Century England." She argues that sex between the devil and the witch was more common in English witchcraft beliefs than has previously been thought.

As pointed out, the theme of supernatural and secular power in early modern England is wide ranging, and it is perhaps fair to say that the essays in this collection demonstrate this breadth and diversity rather than point the way toward an overall synthesis. Thus the value of the individual essays will vary very much with the nature of what individual readers wish to derive from the collection. What comes across from many of them, perhaps surprisingly given the pervasiveness of the "history from below" model of English witchcraft established by Alan Macfarlane and Keith Thomas at the beginning of the 1970s, is that way in which witchcraft and other occult beliefs become enmeshed in elite politics. Overall, the contributors to the collection have indisputably added, sometimes significantly, to the topics they address.

If there is one major criticism, it is that the collection is weighted too heavily toward the period before 1640. Millar's essay is the only one to be set squarely over the seventeenth century, and Dawes's is unusual since it explicitly addresses how the themes of the collection might have worked themselves out after 1660. Some years ago, Ian Bostridge stressed the importance of politics in bringing about the decline of witchcraft in England and, in particular, argued for greater connections between party ideology and attitudes toward witchcraft in the early eighteenth century, thus establishing the significance of the interaction between supernatural and secular power during that period. The importance of this interaction after 1660 has been further illustrated by Jonathan Barry's work on the continuing cultural potency of witchcraft and the supernatural in south-western England throughout the eighteenth century. Also, in Peter Elmer's work the focal point forms around the political significance of witchcraft in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Given that notions of secular power were to change significantly in the half century after 1660, some discussion in this collection of how concepts of supernatural power evolved over the same chronological span would have been desirable. But that, arguably, should be left for another collection of essays.

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Ayesha Mukherjee. *Penury into Plenty: Dearth and the Making of Knowledge in Early Modern England.* (Routledge Research in Early Modern History.) New York: Routledge, 2015. Pp. xv, 270. $145.00.

In this, her first book, Ayesha Mukherjee addresses the cultural centrality of dearth, or rather the fear of it, in 1590s England—a subject that might at first glance appear narrow, but actually opens up deep questions about how early modern English men and women understood and responded to the social, economic, and environmental changes they were experiencing. At the heart of the study is the intriguing character of Sir Hugh Platt, polymathic author and experimenter who recently appeared in Deborah E. Harkness's *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (2007), the title of which Harkness borrowed from Platt's own central publication. Whereas Harkness depicted Platt's London as the crucible of the scientific revolution in England, Mukherjee emphasizes its vulnerability, particularly in the dismal 1590s, when dearth was a pressing fear. To Mukherjee, this was the overriding concern that united Platt's eclectic interests—ranging from medicine, food preservation, and manuring to cookery, limning, and pencil making—although this "dearth science" (as Mukherjee labels it) was much more than the obsession of an eccentric individual. Son of one of London's wealthiest entrepreneurs, Platt enjoyed strong connections with London's artisans, as well as the rich gentry, and his shop (the original "Jewel House") was at the center of networks that extended throughout the city and beyond. From this vantage point Platt was able to compile information on a breathtaking range of innovative techniques—twenty-five recipes for black ink, to take one example cited from his manuscripts—that he would then absorb into his own experimental practices, publish, or simply make available for sale.

Platt and his milieu are introduced in chapter 3. The previous chapter seeks to establish the centrality of dearth in contemporary culture and literature, drawing from sermons to cheap print and drama. Although the range of authors and genres it covers can at times be disorientating, the chapter successfully conveys how disruptive of moral norms the threat of dearth could be. The ingenuity of conny-catchers "making shift" to stay alive in times of scarcity acquires a new resonance, and although the suggestion that Platt might have exchanged card tricks in taverns with these literary rogues is a little far-fetched, Mukherjee's insistence that they shared common ground is convincing. The restless application of the imagination to all of life's problems was a feature of Platt's intellectual project, as he sought to squeeze out every last drop of value from resources that one might expect a wealthy gentleman like himself to have taken for granted. Indeed, he elevated horror of waste to the level of high principle in his writings, especially when it came to one of Platt's key interests: manure, the archetypal waste product that was also a source of fecundity. In what is perhaps the book's central chapter, Mukherjee places Platt in the context of a European tradition of organic alchemists who, inspired by Paracelsus, investigated the properties of fertilizers in order to identify the universal life force. The cycle of decay and regrowth that the manuring process embodied was for Platt of philosophic importance, too; knowledge was wasted unless applied anew, and dusty books were to be mined for nuggets of information. Manuring, for Platt, was an active pursuit,

the social implications of which were communal rather than individualist. It held spiritual significance, though Mukherjee's foray into Calvinist usages of the trope of manuring to illustrate the relationship between human will and divine grace, while interesting in itself, was arguably something of a discursion. Food preservation (another of Platt's obsessions) had similar philosophical implications, though Mukherjee's chapter on "Sustainable households" emphasizes the practicality of Platt's cookery publications. Here Platt addressed the pressing problem of how to make ends meet in a world of unpredictable food prices and supplies, of pollution and decay, so that sugar emerges not so much as a luxurious indulgence than a critical weapon in the constant struggle to stock the larder with palatable food. Similarly, in the final chapter, Mukherjee describes Platt's interest in the luxury end of the London economy, but with a similar focus on thrift, offering cost-cutting suggestions to be used in as apparently trifling a trade as limning. Platt was close enough to the heart of London's economy to know that the luxury trades that were so often condemned by statesmen and scholars for wasting the nation's estate were also responsible for employing numerous workers, who were to be valued for their expert knowledge, if nothing else.

Overall this is a highly convincing interpretation of an important figure, which successfully connects his interests to social and economic trends. Whether "dearth science" is the most appropriate label under which to classify this endeavor may be questioned. Although concern about food shortage certainly seems to have driven some of Platt's projects, others appear attuned to matters of economic necessity more generally, while the alchemical tradition that Platt was so drawn to extended far beyond 1590s England in time and space, and perhaps cannot be so closely identified with the problem of dearth as, say, the identification of usable grain substitutes. But in broad terms, the argument that Platt was fully aware of the stresses that his society was facing, and that his manuscripts and publications reveal something about how the exchange of knowledge through surprisingly diverse social networks helped to mitigate against these stresses, is wholly convincing. What happened to this "dearth science" in the longer term, however, might have warranted fuller attention. At several points Mukherjee alludes to the later discourse of improvement, and seems to imply that this was in certain respects at odds with Platt's more socially cooperative vision (e.g., 191), but the connection between the two might have been clarified in a fuller conclusion. Or perhaps this is a theme to which Mukherjee will return elsewhere, in which case we can look forward to another rich and stimulating work of interdisciplinary scholarship.

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Jennifer Evans. *Aphrodisiacs, Fertility and Medicine in Early Modern England*. (Royal Historical Society Studies in History.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 2014. Pp. x, 215. $90.00.

Drawing upon printed and manuscript sources including medical texts, botanical texts, ballads, erotic literature, newspaper ads, and recipe books, Jennifer Evans notes the ubiquity of discourse on aphrodisiacs, sexual pleasure, and procreation throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Knowledge about aphrodisiacs could be drawn from multiple traditions: Hippocratic, Aristotelian, Galenic, astrologic, and folkloric, and were accessible to all. Across these traditions, it was thought that sickness and health depended on four humors existing in a delicate balance. A humoral imbalance of the womb was thought to be responsible for infertility. For conception, the womb could not be too cold, wet, dry, or hot.

Why was there so much interest in aphrodisiacs at this time? Evans argues that the answer must be found within the context of early modern society. Birthrates were declining, miscarriages were common, and infant mortality was high as couples struggled to conceive. Patriarchal society depended on potent males and motherly females. Those who failed to meet these expectations faced scorn and ridicule. Failure to produce an heir undermined patriarchy and raised questions about the male's ability to rule a household or gain the respect of his peers. Christianity taught that children were blessings of God. Anxieties over impotence contributed to fear of witches and played a role in the witch-hunts. Hence the desire of infertile men and women to resort to aphrodisiacs was strong.

Medical culture both fed and drew upon popular culture, as the same ideas appeared in medical texts, ballads, and recipe books. Medical writers declared that procreative sex was more pleasurable. Theologians emphasized the need for lust and pleasure to conceive, always within marriage. Writers of erotic literature provided specific details on how to evoke sexual desire, thereby enabling conception and generation.

Evans's review of remedy books reveals that couples acted upon the suggestions in them, leaving behind handwritten marginalia indicating that some were better than others. Women who recommended emmenagogues, associated both with restoring balance to the womb and provoking abortions, did not hesitate to have their names publically associated with them. Thus Evans supports her claim that aphrodisiacs were considered vital substances essential for maintaining sexual health, although they could be used inappropriately.

A leitmotif of this book is Evans's curiously conflicted references to Thomas Walter Laqueur's *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (1990). Sometimes she argues against his thesis that in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, ideas about sexual difference changed. In contrast to a model of humanity as one-sexed, with female organs an inverted form of male organs, a two-sexed model emerged in which females were neither equal nor complementary, but incommensurable. In the process, sexual desire and pleasure were divorced from reproduction.

However, Evans's own expansive research leads her to the opposite thesis: "between 1580 and 1780 descriptions

of aphrodisiacs implicitly accepted and explicitly described lust as an integral part of conception and generation" (6). She does not see a clear transition in the medical literature from a one-sexed to a two-sexed model. Often men and women received the same treatments. If there were a transition in the medical literature from one-sexed to two-sexed bodies, it was not necessarily reflected in medical treatments.

But having challenged Laqueur's argument, Evans qualifies her critique, speculating that elite medical theory must have advanced more quickly than medical practice. She then seems to support Laqueur's theory of sexual difference, noting that the terms "barrenness" and "impotence" were used interchangeably until the seventeenth century, when the term barrenness was generally applied to women and impotence to men.

Evans's contributions to the historiography include a critique of historians who err in assuming that the history of contraception and the history of infertility are separate subjects. Regulation of reproduction did not only refer to contraception, but also aphrodisiacs. In contrast to the many accounts of illicit, unwanted pregnancies recounted by other scholars, Evans demonstrates that married couples were sometimes desperate to have children. Or the same couple might have wanted to have children in one phase of their marriage and to curtail fertility at another. She also discounts the notions that blame for infertility was always directed at women or that men had no role in regulating fertility. She attributes historians' focus on contraception rather than conception to their failure to look at the early modern world through an early modern lens.

Laqueur certainly presented a provocative hypothesis about why nineteenth-century women were averse to sex. He, like Evans, drew upon the context of society and the state when considering medicine. However, his timeframe coincided less with changes in medical or popular literature than with changes in political thought generated by natural rights philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. These philosophers, along with prominent leaders in the French Revolution, sought in the facts of biology a justification for cultural and political differences between the sexes. The two-sex model of sexuality emerged because it justified excluding women from the public sphere.

Just as Laqueur has been interpreted as failing to present evidence even-handedly, so too might Evans be criticized for tracing primarily one line of thought, namely that pleasure was good because it was required for conception. A different line of thought can be found in Evans's quote from an artisan collecting scriptures condemning adultery, fornication, uncleanness, and wantonness in order to master his lust. There were certainly adherents to those ideas too, as Evans quotes Faramerz Dabhoiwala that "the regulation of sexuality in the seventeenth century was rooted in the teachings that '[l]ust was a dangerous and shameful passion, that fornication was evil' and that adultery was criminal" (129). In other parts of her text, Evans is more cautious, arguing that it is *plausible* that early modern people would act on the potpourri of ideas that were available to them.

Lindsay Wilson
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Felicity Heal. *The Power of Gifts: Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. Pp. vi, 258. $110.00.

A gift is a complicated thing. It creates obligation, yet it is meant to be freely given. A gift can promote a relationship or poison it. Felicity Heal's *The Power of Gifts: Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* reveals the significance of the gift to political and social relations in England's early modern period.

Part I of the book examines the concepts and contexts of gifts in English culture. Opening with a consideration of the nature of gifts broadly, Heal reviews the works of theorists such as Marcel Mauss and Pierre Bourdieu to frame her investigation of the historical evidence. The spirit of the gift, its distinction (however ambiguous) from commodity, and the relational and transactional elements involved in the process of gift exchange are important concepts that Heal applies to her analysis. Heal also surveys literary sources for their insights into how early modern people perceived gifts. Both classical authorities (particularly Seneca) and biblical injunctions toward charity and sharing one's gifts helped shape contemporary understandings.

Heal deploys an array of sources—personal correspondence, treatises, borough archives—to trace the patterns, types, and timing of gift giving in early modern society. Nearly anything could be a gift, if given in the right circumstances and bound with the right social gestures. Honoring visitors, marking important moments in the life cycle, and celebrating a season (most often Christmas or New Year) were well-established occasions for gift exchange in English culture. Gifts might be voluntary tokens of affection between friends and family, or they could shade into obligatory offerings, such as those between landlord and tenant, patron and client. Such giving represented the affective bond at the center of a relationship, even a more economic or political one.

The politics of gift exchange comprises the subject of part II of the book, and Heal's analysis takes her where the sources are the richest, the royal court. She examines gift exchange as an element of diplomacy between monarchs, but focuses most of her attention on domestic politics and patronage. Because personal and political power were so deeply intertwined in this period, public expressions of generosity offered an effective means of articulating authority, fidelity, and honor. Heal notes the formalization of gift giving in the Tudor court, especially under Elizabeth, where the New Year's gift became a major display of obligation between monarch and subjects. The extensive lists of gifts to the queen attest to the importance of this exchange, and participants, according to Heal, well understood the "script" of giving and the reward involved in this performance (92).

With the accession of the Stuarts, the centrality of the

New Year's exchange waned. James I was more impulsive in his largesse, to the detriment of his finances. Gifts also became politicized in new ways, as criticism of the king's generosity to Scots and favorites mounted. Lavish expectations of giving at court for political preferment led to a "lethally competitive environment" (134). King Charles established more modest patterns of exchange, but his generally weak financial situation kept him from spreading largesse as a political tool to the extent his father did. Heal suggests that Charles might have smoothed relations with his subjects in the 1620s through more effective use of gift exchange.

Heal also explores the darker side of the gift. Covering some of the same ground as historians of corruption such as Joel Hurstfield and Linda Levy Peck, she emphasizes the complicated and fluid relationship between benefits and bribes. Classical authors and Christian moralists alike warned against corruption, yet the boundary between appropriate and inappropriate rewards was, according to Heal, indistinct and often depended on context. Gratuities and gifts—increasingly of money—formed the "bedrock of political patronage" (199) and might only be labeled as corrupt when parties to a relationship became dissatisfied. Anxiety about corruption reached a crescendo with impeachment proceedings against Francis Bacon and the Duke of Buckingham in the 1620s. This crisis did not provoke immediate change, however, as Heal finds Samuel Pepys facing similar ambiguities about gratuities fifty years later.

Heal makes a convincing case for the powerful role of gifts in early modern England. Readers will appreciate her deft intertwining of theoretical frameworks and historical analysis, as well as her use of wide-ranging sources and well-chosen anecdotes. At times, she may extend the definition of "gift" overly broadly (is the royal touch for scrofula really a gift?), but this expansive view contributes to her argument about the fluidity of boundaries between market and gift, benefit and bribe, and personal power and state authority in the early modern period. Scholars of early modern society, culture, and politics will find much to benefit them in *The Power of Gifts*.

Catherine F. Patterson
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Hunter Powell. *The Crisis of British Protestantism: Church Power in the Puritan Revolution, 1638–44*. (Politics, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain.) New York: Manchester University Press, 2015. Pp. viii, 264. £70.00.

Hunter Powell completed his Ph.D. in 2011 under the supervision of John Morrill at Cambridge University. As he notes in his acknowledgments, he was Morrill's 117th graduate student (!). This book is the product of his time as a research student at Cambridge, doubtless benefiting greatly from the genial but rigorous supervision of his mentor who has had a profound influence on the way historians have thought about the Puritan Revolution for the past forty years and especially about the importance of using contemporaries' language and constructs to understand their issues.

The focus of the book is on the Dissenting Brethren, the group of five congregational ministers who spent several years in exile in Holland in the 1630s but returned to England in 1640 after which, as members of the Westminster Assembly of Divines and as authors of the *Apologeticall Narration*, they played a critically important role in events through the 1650s. In Powell's view "no group in the history of the Puritan Revolution had a more disproportionate impact on the course of events than this vocal minority" (3).

The problem confronting Puritans in the years after 1640 was how to replace an episcopal church that, in their view, had become unrecognizably popish in its liturgy and structure during the Laudian regime. Secondly, they had to agree on how to reconcile the yet-to-be reorganized church with the preservation of Reformed orthodoxy in all parts of Britain. Powell's approach to this problem is self-consciously revisionist, both in his treatment of the conventional sources and in his recasting of the conventional narrative. He is highly critical of historians who have relied on a small number of sensational pamphlets written by clergymen who were not part of the group actually participating in the discussions, such as Thomas Edwards and Adam Steuart. Many historians, Powell contends, have paid too little attention to more reliable sources such as the private correspondence of people like Robert Baillie and, more crucially, to the recently published edition of the minutes of the Westminster Assembly (Chad Van Dixhoorn et al., eds., *The Minutes and Papers of the Westminster Assembly, 1643–1652*, 5 vols. [2014]). Based on a careful reading of these new sources, Powell has developed a more nuanced version of the relations between the English Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, the Scottish Presbyterians, the Independents, and the Erastian Presbyterians, to mention just a few of the more significant groups that emerged after 1640 with distinct views on the structure and distribution of power in the new church.

During the period in question, according to Powell, relations between these groups inside and outside the Assembly were far more fluid than has been recognized. Outright animosity between the groups, he suggests, has been exaggerated by most historians who have failed to understand the scholastic procedures accepted by the participants in the debates on the all-important question of the most scripturally based church structure and, within that structure, who properly exercised authority. To Powell, it is important to acknowledge the messiness of the political narrative for the 1640s that is too easily distorted by Whiggish simplicities. Thus he rejects the conventional historiographical view that his Congregationalists were in direct conflict with either the English or the Scottish Presbyterians. On the contrary, he argues, the Congregationalists shared many ecclesiological views with the Scottish Presbyterians, were not separatists, did not represent a milestone on the march toward religious toleration, and were quite distinct from the political Independents. The time-honored Presbyterian versus

Independent model as the basis of understanding Civil War politics is, he thinks, a simplification of the various complex ways contemporary Puritan clergymen interpreted Matthew 16:19 and 18:17–18, two basic texts on the issue of the nature and power of the church.

This is an excellent book that will be required reading for anyone who wishes to understand the religious and, more importantly, the ecclesiological debates that roiled English Puritan clergymen in the 1640s. This reviewer, however, was left wondering just how to locate these doubtless crucial intellectual conflicts in the broader political context of the period from 1640 to 1660. Virtually everyone who contributed to the narrative in this study was, like the author himself, an ordained clergyman. Their clerical status distinguishes them from the majority of players in the surrounding political narrative that features so prominently the declaration of war against the king, abolition of the traditional political institutions (notably monarchy and the House of Lords), and the establishment of a republic. This sequence of events, even more important than the establishment of disciplinary procedures in a reconstructed church, constitutes the Puritan Revolution. To what extent were the values and assumptions of these ordained British puritan clergy in the 1640s mirrored in those of their more secular, nonclerical contemporaries in Parliament, the New Model Army, London, and the local communities? Powell does touch upon this issue when he notes the links in early 1641 between John Adamson's junto of peers, Edmund Calamy's Aldermanbury group, and the recently returned Holland divines. Beyond this, however, Powell's Puritan divines in and around the Westminster Assembly are presented as unconnected to their political counterparts. Just how do these intricate debates about church power animate and interface with the overarching political narrative at the heart of which is the Revolution?

Michael Finlayson
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Cian T. McMahon. *The Global Dimensions of Irish Identity: Race, Nation, and the Popular Press, 1840–1880.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015. Pp. xiii, 238. $34.95.

Before the 1820s, most Irish emigrants who crossed the Atlantic were Ulster Protestants. During the period covered by this book (1840–1880) some 4.5 million Irish emigrants followed them. More than 90 percent of these were Catholics. The galvanizing event that drove much of this emigration was the post–1845 Great Famine. A failed rebellion in 1848 also saw the dispersal of an intelligentsia of both Protestant and Catholic nationalists who had been part of the Young Irelander movement. Cian T. McMahon focuses on the *Nation*, the Young Irelander newspaper founded in Dublin in 1842, and also newspapers and periodicals set up by Young Irelanders in the U.S. and Australia. Taken together, he argues in this valuable contribution to the literature on the Irish diaspora, such periodicals articulated and exemplified a global Irish nationalism (4).

The chapter titles clearly articulate the crux of *The Global Dimensions of Irish Identity: Race, Nation, and the Popular Press, 1840–1880*. Chapter 1 ("L'Esprit et les Lois: Celts and Saxons in Ireland, 1840–1848") examines the emergence of the Young Irelander movement, its rejection of the parliamentary nationalism of Daniel O'Connell, and its cultural nationalist project. The stated aim of the *Nation*, according to one of its founders Thomas Davis, was "[t]o create and to foster public opinion in Ireland—to make it racy of the soil" (24). "Celt" became a widely used euphemism for Catholic Irish in the Irish-American press. "Saxon" referred to white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, including the descendants of emigrants from Ulster. Some Irish-American newspapers described the Irish people as Celts and the British as Saxons. Yet the *Nation* preached a nationalism that was in theory inclusive of Irish Protestants as well as Catholics. Some of its leading figures like John Mitchell were Protestants but not, presumably, Saxons. According to McMahon, this language of Celts and Saxons was "a tricky device riddled with paradoxes and ambiguities" (41). Mitchell did not rail against "Saxons" so much as the "English" liberal political economy he saw as effecting both a material and ideological conquest of Ireland. His ideological fight and that of some other Young Irelanders was against O'Connellite liberalism and utilitarianism.

Chapter 3 ("Battling the Anglo-Saxon Myth: Irish Identity in the Antebellum United States, 1848–1861") recounts the efforts by various Young Irelanders who came to New York after a failed rebellion to improve the status of their countrymen in 1848. Several did well for themselves and some quickly established newspapers aimed at influencing fellow Irish immigrants. Less than six weeks after Thomas D'Arcy McGee arrived in New York, he published the first edition of the New York *Nation*, a periodical devoted to "Ireland and her Emigrants." Its declared goal was the "elevation of the worldwide (Irish) race." McGee's nine-point "National Creed" defined the nation as a "moral essence and not a geographical arrangement," not the "nation as it was or is, on Irish soil" (83). In 1850 he founded the *American Celt.*

Most of the book is focused on the Irish in America. However, chapter 2 ("'A Lone, Lone Spot in the Far Southern Seas': The Irish Race in Australia, 1848–1855") examines newspapers such as the *Irish Exile and Freedom's Advocate*, founded in 1850 by Patrick O'Donohoe, soon after he arrived in Van Diemen's Land. Such publications survived by reprinting materials from Irish newspapers. The Sidney *Freeman's Journal* took its politics from O'Connell and moderate Young Irelanders like Sir Charles Gavan Duffy. It reflected the dominant loyalism of the Catholic Irish in Australia. Duffy relaunched the *Nation* in 1849 with a manifesto which rejected revolution. True service to Ireland, he argued, required active involvement in the day to day government of the country. Ireland needed efficient ministers and administrators not rhetoricians. He contended that true proof of Irish greatness was to be found among the emigrants in Australia and America who were clearing forests and building

cities. Duffy immigrated to Australia where he was elected prime minister of Victoria in 1871. He was knighted in 1873.

Chapter 4 ("'Scarce a Battlefield from the North Pole to the South': Irish Celts in the American Civil War, 1861–1865") and chapter 5 ("'American by Nationality yet Irish by Race': Citizenship in the Wake of the Civil War, 1865–1880") address how the Catholic Irish gained acceptance as Americans and examines the emergence of a new generation of Irish-American journalism exemplified by the *Irish World*. How this acceptance came about has been the subject of books like Noel Ignatiev's *How the Irish Became White* (1995) which posits a thesis, challenged by McMahon, that the Catholic Irish repositioned their racial status in America through siding with white nativists against African Americans (78). Catholicism, which American nativists associated with immorality and despotism, was one of the main bases on which much anti-Irish hostility stood. Rather, Irish editors saw the laws, customs, and manners of the U.S. as derivative from a transnational Anglo-Saxon culture. Editorial comments in the antebellum Irish-American press revealed, according to McMahon, a deep sense of anxiety about how the "Anglo-Saxon" press on both sides of the Atlantic portrayed Irish Catholics. Like their compatriots in Australia, McMahon argues the Irish in America met this supranational threat with a supranational response that celebrated Irish Celts as an international community joined by blood, customs, and history. Such representations may have helped bind Irish emigrants around the world into a transnational imagined community but did little to convince native-born Americans of their suitability for citizenship.

To achieve that, newspapers such as the *Irish World* invested in the pluralist rhetoric of American republicanism. Patrick Ford, who emigrated from Galway to Boston in 1845 as an eight-year-old child, edited the *Irish World*. It billed itself as a "religious and national weekly newspaper" dedicated to "the Irish Race throughout the World" (170) and appears to have had a circulation of 50,000 copies per issue by 1878, rising to 125,000 by the early twentieth century. "Between March 1871 and January 1872, Ford ran a weekly series entitled 'The Celt and the Saxon, or Celtic Civilization Versus Anglo-Saxon Civilization' by the perennially popular late ethnologist John McElheran" (171) that promoted the cause for Irish citizenship. According to McMahon, Ford balanced such propaganda with "a heady dose of civic pluralism" (172). Alongside a fervent belief that there was such a thing as an Irish race, Ford championed the notion of hyphenated identities: Irish-Americans, German-Americans, African-Americans, and even Anglo-Americans. If genius is the capacity to hold opposing ideas at once, then this, McMahon implies, was the genius of Irish-America.

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Philip Howell. *At Home and Astray: The Domestic Dog in Victorian Britain*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015. Pp. x, 252. $39.50.

Dogs were ubiquitous in Victorian London. Lapdogs nestled on ladies' knees; fighting dogs exhibited their skills in the rat or bear pit; strays and working dogs roamed the streets, while family pets graced many a middle-class home. *At Home and Astray: The Domestic Dog in Victorian Britain* charts the development of mankind's relationship with the dog in the Victorian city, painting a rich picture of canine life in the metropolis. Drawing on approaches from animal studies, cultural history, and historical geography, Philip Howell explores the spatial dimensions of dog-keeping in nineteenth-century Britain, assessing "the dog's *place* in British society" (3).

At Home and Astray focuses on a series of contemporary debates in which canine identity took center stage. Chapter 2 examines the harrowing phenomenon of dog theft, which occurred on an almost daily basis in mid-nineteenth-century London. Chapter 3 traces the history of Battersea Dogs' Home (founded in 1860 as the "Temporary Home for Lost and Starving Dogs"), highlighting the institution's close relations with the Victorian state. Chapters 1 and 4 study the role of dogs in literature and science, focusing on the figures of Charles Dickens and Charles Darwin, respectively. Chapter 5 assesses the social and spiritual significance of dog cemeteries, which challenged existing religious assumptions about animal immortality. Chapter 6 explores the controversial issue of dog muzzling in public—a measure prompted by fears over the spread of rabies. Through a thought-provoking analysis of these debates, Howell elucidates the shifting status of the dog within Victoria society, interrogating its role as, by turns, beloved pet, valued property, scientific subject, vector of disease, and even proto-citizen.

One theme that runs throughout Howell's analysis is that of class. Whether it was lower class dog stealers intruding into the comfortable world of bourgeois pet owners or the forced removal of "homeless" working-class dogs from the streets, class pervaded human-canine interactions in the Victorian era. Pampered bourgeois pets might be ransomed for large sums of money if stolen, or sold for a profit by the dogs' home, but working-class mongrels were much more likely to be removed from the streets and euthanized; as an article in *The Times* remarked, "The King CHARLES owns an enchanted life—the turnspit or mongrel may be turned into sausage-meat without a tear over its untimely grave" (90). Howell perceives this differential treatment as part of a broader cultural shift that associated dog ownership explicitly with the bourgeois household and maligned stray or working dogs as dirty, unruly, and potentially dangerous. *At Home and Astray* also emphasizes the degree to which gender mediated discussions of the dog, showing how patriarchal rule confined both women and dogs to the domestic sphere.

Another recurring theme in the book is the question of the legal status of dogs and the state's right to control them. On the one hand, the dog stealing controversy raised the thorny question of whether dogs should be regarded as property, and their theft punished in the same manner as other property crimes. The dog muzzling legislation of the late 1880s, on the other hand, was

conceived by opponents as a direct threat to the personal liberties of both dogs and their owners, generating a flurry of anguished letters to the press. For example, in 1890, *The Animal World* published a complaint by an owner of a Japanese lapdog who protested that the wire muzzle was too tight for her poor pooch, who "will not move a step" when wearing it, "but stands with head and tail drooping" (*The Animal World*, February 1890, 31). Howell suggests that the tensions that surfaced in both debates reflected, in part, the ambiguous nature of the dog, which was valued on sentimental as well as monetary grounds and blurred the boundaries between object and subject.

A particularly original element to *At Home and Astray*—and an aspect central to Howell's argument—is the book's emphasis on the geographical dimensions of dog life in Victorian London. Howell argues persuasively that different places and spaces conferred different meanings on London's dogs, influencing how they were perceived. Dogs in the home formed part of the domestic idyll of the bourgeois world, owned and cared for as part of the family. Dogs on the streets, by contrast, represented disorder and disease and were increasingly perceived as a danger to be extirpated. Howell contends that these two processes operated in tandem, creating what he calls a "moral geography" of dogs (176). The more some dogs were welcomed into the Victorian home as animal companions, the more stray dogs were cleansed from the public sphere.

At Home and Astray is a carefully researched and lucidly written book which makes an important contribution to our knowledge of Victorian culture and the role of animals within it. Theoretically astute and methodologically innovative, it will appeal to historians of animals, but also to students of urban life, crime, class, and gender in the Victorian era.

Helen Cowie
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Krista Maglen. *The English System: Quarantine, Immigration and the Making of a Port Sanitary Zone*. New York: Manchester University Press, 2014. Pp. x, 240. $100.00.

Since 1377, when the municipal council of Ragusa on the Dalmatian coast mandated a thirty-day period of isolation for those coming from places known to have been menaced by plague, governments have sought to safeguard the health of their populations from diseases originating abroad. Ragusa's quarantine became the model. However, in the nineteenth century, England sought an alternative to quarantine that would offer protection from disease while not inconveniencing commerce, the economic lifeblood of the empire. That scheme, known as the English System, was adopted in 1872. Krista Maglen explains this arrangement in detail in *The English System: Quarantine, Immigration and the Making of a Port Sanitary Zone*. It is a significant contribution to the history of medicine and public health, as well as to the history of migration in Victorian Britain.

Quarantine sought to contain specific diseases from abroad that might pose a danger to the healthy. The English System, in contrast, was focused not on the disease but on the traveler who had been stricken. As Maglen explains, under the English System, "[c]oncepts of nation and health coalesced around the undefined space at the ports" (2). The English System depended upon a combination of port sanitation and sanitary surveillance. Maritime disease control was thus incorporated into the British public health policy realm.

How did it work? Maglen begins with an example. In the early 1890s an epidemic of cholera swept across Europe as Eastern European migrants, many of them Eastern European Jews, were heading west to escape religious persecution and in search of economic opportunity. Often travelers were felled by disease in transit. In 1892, three Eastern European Jewish migrants aboard the SS *Gemma* that had sailed out of Hamburg arrived in England stricken by cholera. All three, two women and one male, died soon after their arrival. After a brief inspection, first- and second-class passengers on the *Gemma* were permitted to leave for their homes or the hospitality of friends. Those who had traveled with the victims in steerage were detained for an additional six days of observation and then released. The English System allowed port physicians to avoid quarantining the entire ship. Instead of focusing on the disease, the focus remained on those who brought it.

The English system defined an English public health zone around British ports. However, that zone was intentionally made flexible and could be, as needed, expanded to include other English colonies or contracted to end at the shore of the British isle. As Maglen observes, the elasticity allowed by the English System could "define different and changing constructions of 'national' space and those who 'belonged' within it" (9). The English System hinged on specific places, whether they be unhealthy urban districts, ports of departure, shipboard space, or the country where a particular disease was indigenous.

Not all English officials agreed with the English System at first. And at times quarantine was used as well. British policymakers finally replaced quarantine with the new system in the Public Health Act of 1896. Now all power previously held by the Privy Council and Customs Service over ships arriving with cholera, yellow fever, or plague was transferred to the Local Government Board and Port Sanitary Authorities. However, even then only these three traditionally quarantinable diseases were included in the legislation. Other diseases, known as "indigenous diseases," including a variety of fevers, were not accounted for by the act.

Maritime nations cannot deal with matters of health and disease in isolation from their commercial partners. Maglen meticulously recounts the International Sanitary Conferences that demonstrate maritime nations' desire to share information and policies. She also rightly devotes considerable attention to the U.S. and its policies. The U.S. had also long practiced quarantine and continued to do so, never adopting the English System, but instead expanding its public health reach to include

inspection in ports of departure, what one scholar characterized as "remote control." Most importantly, millions of migrants were headed for England with the intention of eventually going on to the U.S. Now both countries had an increasing interest in each other's public health policies. Britain, especially, was concerned about immigration rejections in the U.S. and the return of those rejected to the English port where they had purchased tickets rather than to the migrants' places of origin in Eastern or Southern Europe.

Public health policies were becoming conflated with immigration policies. The U.S.'s retention of quarantine and its addition of inspection and interrogation of third-class and steerage passengers at points of arrival, such as New York's Ellis Island, left some British officials with increasing doubts about the efficacy of the English System. British opponents of immigration, "anti-alienists," demanded restrictive measures similar to those in the U.S. This sentiment culminated in the 1905 Aliens Act, which included medical grounds as one of the reasons for rejecting newcomers. However, concerned about maintaining wages and prices for English laborers, British officials increasingly rejected newcomers on economic rather than health grounds.

After the passage of the Aliens Act, Port Medical Officers of Health functioned as Immigration Medical Inspectors when ships carrying more than twenty alien steerage passengers arrived. First- and second-class passengers continued to enjoy the orderly but relaxed atmosphere established by the English System, which continued to benefit the commercial concerns of the ports. In the end, detentions and exclusions in Britain were less derivative of public health anxieties than the fears stirred by British Conservative politicians and American restrictive policies.

In today's age of anxiety about migration, Maglen's volume will strike a familiar chord. Countries continue to deliberate about the best way to protect their populations from diseases carried by arrivals and concerns about health at the borders continue to figure in discussions of national space. Though Maglen's paragraphs can be overly long and her prose sometimes turgid, scholars and graduate students will find much to mine in this rich contribution to the growing literature on health, disease, and migration.

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[Reviewers of books by Indiana University History Department faculty are selected with advice from the Board of Editors.]

Peter Reed. *Acid Rain and the Rise of the Environmental Chemist in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. (Science, Technology and Culture, 1700–1945.) Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2014. Pp. xv, 209. $124.95.

A Scot turned Englishman, Robert Angus Smith, Britain's first Alkali (and river pollution) inspector was one of the most important proto-environmental experts in mid- to late-nineteenth-century Britain. Smith has only recently been recognized as an important figure in the scientific field, joining the ranks of a handful of giants whose work and writings made so massive a contribution to theoretical and empirical styles of thought and communal quality of life during this time period. They include William Farr, Edwin Chadwick (an important influence on Smith), and Sir John Simon. In recent years, two other innovators have joined the elite—chemist and river and water pollution expert Edward Frankland (who features in this book) and, north of the border, the man behind the "cleansing" of the intolerably vile streets, courts, and alleys of Edinburgh, Sir Henry Littlejohn. All of these men have now received full biographical, "life and times" treatment by highly skilled historians.

Peter Reed's portrait of Angus Smith presents the reader with a formidably learned activist-civil scientist and polymath whose interests ranged from chemistry and sanitary science to antiquarianism and spiritualism, with many things in between. Smith's range of knowledge was vast, which can be gleaned from the list of his astonishing periodical publications that Reed includes in *Acid Rain and the Rise of the Environmental Chemist in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. (Reed deserves congratulation here for what must have been an exceptionally demanding research task.) On the proto-environmental front, the papers indicate the ways in which Smith made connections between the emerging science of air pollution and miasmatic and sanitary styles of thought. He was also a champion of the preventive role of ventilation and knew everything there was to know about new trends in empirical and theoretical meteorology.

A closer reading of a larger sample of these articles would have revealed more about Smith's intellectual development than can be conveyed in the short biography at the beginning of this study. Much would also have been gained from a deeper textual analysis of the evidence that Smith gave to countless royal commissions and select committees. (Like Frankland, he was always near the top of Westminster's witness invitation list.) All this would have made for a longer book. As it is, his personal life tends to get buried beneath an excellent survey of Smith's scientific and technological achievements.

Emphasizing the scale of the task that Smith and his small band of colleagues faced in the second half of the nineteenth century, Reed provides a brief account of the way in which his subject's health was undermined by chronic overwork. The Alkali Inspectorate was appallingly understaffed. How was it possible to monitor thousands of chemical plants and other polluting industrial concerns in a society that was still a long way from accepting that noxious vapors wrought terrible damage on local environments and human health? In the late 1870s and early 1880s, Smith, who acknowledged himself to be of an "anxious disposition" (20), became hopelessly exhausted. He refused to take what would now be called voluntary retirement. In 1884 he died at salubrious Colwyn Bay at the age of sixty-seven.

Reed is very much at home with exclusively scientific and technological aspects of Smith's life and career: there

are excellent chapters on connections between sanitary science and acid rain, nuisance vapors, the extension of regulation, and the ways in which the Inspectorate went about its business in the twentieth century. Reed provides a coherent account of the emergence of a new science and forms of nonaggressive intervention that gradually spurred on the invention and construction of important antipollution technologies. At that level, his study summarizes and quite often supersedes an expanding journal literature.

Historiographically, however, there are over simplifications and omissions. Chapter 3, "Robert Angus Smith's Manchester" is under documented. Reed subscribes to a nonproblematic inspectorial "Age of Reform," an over-optimistic label that has long been banished from the social historical literature. He also says too little about Roy MacLeod's classic article, "The Alkali Acts Administration, 1863–84: The Emergence of the Civil Scientist" (1965) published in *Victorian Studies*, which first directed attention toward the then historically invisible Alkali Inspectorate. Oliver MacDonagh's work on government growth, which underpinned MacLeod's seminal publication, is granted a short and accurate paragraph. A longer consideration would have shown how MacDonagh's research into the Passenger Acts triggered a long-running debate over the extent to which the activities of inspectorates and civil scientists really did play a central role in shaping Britain's modern bureaucratic state. However, this is an excellent study, marred only by an intermittent failure to make strong enough connections between the history of science and technology and mainstream political, economic, and social histories.

Bill Luckin
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Marjorie Levine-Clark. *Unemployment, Welfare, and Masculine Citizenship: "So Much Honest Poverty" in Britain, 1870–1930*. (Genders and Sexualities in History.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2015. Pp. xix, 304. $95.00.

Marjorie Levine-Clark opens her account of unemployment and masculinity with a comparison to the present. Today unemployment is once again in mainstream political discourse, which finds the moral failings of the individual to be at fault. She cites Iain Duncan Smith's "something-for-nothing" speech at the 2013 Conservative Conference as illustration (xv). In contrast, Dudley MP James Wilson in 1921, while addressing unemployed constituents, observed that the jobless wanted work and that going to the Poor Law was a stain on their manhood. This juxtaposition serves to highlight the central thesis of the book.

The study centers on the Poor Law in the Black Country areas of the West Midlands from 1870 to 1930. This region, known for its coal and iron production, has its own specificity. As the era began, the Black Country experienced patterns of late marriage and high levels of non-marriage, as well as chronic unemployment from the Great Depression. This unusual combination impacted their chances to receive poor relief.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, Britain recognized unemployment as being structural or as William Beveridge put it "a problem of industry" (6). Until 1928, the vote was granted to those on whom property or gender conferred respectability. This reshaped understandings of welfare and citizenship. The welfare ethos embodied in the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, Levine-Clark observes, echoes the contemporary attitudes toward the unemployed (as well as the "crusade against outrelief of the 1870s" [200]): the moral virtue of work, the specter of welfare dependency, and less eligibility. The problem of unemployment, however, was constructed in a gendered way around the "holy trinity" of prevailing notions of the male breadwinner, the work imperative, and the family liability. As such, Levine-Clark follows the work of such scholars as Susan Pedersen and Mary Daly who have gendered the history of welfare.

In *Unemployment, Welfare, and Masculine Citizenship: "So Much Honest Poverty" in Britain, 1870–1930*, Levine-Clark focuses on the perceptions of men as failures when they could not deliver a family wage. Conforming to these family-centered norms, the unemployed father came to be seen through the trope of honest poverty. This constituted a social status to bolster deserving honest men's abilities to act as independent breadwinners, downplaying their failures to find work and provide for their families. The author shows how popular stereotypes epitomized in the cartoon characters of weary Willy and Tired Tim played to gendered prejudices about the unemployed. In order to counter the negative depictions, men needed to prove that they were actively seeking jobs in order to receive poor law relief for the unemployed. Instead of provision for or recognition of the unemployed as a whole, the concessions excluded and delegitimized women, unmarried men, and the "unemployable" (a social *couche* periodically reimagined from the "residuum" to the "underclass"). For Levine-Clark, then, policy had a patriarchal, masculinist, and heteronormative quality that elevated the unemployed male breadwinner to a privileged status. The masculine work imperative and honest poverty underpinned prewar Liberal reforms, including the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908 and the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1911. During the Great War, such discourses structured around honest poverty and the work imperative fed into the language of shirkers of military service, who were thereby assigned a diminished masculinity. Following the war, Levine-Clark argues that conflicting preferential claims to honest poverty of veterans and married men emerged, with the latter ultimately winning out. During the miners' lockout of 1926, the same logic meant that pitmen lost their deserving status. The final chapter considers family liability through maintenance battles during marital separation wherein men gave up the privilege of honest poverty.

At times, the author's use of gender as a frame tends to crowd out other dimensions of this formative moment of provision for the unemployed. Given the Protestant work ethic and the perceived association between Irish

Catholic immigrants and large families, religious ethnicity, and its relation to the hierarchy of welfare, deservedness might have been investigated more thoroughly. The complexity of the collective action and agency of the unemployed themselves might also have been more systematically added into the analysis. For some readers, the book's endpoint of 1930 might frustrate on three grounds. First, this leaves unanswered the continuities of welfare after the Poor Law's formal abolition. Secondly, the periodization means that the threshold of the equalization that the right to vote attained in 1928 is not fully explored. Thirdly, given the regionalization of joblessness in the national imagination during the 1930s, the Black Country offers an illustration of the messiness of the perceived and lived spatial dynamics of unemployment: did the honest poverty in the distressed periphery contrast with that in the supposedly booming Midlands? Despite these misgivings, the author provides a nuanced analysis of gender during the era of the contested discovery of unemployment. Overall, this is a well-researched and well-written book, and it makes an important contribution to British welfare history.

Matt Perry
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Gemma Clark. *Everyday Violence in the Irish Civil War.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Pp. xvii, 229. $110.00.

In 1923, four men entered Woodrooffe estate in Tipperary and set fire to the stables and then the residence: "Flanked by square courts with cupolas, this had been a grand home; now little remained of the eighteenth-century mansion" (75). During the Irish Civil War from 1922 to 1923 the burning of the "big house" was a striking aspect of what Gemma Clark terms everyday violence, acts of force and intimidation that characterized the war in some parts of the new Irish Free State. Reflecting broader patterns in civil wars, distinctions between civilians and combatants sometimes broke down in Ireland during these years and the motives behind violence were not always clear-cut. This study explores the experiences of victims of violence in the counties Waterford, Limerick, and Tipperary and situates the conflict in a broad international context and theoretical framework that draws from Stathis Kalyvas's influential *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (2006). This approach brings welcome new dimensions to regional studies of the Irish revolution and provides some parallels with conflicts elsewhere. By European standards, the author observes, "Ireland was not a violent country" (186).

The book is primarily based on over two thousand claims for compensation made to the UK government and the Irish Free State's Damage to Property (Compensation) Act (1923). At the time of research, the latter source was neglected and not yet catalogued, and its analysis here brings a new perspective to the field (the files have now been listed by the National Archives of Ireland). Many episodes of everyday violence aimed to destabilize the Free State. Acts of destruction were not impulsive outbursts of antigovernment feeling, but were part of a deliberate, planned strategy to disrupt the day-to-day running of the country and communicate that the anti-Treatyites remained active. Canals, railways, and the goods they transported were attacked, along with senators' homes. Arsonists most commonly took aim at crops, farm buildings, and vehicles, but the burning of big houses, if not the most frequent, was arguably the most notorious form of arson. These attacks, Clark maintains, were part of "the settling of local scores against an historic enemy" (96).

Land hunger factored significantly and intimidation drew on the rituals of agrarian violence, including cattle maiming and "childish" threatening letters (114). Chapter 4 highlights a number of victims who felt intimidated because of their religion or former connections with the British state, yet Clark concludes that the main focus of intimidation was a different social group, "the graziers and medium-sized farmers" (115) of all denominations who had recently acquired land. "Grazier" gained "heightened currency as a derogatory label during the Civil War" (116). Labor disputes also produced violence. In 1922, workers on Sir John Keane's estate near Cappoquin went on a month-long strike during which both the sawmills and mansion on the estate burned down. A dispute over a reduction in laborers' wages, rather than the owner's links to the British forces, motived Irishmen to destroy farm buildings in Roscrea. The burning of a creamery in Tipperary town was attributed to a Soviet. Socialists and the Irish Republican Army (IRA), Clark notes, occasionally came into conflict in the three counties and she maintains that, beyond the figures of Liam Mellows and Peadar O'Donnell, "republicanism and labour remained separate causes into 1922" (95). Surprisingly, in the discussion of Limerick there is no reference to John O'Callaghan's county study *Revolutionary Limerick: the Republican Campaign for Independence in Limerick, 1913–1921* (2010), a book that differs significantly in tone. Chapter 5 sheds new light on the question of sexual violence, which remains comparatively understudied in the Irish revolution. In 1922, a handful of cases of sexual assault occurred in Tipperary that produced shock at the highest levels, and in one incident it was unclear if the perpetrators were linked to the Free State army or the IRA. In contrast with some contemporary conflicts, however, "rape never became a weapon of war in Ireland" (195).

The book does not shy away from controversial issues in the historiography of the Irish revolution. Building on arguments elaborated in Peter Hart's *The I.R.A. at War, 1916–1923* (2003), about the sectarian nature of nationalist violence, Clark contends that in the three counties "the unavoidable trend that emerges is one of minority persecution" (198). In a fight between the anti-treaty IRA and the Free State, "the Loyalist, Protestant minority was disproportionately targeted" (89) and violence and boycotting "were used to degrade a known enemy and homogenize the local community" (203) by forcing the victims to leave. The financial compensation files are, however, a source tilted toward a particular representation of

events, reflecting the exigencies of applicants who had lost a lot in a short time. Clark acknowledges this and notes the "sparse sources" (159) to investigate how the perpetrators saw their actions, but the issue still deserves more attention than it is given here considering the contentious nature of debates about Protestant depopulation during these years. Overall this book reveals that violence in the Irish Civil War stemmed from a variety of political and social motives, including nationalism, labor, land, sectarianism, vendettas, and individual grievances, which could work in combination, making it difficult to isolate one as the predominant factor.

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Kevin Quinlan. *The Secret War between the Wars: MI5 in the 1920s and 1930s*. (History of British Intelligence.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 2014. Pp. xx, 266. $49.95.

This study is a welcome contribution to the growing literature on the secret activities of the British state in the interwar period. As Kevin Quinlan quite rightly observes, there was a war that was waged between the Great War and World War II and in Britain's case much of this was done in secret by the underpowered, but growing British secret state. Quinlan also suggests that this was the era when ideologies and popular forces that had been held at bay up until 1917 broke through to control state power, first in Russia, and then in Italy and Germany, which created challenges for the British state reminiscent of the current obstacles faced by the American War on Terror today.

The Secret War between the Wars: MI5 in the 1920s and 1930s focuses on the role of MI5 in this secret war. Quinlan's doctoral work at Cambridge University, and his participation in its important seminar on intelligence history served as the impetus for this book. Those new to this field will find the early section on the structure of the British intelligence establishment and its key early players useful, but the real strength of the work is on aspects of MI5 tradecraft that are highlighted by chapters based on a close reading of British National Archives files and offered in the form of thematic case studies. At times one wonders if the British spy fiction writer John le Carré did not help with the titles of these chapters (though he does find himself on the pages nonetheless) with themes such as "Official Cover," "Counter-subversion," "Recruitment and Handling," "Penetration Agents," and "Defection and Debriefing." These are all ingenious ways to introduce the topics covered in each chapter.

Quinlan uses recently declassified documents of the British Security Service to confirm suspicions and assumptions about the efforts of this understaffed and poorly resourced arm of the British secret state in this period, showing some of its weaknesses as well as successes. The interaction between MI5 and the Metropolitan Police Special Branch, the Home Office, Passport Control, the Foreign Office, the Admiralty, and the Post Office together provided the "shield" against espionage and subversion as demonstrated in Quinlan's account. Divisions of power and responsibility reduced some of the abuse of liberty, but it also limited its effectiveness with such a complex structure. Then, as now, the problem for liberal-democratic states is often who watches our own spies. Quinlan's work reveals the tension at the practical level without delving deeply into the ethical/political issues involved.

Quinlan's study clearly articulates that at the heart of the challenge for MI5 was its mission to defend against espionage activities and subversion within the armed services. In the interwar period and beyond, the agency found itself facing enemies who targeted the wider British establishment and its imperial interests. In the ideologically charged political arena of the interwar period, the enemy was not always a foreign agent of any enemy state, but a homegrown collaborator or a refugee from a foreign land who would assist Joseph Stalin's USSR, or more rarely, help to advance the cause of fascism supported by Benito Mussolini or Adolph Hitler.

Quinlan's analysis culminates in a lengthy examination of the well-known case of the Soviet traitor/defector, Walter Krivitsky, who was paid to come to Britain in 1940 for an extensive debriefing after he fled from Stalin's intelligence service via France to the U.S. in 1938. Under the careful and effective interrogation of his British handlers, the most important of which was the first female MI5 intelligence officer, Jane Archer, Krivitsky provided the British with valuable insight into Soviet operations generally and as they related to Britain itself. Krivitsky's interrogation became a model for MI5 on interrogation techniques and was consulted well into the 1950s for insight into Soviet operations.

Quinlan does address one of the most intriguing questions raised in the Krivitsky interrogation: whether the Soviet traitor/defector had given his British hosts enough information to identify the penetration agents, most particularly members of the Cambridge Five, in his testimony. Quinlan comes down on the side of "no" in this discussion as Krivitsky's memory of the profile of the elusive mole was just muddled enough not to allow a clear view of the identity of this important spy.

This study is a generally enjoyable read on an important period of MI5 history. It provides a close analysis of the agency's practices and challenges. Though much of this is familiar, the level of analysis goes beyond most existing accounts and is an excellent example of archival research that is well written.

Gordon Morrell
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Peter Sloman. *The Liberal Party and the Economy, 1929–1964*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. vi, 281. $125.00.

Since the establishment of modern British politics in the late eighteenth and early twentieth centuries, two-party competition prevailed between conservatism (as represented in the Conservative and Unionist Party) and

liberalism (the Liberal Party). The Liberals had the upper hand from 1859 to 1910, the last year for elections before the First World War. The Liberal Party remained in government until 1922, albeit in coalition from 1915 onward, but never again would liberalism and the Liberals triumph in the electoral contest, which would remain duopolistic, but of conservatism versus socialism (and variants thereof). Peter Sloman's volume, *The Liberal Party and the Economy, 1929–1964*, is a revised doctoral thesis and covers a critical period (the "wilderness years") in which the party's share of the vote was cut by more than half (from 23.4 percent in 1929 to 11.2 percent in 1964) while, more catastrophically, its share of Parliamentary seats fell from 9.6 to 1.4 percent.

Histories of the Liberal Party abound, and many on the 1929–1964 period are good, but what Sloman brings is both a focused study of the key role played by economic issues in politics and policy, as well as a nuanced understanding of the broader liberal/Liberal conundrum: that, while often intellectually exciting, the combination of the first-past-the-post electoral system and the party's diverse electoral base meant it could not compete successfully against Labour and the Conservatives. The key element of Sloman's thesis is his reconfiguration of how we understand ideological trajectory in relation to the party's decline. Rejecting the orthodox classical versus social liberalism paradigm, he instead focuses on two different strands of social liberalism "whose influence ebbed and flowed across our period." The first was the "activist social Liberalism of Keynes and Beveridge, which sought to use state power to extend citizens' liberty by conquering visible social evils—unemployment, poverty, and economic stagnation—and reshaping the economic system around human needs" (233). The second was a "distributist tradition, in which a positive conception of liberty was combined with a republican commitment to an independent citizenry." Here "[l]iberals supported state action to remedy specific social and economic problems, but feared that reliance on the state for the necessities of life would destroy the independence, responsibility, and choice which true liberty required" (234). Distributists' anxieties about the market blunted their policy radicalism, while activists were vulnerable to the charge of being overly technocratic. Both found it difficult to challenge successfully Labour's evolving vision of social progress (especially in 1945 when the Liberal leader, Archibald Sinclair, wasted a huge opportunity by not being more positive about the Beveridge Report) and the accommodationist strategy of the Conservatives.

Sloman, while building upon the work of many economic policy historians, does provide the first complete account of Liberal economic policy-making in the context of evolving liberal political thought. According to the author, the year 1929 is a good place to start, not only because the party's manifesto, *We Can Conquer Unemployment*, exemplified the activist tradition with Keynes at the forefront, but also because it was the last genuine three-party political contest in Britain until 1983 (when the Alliance of the Liberals and new Social Democratic Party [SDP] achieved a combined 25.4 percent share of the vote, greater incidentally than the 2010 result for the Liberal Democrats, the party formed in 1988 of the Liberals and the SDP, which brought them into power for the first time since 1922). The year 1964 is also a good terminus because, despite the Liberal "revival" associated with Jo Grimond's leadership (1956–1967), the party failed to translate liberal reformist energy into the votes that matter: those that win seats rather than just signaling geographical centers of dissent against Conservative-Labour two-party politics.

Sloman reconstructs carefully how ideas were developed and transmitted within liberalism and the Liberal Party in successive chapters leading up to 1964 and beyond (his final chapter has some reflections on the "road to 2010," written some time—and in a spirit of optimism—before the 2015 general election, which demonstrated what happens when Liberals cozy up to Conservatives). There are four central research questions: the long-term impact of New Liberalism; the party's response to Keynesian economics; the relationship between Gladstonian liberalism and neoliberalism; and the role which economic policy choices played in Liberal decline. Sloman has something new to say about each. Above all, by reflecting on the cardinal issue of the government versus the market and the respective rights and responsibilities of individuals, he illuminates broader points about British politics since all political parties grappled with the same policy issues in the same intellectual marketplace, though Labour and the Conservatives secured greater, though alternating, electoral success. The trials and tribulations of twentieth-century liberalism and the Liberal Party/LibDems continue to encapsulate the "progressive dilemma," so forcefully articulated by David Marquand more than a quarter of a century ago. As the LibDems contemplate their new wilderness years, Sloman's book should be required reading for all strategists, as it ought to be for all serious students of modern British politics.

Roger Middleton
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Robin Prior. *When Britain Saved the West: The Story of 1940*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. xix, 335. $35.00.

Guilty Men (1940) by "Cato"—the pseudonym for journalists Michael Foot, Frank Owen, and Peter Howard—is perhaps the most famous pamphlet in twentieth-century British history. The publication is significant for two reasons: first, its demand that former appeasers (notably War Cabinet members Neville Chamberlain and Edward Frederick Lindley Wood, 1st Earl of Halifax) retire from public life created a political headache for Prime Minister Winston Churchill; second, its interpretation of interwar events was highly influential on subsequent scholarship. It is, therefore, surprising that Robin Prior's book, *When Britain Saved the West: The Story of 1940*, should make no mention of it. There are also other omissions and silences that weaken what is an undeniably vivid account.

The book is well grounded in archival sources, but less

so in the secondary literature. A particularly striking absence is the work of David Edgerton. Edgerton has argued that, contrary to popular belief, Britain in 1939 was not an under-resourced, quasi-pacifist nation; rather, it was a first-class power with remarkable technological capacity and scientific skill at its disposal. These points are still open for debate, but Prior does not engage directly with them. Where he does discuss the existing scholarship he does so in excessively general terms.

As a whole, the book presents a slightly clumsy hybrid of political and military history. To be fair, many of Prior's judgments are sound. He is absolutely correct in his analysis of the key cabinet debates during late May 1940 regarding the question of exploring peace terms with Germany. Whereas Churchill did make a couple of very minor rhetorical concessions to Halifax, his key opponent, these should not be read as evidence that the prime minister seriously pondered a compromise peace. However, when Prior dismisses what he calls "the 'weak' Prime Minister theory" (49), he is knocking down a straw man. No one has ever suggested that, when Churchill entered Downing Street, he was weak. What they have proposed, rightly so, is that he faced a series of formidable political pressures, which, in fact, he dealt with remarkably effectively. These pressures included the hostility of a large section of the Conservatives, still loyal to Chamberlain, who remained for the time being, party leader. They also included the left-wing hostility to Chamberlain, epitomized by "Cato," which was potentially destabilizing to the new government. Churchill overcame the crisis because Chamberlain acted loyally toward him and he used his authority to muffle the press criticism. Prior misses these complexities, and misrepresents the historians he is attacking. (Andrew Roberts appears to be the main target of Prior's rather generalized denunciations.)

The narratives of the Battle of France, the Battle of Britain, and the Blitz are lively, although some important issues (such as the "battle of the beams" and the role of Sir Maxwell Aitken, 1st Baron Beaverbrook at the Ministry of Aircraft Production) are barely touched upon. Frequently, especially with regard to the question of morale, Prior fails to make sufficiently clear where he stands in relation to the historiography. His analysis does seem remarkably Anglocentric, despite his affiliation with Australia. Although he mentions the contribution of the Dominions, the names J. C. Smuts, Sir Robert Menzies, and W. L. Mackenzie King—let alone M. K. Gandhi or Jawaharlal Nehru—do not even occur. He includes a passing mention of Ireland, and Japan only crops up in a footnote.

Prior's conclusions are essentially unchallenging and conventional. It is hard to disagree with his conviction that it was a very good thing that Britain fought on in 1940 and that Churchill deserves much credit for the ultimate outcome. The author may well be right that, with respect to Chamberlain and appeasement, the revisionist pendulum may have swung too far. However, his equation of "the West" with secular enlightenment values is problematic, in part because as Prior himself notes in passing (284), many British leaders including Churchill presented themselves as the defenders of "Christian civilization." In this respect, the book raises interesting questions but provides only cursory answers to them.

In the final chapter, Prior reveals the chip on his shoulder. Clearly, his preferred title would have been *When Britain Saved the West (and the Americans Did Not)*. In his view, before Pearl Harbor, "Roosevelt refused to show any leadership" in terms of trying to bring the U.S. into the war. Thus "Britain and the Dominions"—the wider empire is forgotten here—"fought freedom's battle while the largest democracy on earth occasionally threw them some crumbs" (280). There is certainly scope for debate about whether President Franklin D. Roosevelt could have gone farther and faster than he did, but it would need to be set in the context of a more sensitive appreciation of the president's actual political problems. So, an attempt to be controversial just ends up looking bad-tempered.

In summary, Prior is a historian of distinction, but on this occasion he has written a distinctly uneven book.

Richard Toye
University of Exeter

Huw Dylan. *Defence Intelligence and the Cold War: Britain's Joint Intelligence Bureau, 1945–1964*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. Pp. xvi, 240. $99.00.

Precursor to the Defence Intelligence Staff, the Joint Intelligence Bureau (JIB) was a major defense intelligence agency in early Cold War London. It was located in the Ministry of Defence and typically employed nearly two hundred analysts, most engaged in assessments of an interservice orientation. It was primarily the bureaucratic creation of Kenneth Strong, a senior British defense intelligence figure who had worked on the staff of General Dwight D. Eisenhower in the later stages of World War II. As it developed after 1945, Strong's Bureau, as Huw Dylan makes clear, was not (as previously assumed) merely concerned with narrow technical questions, despite a remit that covered military topography, airfields, and ports. Its work developed from assessing Soviet military topography to estimating and explicating global Cold War strategic superpower balances. The Bureau provided an intelligence resource for other Whitehall agencies, and indeed for sections of American intelligence. Eisenhower congratulated Strong in 1966, on the occasion of the latter's retirement, for the "great contributions you have made to your country and, indeed, to mine" (158). The JIB's archival footprint is relatively slight and poorly organized. Dylan's book necessarily draws on complex multi-archival analysis, both in the United Kingdom and the U.S., encompassing the private papers of figures such as Earl Mountbatten (Chief of the UK Defence Staff in the early 1960s) and Allan Crick, who followed Strong from Eisenhower's staff into the JIB.

Strong looms very large in Dylan's story. The chief of the JIB was a consistent advocate of the centralization of intelligence, seeing *his* bureau as the body that would

herald the drawing together of disparate strands of military intelligence. In some ways, Strong's finest hour (at least in retrospect) came in the context of JIB assessments of Soviet bomber and missile capability in the late 1950s. Strong wrote in 1958: "I personally believe that Khrushchev is, at the moment, in a fairly weak military position" with ineffective bombers and a "long range missile programme" which "seems to leave much to be desired" (126). According to the JIB, the U.S. was not especially vulnerable to Soviet air assault in the late 1950s. Dylan's explanation of how JIB assessments of the putative "missile gap" were superior to those coming from American intelligence analysts is one of this book's high spots. Dylan concludes that the JIB analysts (correctly) "simply did not believe that Soviet scientists and engineers could overcome technological problems as quickly as many in the American intelligence community thought possible" (211). The JIB reported on the Soviet military buildup in Cuba in August 1962, though failed to detect any medium-range ballistic missile deployment. Dylan concludes that the JIB's pre–Cuban Missile Crisis intelligence was "probably of marginal value compared to intelligence provided by American U2s, which the Americans apparently refused to share" (161).

Strong, of course, warmly supported close transatlantic intelligence cooperation. Dylan sees Strong's personal transatlantic networking as particularly important in influencing U.S. policy on Soviet military targeting in the post-1948 period. However, transatlantic sharing of intelligence, as in the case of Cuba, often fell short of Strong's ideal. The JIB's links to U.S. intelligence were "more important but not as close as the JIB's relationships with the Commonwealth JIBs" (163). Strong developed functioning UK-Canadian-Australian intelligence coordination by 1949. In general terms, Strong believed that intelligence should be a scientific as well as a cooperative pursuit, not the stuff of high adventure and risk-taking. Under Strong, the JIB specialized in exploiting Open Source Intelligence (Osint) from the Soviet Union, as well as so-called "grey" intelligence (defined as not-quite-secret intelligence to which access can be gained through a mixture of cunning, expertise, and non-clandestine contacts).

The eventual merging of the JIB with regular service intelligence (to form the Defence Intelligence Staff) was, at least to some degree, a vindication of Strong's campaign for centralization. This centralization agenda was strongly supported by Mountbatten, as well as by Denis Healey (Secretary of State for Defence in the Labour government, 1964–1970). Despite a degree of American support for parallel centralization in the U.S., the creation of the United States Defense Intelligence Agency in 1961 took place alongside the survival of large single-service intelligence operations. Dylan concludes: "the American machinery tolerated duplication, inter-service rivalry, and waste to a much greater extent than the British" (219).

Dylan's study is highly specialized and at times hampered by the unevenness of the relevant archival record. Nevertheless, *Defence Intelligence and the Cold War: Britain's Joint Intelligence Bureau, 1945–1964* is an extremely impressive work of original intelligence history.

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Robert J. Knecht. *Hero or Tyrant? Henry III, King of France, 1574–89*. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2014. Pp. xiii, 356. $129.95.

Henry III was the most vilified of all French early modern monarchs, but he has now found a more impartial biographer in Robert J. Knecht, author of numerous monographs on Renaissance courts, kingship, and more recently the French Wars of Religion. Knecht crafts a judicious account of the king's life while allowing the reader to come to his or her own conclusions about this complex last Valois king by entitling the book, "Hero or Tyrant?" a question that he as author cleverly never really answers. Most importantly, Knecht's purpose for producing the work is to give readers the first biography of Henry III published in English since 1858. Knecht wants to "bring the story up-do-date and to fill a void" (xiii), and he does so admirably. This notable volume, intended for students and general readers, still offers much to his colleagues in French history as well.

Sixteen chapters set between a short preface and conclusion move chronologically from Henry III's birth at Fontainebleau in 1551 to his assassination at Saint-Cloud in 1589. Highlights include a very interesting chapter on Henry's childhood during the time he was known as Alexandre-Edouard in which his mother, Catherine de' Medici, proved attentive to his and his royal siblings' healthcare needs. She moved the children away from court during plague outbreaks but could never protect them from tuberculosis, a disease that most likely attacked all of her sons and, as Knecht shows, troubled Henry III often during his life in the form of tubercular abscesses. Another early chapter covers Henry III's short reign as King of Poland in 1573–1574, a role he detested and quickly abandoned on learning of the death of his brother, Charles IX. Knecht offers a lively account of Henry fleeing Poland surreptitiously in the night in order to claim the French throne, leaving the Poles confused and disappointed.

At key points, Knecht includes thematic chapters focused on Henry and his court and clientele, especially those favorites identified as *mignons* and *archmignons* so famously maligned in the king's day and later denigrated as his homosexual conquests, an accusation the author absolutely rejects (136). What emerges is a balanced assessment that repudiates the "black legend" of Henry III while never attempting to rehabilitate him entirely or apologize for his assassination of the duc de Guise in 1588, a move Knecht interprets as a major blunder. Henry III, in Knecht's view, was bright and conscientious, a reformer of monetary policy and judicial practice, but a poor politician who engaged in favoritism, would not listen to his advisers, cared little for his towns, and became inaccessible to his subjects. After detailing the king's well-known obsession for fine clothing, hats, jewelry, and

pet animals, for example, Knecht concludes succinctly, "Henry III was a fop" (132).

Like all good books, this one raises more questions than it answers. On the one hand, Knecht has written a fine synthesis of the revisionist work published on Henry III in French over the last seventy years. The biography is based in large part on the scholarship of Jacqueline Boucher, Pierre Champion, Pierre Chevalier, and Nicholas Le Roux. In fact, a little over 25 percent of the footnotes in the text cite one of these four authors, while Knecht's two major primary sources are the published letters of Henry III and Catherine de' Medici. On the other hand, because he is purposefully writing a grand narrative instead of an analytical assessment, some of the topics Knecht addresses leave the reader wanting more. For example, he mentions Henry's sexuality, arguing that he loved women, especially his wife Queen Louise, and notes that he had illegitimate children. Since he never identifies any of them by name, he leaves the reader perplexed. He also dismisses Henry's proclivity to dress as a woman as simply courtly fad. One might have liked, however, a more complete discussion of Henry's gendered persona, especially in the context of masculinity as it was understood at that time. Sexuality can encompass a spectrum of behaviors and that, quite frankly, makes Henry III interesting whether he was conspicuously bisexual or not. What his various behaviors tell us about gendered conceptions of kingship and his attempt to escape his mother's control and his own sickly body through his *mignons*, therefore, needs more discussion here, especially given that Henry III has so often been portrayed as the foil to the robust, hyper-heterosexual Henry IV. In other words, Knecht often dismisses the opportunity to grapple with more controversial material, favoring a more cautious approach. He writes descriptively of court ceremony, royal balls, Renaissance etiquette, and the Guise assassination when analysis of the gendered dynamics of these events and customs might have proven more insightful in evaluating Henry's leadership or lack thereof. Knecht's biography is a valuable study, nonetheless, of a fascinating and misunderstood king. It may not give a definitive statement on the enigmatic Henry III as either hero or tyrant, but it certainly reveals a more complete picture of the man whose greatest failing and the source of so much of his trouble was tragically out of his own control: his failure to produce an heir.

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Jotham Parsons. *Making Money in Sixteenth-Century France: Currency, Culture, and the State*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2014. Pp. x, 324. $59.95.

Jotham Parsons's *Making Money in Sixteenth-Century France: Currency, Culture, and the State* is a welcome addition to a growing historiography on currency, debt, and capitalism in early modern Europe. Parsons uses the Pinatel affair, a scandal involving corruption and fraud by mint officials in the 1550s, in order to open a window into the operations of minting and monetary policy in sixteenth-century France. The book provides a detailed institutional history of the Chambre des Monnaies (later the Cour des Monnaies), its officers, and its role in regulating monetary policies in early modern France. In response to the Pinatel affair, Henri II launched a series of monetary reforms and elevated the Chambre des Monnaies to the status of a sovereign court. Henri II articulated his ambition to regulate monetary policy and control coinage through centralizing and rationalizing impulses that never fully materialized.

Parsons develops an extended analysis of French humanists' logic of economic regulation, identifying strains of Aristotelian thought that influenced early modern French notions of mercantilism and political economy. Parsons focuses on the writings of Michel de Montaigne, Jean Bodin, Louis le Roy, Guillaume de la Perrière, and Jacques Colas in order to demonstrate anxieties about money in sixteenth-century French political thought. Surprisingly, the book only briefly discusses Antoine de Montchrestien's *Treatise of Political Economy* and Maximilien de Béthune, duc de Sully's *Memoirs on the Wise and Royal Economies of State*. Political theorists, clerics, and intellectuals embraced alchemical experimentation to fabricate the "noble metal" (247). The "monetary imaginary" in Renaissance France celebrated gold, but at the same time worried about its corrupting influences. Drawing on the analysis of gold in the material culture of the French Renaissance in Rebecca Zorach's *Blood, Milk, Ink, Gold: Abundance and Excess in the French Renaissance* (2005), Parsons argues that during the second half of the sixteenth century "gold became increasingly a symbol of mutability and instability and of the wasteful and unnatural aspects of court culture" (259).

This discussion of French political theory is largely divorced from the context of the French Wars of Religion, however. For example, the study of the inflationary crisis and the monetary reforms of 1577 is rather disconnected from the context of the intense back-to-back religious wars of 1574–1576 and 1576–1577. *Making Money in Sixteenth-Century France* provides a short treatment of the Cour des Monnaies's experience of the French Wars of Religion, curiously attributing the officers' "strong adhesion to the party of the Catholic League" to "an accident of personnel" (56). Parsons points out that "coining without royal authorization was in fact routine during the wars," emphasizing the need for religious peaces to address such illegal coinage (156). The book suggestively hints at the ways in which the various armed parties of the religious wars utilized minting and monetary policy to support their politico-religious causes.

The Cour des Monnaies played a vital role in the *police* (ordering) of coinage and monetary policies (92–93). The Cour constantly battled inflation, as Parsons shows by focusing on the Cour's responses to the severe inflationary crisis of the 1570s—when a royal monetary reform created a new money of account, replacing the *livre* with a new gold *écu*. The monarchy attempted to ban the use of foreign currency within the kingdom and devalued the *écu* in order to combat runaway inflation. The court also investigated and prosecuted individuals accused of

counterfeiting, clipping, and other "coining" crimes. Parsons deftly utilizes the archives of the Cour des Monnaies, housed in the Archives Nationales (*série* Z^{1B}), to analyze criminal cases over illegal manipulations of coinage. The records indicate that "coining" was often an elite crime, carried out by merchants, goldsmiths, nobles, and alchemists who had access to substantial stockpiles of coins or metal. Criminals' wives and family members were often implicated in the "household economy" of counterfeiting (216–217). Parsons examines picaresque novels and comic plays that celebrate tricksters and *monnaie de singe*, or monkey money (273–277).

Parsons emphasizes that monarchical monetary policy was closely linked to managing inflation and raising revenues. The book might have explored more directly how resource mobilization and military spending shaped fiscal crises and monetary policies. At several points in the book, Parsons considers sixteenth-century French debates about the influx of New World silver and gold into European economies, weaving these analyses into the broader examination of monetary thought. The book also provides comparisons and contrasts to contemporaneous European (and especially English) monetary policies, but these sections sometimes could be better integrated with the study of the Cour des Monnaies. The analysis of monetary policies aimed at countering inflation could also have usefully responded to the extensive historiographical debate on the Price Revolution.

Parsons asserts a sweeping argument that during the reign of Henri IV, "there was a new tone and a new emphasis to French economic policy under the new dynasty, one that, despite an interruption after 1610, continued in many ways up to the Revolution" (100). Parsons suggests that Henri IV's attempts to "stabilize" the kingdom produced modern notions of money and sovereignty. He argues that "the moneys were one of the sites of contention in the creation of the new style of government traditionally labeled 'Bourbon absolutism'" (173). Parsons sees the Cour des Monnaies's growth as conforming to Max Weber's model of state development, with the emergence of a rational bureaucratic state. This view ignores the disruptions produced by the continuing low-intensity religious conflicts during Henri IV's reign and the civil wars that erupted during the 1610s and 1620s.

Making Money in Sixteenth-Century France succeeds in making monetary policy truly interesting. Far from a narrow numismatic study, this book sets coins into a much broader context of monetary policy, moralistic literature, and governmental reform surrounding the money exchange. The book offers an engaging intellectual and cultural history of early modern French monetary theory and practice. Parsons provides an important institutional history of the Cour des Monnaies integrated into a broader world of monetary policy and political economy.

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Julia Osman. *Citizen Soldiers and the Key to the Bastille.* (War, Culture and Society, 1750–1850.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. Pp. xiii, 204. $95.00.

The Enlightenment debate about the relationship between soldiering, patriotism, and citizenship has long been recognized as an important backdrop to the creation of a national army of citizen-soldiers under the French First Republic (1792–1804). Julia Osman seeks to subvert this relationship by arguing that revolutionary developments had ended any possibility of creating an army of citizen soldiers by 1791. This revisionist approach depends on tracing the origins and spread of the eighteenth-century ideal of the citizen-soldier as a patriotic volunteer. Osman explains how a few philosophes (notably Gabriel de Mably and Jean-Jacques Rousseau) and certain military reformers (notably Jacques Antoine-Hippolyte, Comte de Guibert, and Joseph Servan), drawing upon examples from ancient Greece and Rome, helped to forge an eighteenth-century version of the citizen-soldier both to improve military effectiveness and to build social solidarity. Soldiers were generally deemed the dregs of society. With the right reforms, however, they could become model citizens who inspired emulation. The ideal rested on patriotism, voluntarism, civic virtue, and personal dignity.

This new eighteenth-century ideal was supposedly given particular resonance by the experiences of the French Army in North America. Osman interestingly explores the disdain French officers had for the local forces raised in New France and their Amerindian allies during the Seven Years' War. She describes the parish-based militias as "a type of citizen army" that "felt a strong sense of loyalty and patriotism for their 'natal land'" (54). Despite the failure of such forces, even when bolstered by French regulars, to defend the colony successfully against British redcoats, Osman claims that the misleadingly named "Canadian army" foreshadowed "the sense of patriotism and even nationalism that would infect the French Army in the coming years" (54). Equally influential, apparently, was the next experience of the French army in North America, the American Revolution. Gilbert Bodinier and Samuel F. Scott have demonstrated that most of the officers who fought in this war did not return home imbued with revolutionary ideals, which Osman acknowledges. Nonetheless, she argues that newspaper reporting, popular prints, and an occasional poem about the war "would have" or "must have" (83) led the French to see Americans as akin to the citizen soldiers of ancient Greece and Rome. Osman claims that the French came to see the American forces as an army of citizen warriors inspired by patriotism and united in defense of their homeland.

According to Osman, even though military reformers did not take the Continental Army as a model, the novel attitudes that emerged in the 1780s helped to foster citizen-soldiers in France, who then helped to precipitate the French Revolution. This reverses the usual explanation. Military reforms adopted in 1787–1788 did modestly improve the lot of the ordinary soldier. His pay was increased, officers were told to address him with "vous" rather than "tu," and a school was created to teach the three R's to potential noncommissioned officers. But, as Osman observes, military reformers who thought of

treating soldiers more like citizens never intended to give them access to the officer corps. Instead, the reforms created a two-track system for officer promotions that rewarded the court nobility with high ranks and the provincial nobility with actual command of regiments and companies. The widespread rancor that resulted from codifying distinctions among nobles destroyed any potential cohesiveness in the officer corps. As a result, the French Army failed to realize the philosophes' vision of an army composed of citizen soldiers before 1789 changed everything.

With the spread of notions that soldiers were really citizens, and with many officers jaded by the recent reforms, the army proved unreliable in dealing with the widespread rioting of 1788 and 1789. This created an opportunity for Paris, as well as a host of other cities and towns across the country, to create an urban militia, soon dubbed the National Guard. They became true citizen-soldiers when an impressive number of them volunteered (as units) to serve alongside the regular army in defending the *patrie* in 1791 and 1792. Whereas other scholars see this as the basis for the citizen army of the republic, Osman pinpoints it as the final failure to realize the reformers' dream of a citizen army. Thus, "the early Revolution really marks the citizen army's dénouement" (130). In short, constituting an army on the basis of soldiers who volunteered to shed blood and even die for their country because they were so fond of being a part of it was military idealism of the Enlightenment sort, and it did not survive the bellicose realities of the French Revolution. The result was a new understanding of the citizen-soldier, one linked to mandatory military service. The new model was justified by insisting that the rights afforded by citizenship created the duties of soldiering, at least as long as the revolution was threatened by hostile forces at home and abroad.

The revolutionaries may have preached patriotism as the new essence of military service, but conscription, coercion, and compensation were the most compelling reasons that young men served in the French Army after 1792. Thus, whereas most scholars see French citizen-soldiers as the product of the republic, Osman sees them as only fleetingly possible before the republic, that is, during the late *ancien régime* and early years of the revolution. What followed was a betrayal of the original ideal. Such revisionism rests on making patriotic voluntarism the *sine qua non* of citizen-soldiers. This is too narrow an understanding. It ignores the importance of binding citizen-soldiers to the new regime through other means. These included eliminating degrading punishments, treating ordinary soldiers as social equals (including making them judges in military courts), making them eligible for promotion to the officer corps, honoring them as national heroes, rewarding their service with medals and pensions, and, ultimately, justifying military service as the duty of male citizens imbued with an unprecedented array of civil rights.

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Philip Nord. *France 1940: Defending the Republic*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. xviii, 189. $27.50.

In this slim and persuasive volume, Philip Nord presents a synthesis and reassessment of the historical and political interpretations of France's defeat in 1940. Taking aim at the narratives of decadence and decline proposed—on opposing ends of the political spectrum—by Philippe Pétain and Marc Bloch, Nord draws on recent scholarship to make the case "for a more sympathetic understanding of France's defeat" and a more positive assessment of the Third Republic (xvi).

Nord's key contribution in this regard is to set the French experience in comparative perspective. The book contains three sections dedicated to war preparedness, the Battle of France, and the demise of the Third Republic, respectively. Nord begins by summarizing recent revisionist scholarship that has emphasized the relative success of French diplomatic and military efforts and put forward a more nuanced understanding of French public opinion on the eve of the war to demonstrate that France was not in nearly as disastrous a state as the declinist narrative purports. From there, he repeatedly poses a basic but compelling question: Why, then, hold France to a different standard from her allies, or even her enemies? France was not the sole country to appease Hitler or to experience defeat and ought not to be singled out for condemnation. The French, Nord writes, "did well enough, in trying circumstances—and who, for that matter, did any better?" (30).

Nord's first section on war preparedness includes chapters on diplomacy and on armaments and morale. In the case of diplomacy, Nord stresses that "while the French may have been slow to grasp the true state of affairs, others were slower still, sticking to policies of appeasement and neutralism" (7). On the topic of armaments and morale, Nord underlines how rapid and massive the French military buildup actually was, that the French leadership was more willing to stand up to Hitler than Britain, the U.S., or the USSR, and that French public opinion—admittedly a "cauldron of prejudice" (49)—was no different from anywhere else. Ultimately, "France was as ready for war as any of the major belligerents, readier than the US and the Soviet Union, at least as ready as Britain and Germany" (57).

In his analysis of the Battle of France, Nord focuses on French and German battle plans and the conduct of the war. Here again, he emphasizes that French military planners had devised a plan that made sense for France, a democracy whose army was under the command, ultimately, of elected politicians who were bound to be frugal with the lives of their compatriots. Indeed, the "long-war strategy" that inspired French plans—"hold the line, build up resources, then go on the attack"—was what ultimately won the war for the Allies (102). France, however, could not hold the line, and this brings us to the first part of Nord's main argument: the French army command, not the civilian leadership or French society at large, was responsible for France's defeat.

This argument—that the defeat of France in 1940 was a military event and not a social, cultural, or political one—is explored in the third section of the book, "Death Comes to the Republic," which focuses on the months of June and July 1940. In two chapters on the armistice and the "road to Vichy," Nord emphasizes that it was not in the defeat itself, but in its aftermath that the singularity of the French experience lies. Here, Nord reexamines Prime Minister Paul Reynaud's resignation on June 16 and the "awful and spectacular act of political 'hara-kiri'" (107) that resulted in a vote on July 10 to give full powers to Marshal Pétain. The blame for the Vichy regime, Nord argues, should be laid squarely on the republic's enemies, in particular a military establishment that was fundamentally anti-democratic. It was not decadence that destroyed the Third Republic, Nord argues, but betrayal.

In his concluding chapter, "The 1940 Syndrome," Nord argues that despite the État Français, which he sees not as a parenthesis but nevertheless as a brief moment, the idea and tradition of the republic in France was, and remains, tenacious. "The French may have turned to Vichy in desperation in July 1940, but within a year or two at the most they had turned away again" (161). Without minimizing the roots or legacy of Pétain's collaborationist regime, Nord maintains that there was nevertheless an "enduring, public commitment to republican values and institutions" in France that ultimately prevailed (165).

France 1940: Defending the Republic is an eminently readable book. It is succinct, engaging, and persuasive. It also strikes that rare balance between accessibility and significance: this is a book that will appeal to a broad audience while also making an important, and perhaps even landmark, scholarly contribution.

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Eric Reed. *Selling the Yellow Jersey: The Tour de France in the Global Era*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. Pp. xvii, 251. $45.00.

As a cultural rite that has captivated millions annually since the dawn of the twentieth century, the Tour de France has proved a fertile ground for historians who have traced the sporting spectacle's role in shaping French collective memory and identity (Georges Vigarello, "Le Tour de France," in *Rethinking France: Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. 3: *Legacies*, ed. Pierre Nora [1992]) and the nation's perception of social categories such as class and gender (Christopher S. Thompson, *The Tour de France: A Cultural History* [2006]). Eric Reed's new monograph breaks away from the historiographical *peloton* by arguing that the Tour de France pioneered the symbiotic relationship among athletic competitions, media, and commerce that defined global sport in the twentieth century. By framing the Tour de France as an event that is at once quintessentially French and a vector of globalization, Reed places cycling alongside French cinema and cuisine as cultural products that extend French influence across the globe, defining the nation to both Frenchman and foreigner alike. The result is a monograph that demonstrates how histories of sport and leisure can further the transnational and global turns in the historiography. For Reed, globalization is as much a cultural process as a commercial one, as the consumption of athletic entertainment through the media often preceded and cultivated the sorts of international economic and institutional ties that characterized the twentieth century.

Comprised of equal parts cultural history of sport, media history, and business history, *Selling the Yellow Jersey: The Tour de France in the Global Era* mines a rich vein of archival sources ranging from the municipal records of host cities to the archives of Tour sponsors (such as the bank Crédit Lyonnais) and augments them with the self-reflexive, enthusiastic coverage of the event in print and on television, both in France and abroad. As Reed argues, the popularity of the Tour de France was unthinkable without extensive coverage in the print media. Indeed, the Tour itself grew out of the competition between two rival sporting newspapers in the early twentieth century. Surprisingly, however, the Tour de France not only depended on the French sporting media, it created it. Sporting dailies expanded rapidly thanks to intensive reporting on the serialized drama (e.g., lead changes, cheating, fistfights) of a race that saw dozens (and eventually hundreds) of riders traverse France over multiple weeks. Television producers later seized upon the Tour to encourage the maturation of the French television industry in the postwar age of nationalized government control of the airwaves. Commercial interests both fueled and benefited from the public's consumption of the Tour in the sporting media. Companies ranging from bicycle manufacturers and wine producers to banks and insurance brokerages leveraged the modern, youthful aura of the sport to pioneer new forms of advertising. As Reed persuasively demonstrates, the popularity of the Tour allowed for a subtle, yet effective commercialization of French culture in an age when worries about "Americanization" inspired visceral reactions to overt product promotion.

The mutual dependence of the Tour de France, the media, and commercialism has been a constant throughout the history of the event. From the early days of the Tour, the configuration of the race evolved in tandem with the press coverage of it, with particularly striking changes occurring as the sport entered the television age. Similarly, the organizers of the Tour altered its format repeatedly to respond to shifting consumer tastes and the demands of powerful sponsors. The result was a paradoxical event that was both timeless and yet constantly in flux, a deeply traditional national custom and a relentlessly modern pursuit of novelty in the service of the media's and sponsors' demands for wider audiences and the development of new markets. In tracing these contradictions, Reed demonstrates the importance of sport and the media in defining and disseminating French leisure and consumption practices in the twentieth century.

Reed further examines the dynamics of globalization by exploring its manifestations at the local level. Case studies of the Aquitanian commune of Pau and the

Breton city of Brest anchor this section of the study, as Reed characterizes the Tour de France as a global mega-event that has long depended on the definition and display of French provincial cultures (chap. 5). Reed argues that, rather than effacing local specificity, globalization *reinforces* such particularity, as French towns and provinces used the Tour to carve out cultural and economic niches in a centralizing state and a global era. Reed's conclusions in this section are intriguing and deserve to be further explored and fleshed out. Although sport acts as a nexus between local and global cultures, economies, and institutions (often via regional and/or national intermediaries), the author's characterization of the relationship between local actors and global trends as one of reciprocity and dialogue appears out of sync with the evidence presented. Although organizers in Pau and Brest engaged with the Tour to serve local needs, they were largely unsuccessful in cultivating lasting economic connections or spurring significant and enduring tourist interest. Further, given that Tour organizers funded a significant proportion of the event's budget through subventions from host cities, it appears that the prerogatives of the globalized sporting spectacle overcame those of peripheral host communities. Similarly, Reed's definition of globalization is at times too capacious, as a section on doping in the Tour de France (chap. 7) demonstrates that globalization and doping indeed coincided, but is less convincing that there was a causal link between the two. A more concerted engagement throughout the book with theories of globalization and its relationship to sport and media would bolster the connections Reed posits. These caveats aside, *Selling the Yellow Jersey* is a smart, innovative, and well-researched work that demonstrates how the Tour de France's fusion of sport, media, and commerce helped shape the global twentieth century.

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Nancy E. van Deusen. *Global Indios: The Indigenous Struggle for Justice in Sixteenth-Century Spain*. (Narrating Native Histories.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2015. Pp. xvi, 336. $26.95.

The tens of thousands of indigenous inhabitants of the Americas whose lives were radically disrupted, transformed, and often prematurely curtailed by Europeans' escalating demands for slave labor in the first half of the sixteenth century mostly have remained anonymous because of the nature of both the trade in indigenous captives and the records themselves, which reduced them to numbers and units of sale (*piezas*) and often obscured their actual fate. In this volume, Nancy E. van Deusen has recovered in part the experiences of a small number of people reduced to slavery or servitude and relocated to Spain from lawsuits that were initiated following the proclamation of the New Laws of 1542 that in principle made indigenous slavery illegal in Spanish dominions. Although the total of 184 litigants she found represents a small percentage of the more than 2,000 indigenous slaves brought to Castile, many of whom had lived there for years by the time their cases reached the court or received final adjudication, the existence of these petitions for freedom reveals something of their lives. The cases represent a tiny fraction of the men, women, and children who were reduced to slavery or perpetual servitude in the Spanish empire in the sixteenth century, and their numbers are dwarfed by the thousands of slaves freed following the establishment of the New Laws in places like Guatemala and Mexico.

Van Deusen is not the first to consider these cases; Esteban Mira Caballos addresses some of them in his *Indios y mestizos americanos en la España del siglo XVI* (2000) although in far less detail than offered here. Most of the men and women who litigated for their freedom had been captured or otherwise acquired at a young age and relocated far from their places of origin, sometimes several times and under a series of masters. Not surprisingly, their recollections of their origins, including the languages of their childhood, often were uncertain or nonexistent. The question of origin was important, as the prohibition of indigenous slavery under the New Laws pertained only to those born in lands ruled by the Spanish crown. Slaves and servants who originated in Portuguese realms or elsewhere—also called *indios*—could not claim their freedom under the legislation. This limitation gave rise to fraudulent claims on the part of both litigants and masters. Given the remarkable range in geographical origins of *indio* slaves and servants brought to Spain from locales such as the Caribbean, Mexico, Peru, Burma, and the Moluccas, much of the testimony van Deusen uses to reconstruct their experiences hinges on this key issue. She also employs these contested cases to address the complexities of competing Spanish and Portuguese territorial claims in Asia and South America.

This book offers many interesting insights into the experiences of *indio* slaves and servants who ended up in Castile, but it has some shortcomings. The author emphasizes the "global" context in which they lived but devotes little attention to the imperial context or to how the lives of *indios* in Castile compared to those of indigenous slaves in Spanish America who, after all, comprised the vast majority of the enslaved indigenous in the Spanish empire. However miserable the conditions of *indio* slaves and servants in Castile were—testimony in these cases leaves no doubt that they often were deplorable—the very fact of their survival and at least partial assimilation into Spanish society, albeit usually at its lowest levels, separates them from most of the captives taken in slave raids and wars.

There are problems of translation and interpretation. Van Deusen wrongly implies that large numbers of the *moriscos* relocated after the defeat of the Alpujarras rebellion in 1570 were enslaved and states that the joint assessed value of two Mexican women slaves, 30,000 maravedis was a "goodly-sum" (84) although actually it was quite low, less than one hundred ducats. *Regidor* (town councilman) is translated as magistrate (41), an interpreter of Nahuatl is a *nahuatlico* rather than *nahuatato* (135), and a woman stated that "she had been sold on 'the bridge of the Archbishop,'" surely the town of Puente del Arzobispo (78). Van Deusen calls Carmona, a good-sized town (*villa*), a

village because, she claims, the residents called it that. The Spanish term "pueblo" in the sixteenth century referred to both people and place, meaning something like "our town," not necessarily a small community. Other such errors, as well as ones of citation, are frequent enough to be troubling, but they do not diminish the overall value of the material.

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Ann Crabb. *The Merchant of Prato's Wife: Margherita Datini and Her World, 1360–1423*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2015. Pp. 275. Cloth $75.00, e-book $60.00.

The surviving correspondence of Francesco di Marco Datini (1335–1410) of Prato has been the source of myriad insights into the late medieval economy and business practices. The thousands of letters to and from Francesco were also the basis on which Iris Origo cast her biographical study, *The Merchant of Prato: Francesco di Marco Datini, 1335–1410* (1957). Ann Crabb has concentrated her efforts on reading the 244 letters to Francesco from his wife, Margherita Bandini, and the 181 he sent her, written between 1385 and 1410, though the bulk of them hail from 1394 to 1398. Crabb deliberately chooses a title that capitalizes on Origo's by reversing the title and subtitle to give greater weight to Margherita's individuality, "because Margherita herself believed that she had an important job to perform as a wife" (1). Indeed, perhaps the foremost conclusion Crabb draws from the epistolary evidence is that "wives had their own independent, although subordinate, sphere, which could give the wife a sense of importance, distinct from the state of relations with the husband" (199).

The state of relations between Margherita and Francesco was not always good. A major contributing factor was her inability to conceive. That void was partially filled by the birth of two illegitimate children. The son born of a young servant girl in 1387 soon died, but Ginevra, Francesco's daughter sired with a slave woman, lived to be an integral part of the household and was ultimately married off with a handsome dowry. Other dimensions of this sometimes contentious marital relationship were ascribable to Margherita's willingness to express disagreement with her husband's decisions at times. Though she was quite willing to employ ideologically charged language of female weakness when it suited her, Margherita was more than capable of managing a large and complex household. She was, of course, thrust into this managerial position by her husband's frequent and at times prolonged absences on business. Their extensive correspondence was the result.

Crabb's approach is chronological, although, given the massing of the letters in the 1390s, she uses that period to venture into more topically designed chapters discussing household management, business, political concerns, and an interesting description of Margherita's efforts to acquire "full" literacy (reading and writing) to free herself from the need for scribes to take down her words. In chapters on "Dictating Letters" and "Contacts and Friends," Crabb details the range of contacts that Margherita kept up, including with unrelated males, both for tracking credits and debts for her husband and simply for transmitting information that was, in fact, the lifeblood of business, politics, and family honor.

Another peculiarity of Margherita's situation was that she had no dowry, though one had been promised to Francesco. Without a dowry, her status within the house suffered to an untold extent. Her relatives also created a source of problems, mainly from embarrassing financial difficulties. After Francesco's death, she stayed in his house and worked to fulfill the terms of his will, which left most of his wealth to a charity he established in Prato, the Ceppo. She managed her own property as well and was buried in Florence, among her family, rather than with her husband.

This is a fine and insightful book. It is surprising, nonetheless, that there is no effort to compare Margherita to other well-known Florentine and Tuscan women. For example, Crabb briefly mentions Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi, another woman who has left a number of letters discussing family affairs, but does not elaborate on it. This remains perplexing, especially since Crabb wrote a book on Strozzi (*The Strozzi of Florence: Widowhood and Family Solidarity in the Renaissance* [2000]). The two women were not quite contemporaries, and their family situations were not entirely similar, as Strozzi was a widow and mother and Margherita was not. However, a stronger sense of how these women related to one another would have been beneficial. Nonetheless, and precisely because Datini's letters were written during her marriage and not in widowhood, Crabb's careful reading gives us a splendid insight into marital relations in one household over six hundred years ago.

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Valeria Finucci. *The Prince's Body: Vincenzo Gonzaga and Renaissance Medicine*. (I Tatti Studies in Italian Renaissance History.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015. Pp. 273. $39.95.

The Prince's Body: Vincenzo Gonzaga and Renaissance Medicine analyzes key episodes in the life of Vincenzo Gonzaga (1562–1612), fourth Duke of Mantua, within the framework of the history of the body, medical history, and colonial explorations in search of new drugs. Opera lovers will be familiar with Vincenzo's reputation for sexual exploits from Giuseppe Verdi's *Rigoletto*. Originally the libretto featured the French king as lead character and only later reverted to Vincenzo in order to avoid censorship; the choice of the Duke of Mantua, however, says a great deal about his contemporary and posthumous fame. Valeria Finucci aptly reminds us that the historic Vincenzo, however, was not simply a foolish womanizer as in Verdi's opera but also an obsessive and discerning art collector, a lover of music, and patron of Claudio Monteverdi.

The four chapters reveal the many facets of Vincenzo's

sexual and medical life, exploring bizarre courtly procedures, male anxieties, and elite medical and surgical practices around 1600. Life and sexual practices at the Gonzaga court have been studied in a number of historical essays, transcriptions of relevant archival documents, and works such as the recent volume edited by Costantino Cipolla and Giancarlo Malacarne, *El più soave et dolce et dilectevole et gratioso bochone: Amore e sesso al tempo dei Gonzaga* (2006). Finucci has expanded this body of scholarship and made it available to English readers, joining archival research with a reliance on more recent historiography that provides a vivid and unforgettable picture of Vincenzo's preoccupations with his body.

Although Vincenzo's military exploits proved perfunctory and his health precarious, he lived his life to the full: having been left in an enviable financial condition by his sickly and austere father Guglielmo I, Vincenzo could indulge his expensive taste and became one of the great art collectors of his age.

The first chapter documents in painstaking and uncomfortable detail the vicissitudes of Vincenzo's first marriage to Margherita Farnese and his subsequent one to Eleonora de' Medici. Finucci revisits the astounding events surrounding the failed consummation of the first marriage and the trials leading to the second marriage; at one point Vincenzo had to prove his virility by penetrating a virgin provided by the Tuscan court while the Tuscan envoy Belisario Vinta inspected visually and manually his manhood. The events provide a striking image of sexual practices at Renaissance courts obsessed with issues of dynastic succession, manly prowess, and female virginity and fertility.

The first chapter includes reports on consultations with eminent physicians and especially surgeons, such as Girolamo Fabrici from Padua, though it is in the second chapter that this dimension takes on a more prominent role. Vincenzo relied on such eminent medical men as Gaspare Tagliacozzi from Bologna in order to explore ways to cure skin problems he had developed on his face and knee. The second chapter develops a medical dimension, highlighting the neo-humoralism framing medical thinking and guiding observations.

The third chapter investigates the Renaissance culture of healing springs; Vincenzo visited centers as far as Pozzuoli in the Kingdom of Naples and Spa in Belgium, with many in between. Finucci investigates the health issues affecting the prince from a contemporary perspective, emphasizing the theoretical views then prevalent, while also venturing into an attempt at reconstructing his medical afflictions from a modern standpoint.

The last chapter documents the extraordinary journey of young apothecary Evangelista Marcobruno to the New World in search of a worm alleged to enhance male sexual power. Sending a naturalist to the New World was no simple matter; Vincenzo had to gain approval from his cousin, King Philip III of Spain, while the noted Bologna naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi dreamt of such an endeavor but never succeeded in crossing the ocean. Marcobruno's perilous journey led to initial success but ended in disaster; the young apothecary was captured by pirates, never to satisfy his prince, who in the meantime died of his ailments.

The Prince's Body is an engagingly written book focusing on Vincenzo and his court as a way to shed light on important aspects of the history of the body and medical history in Renaissance Italy.

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Genevieve Carlton. *Worldly Consumers: The Demand for Maps in Renaissance Italy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. Pp. v, 237. $45.00.

Mark Rosen. *The Mapping of Power in Renaissance Italy: Painted Cartographic Cycles in Social and Intellectual Context*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Pp. xv, 271. $99.00.

At first sight, these two books, both about the novel influence of maps in Renaissance Italy, might seem to overlap. But, in fact, they are neatly complementary; while one (*Worldly Consumers: The Demand for Maps in Renaissance Italy)* deals with maps printed on paper, the other (*The Mapping of Power in Renaissance Italy: Painted Cartographic Cycles in Social and Intellectual Context*) is concerned with maps painted on walls. Both consistently refer back to the pages on Italy in volume 3, "Cartography in the European Renaissance," in *The History of Cartography* (1987; repr. 2007) edited by David Woodward. At the time of publication, Woodward regretted that "the extension of the map market has not traditionally been studied in the history of cartography" (24). Genevieve Carlton attempts to fill this gap, while Mark Rosen also touches on the societal influence of map cycles.

Worldly Consumers begins by setting out the state of European cartography in the sixteenth century, when, as Carlton sees it, the medieval emphasis on symbolism was giving way to a new desire for more conventionally accurate delineations. She is in effect referring to that change in mentality that eventually caused map sellers in Paris to migrate from the market section, where a variety of images was sold, to a new area frequented by makers of scientific instruments. This was a time when painters were often also cartographers (Leonardo da Vinci being a striking example). Of course, the actual definition of a "map" is also problematic; for instance, does Peter Paul Rubens's graphic image of the *château* at Steen fall under this definition?

Carlton then includes a fine example of these multitalented inhabitants of Renaissance Italy. Francesco Roselli of Florence was not only a cartographer who developed new projections, but also a publisher of printed maps and a bookseller. In the latter capacity he is of particular interest since the inventory of his shop uniquely survives. These artifacts provide a good idea of the range of maps for sale and the prices of these maps, which were by no means exorbitant. After examining the inventories for 2350 individuals in Venice and 1001 individuals in

Florence, Carlton gathered references to a total of 1116 maps. This data shows that maps were widely sold in Renaissance Italy.

Many of these maps depicted either the world or some form of "landscape," though the term "paese" seems to cover a wide variety of maps. The publishers insisted in their captions on the essential novelty of their wares; indeed, mapmaking was an area in which the authority of the Ancients, notably Ptolemy, was early questioned, so that maps became a way to demonstrate one's participation in a newly modern world. This did not mean, of course, that subsequent editions were actually reengraved to meet the latest knowledge. But it did mean that Italian purchasers had ready access to maps that showed an entirely New World, "discovered by the Admirals of the kings of Portugal, Spain and France" (112); the Italian ports were not well placed to take part in these ventures.

There were even sequences of printed maps that as early as the sixteenth century—foreshadowing the nimble mapmakers in the periodicals of the eighteenth century—portrayed the progressive military actions. One of the most famous of these, as David Woodward pointed out, was the sequence of printed maps depicting the advance of Turkish forces through the Mediterranean.

These printed maps were often distributed artfully on the walls of collectors' houses, where they were "consumed," as the phrase unfortunately goes, by passersby; there were even manuals which suggested the best ways of displaying them (148). Visitors might then be given a tour of the collection, which would allow them to reflect on the maps. The element of wonder could be powerfully felt in delineations of the New World, and particularly of the Caribbean, so that many maps "evoked images out of reach to viewers in a dirty, disease-ridden continent who travelled in their minds to the wondrous Caribbean" (141) where, we ought to add, European diseases were even then in the process of decimating the inhabitants of this Eden.

The sixth chapter describes a visit by Federico da Porto to the Venetian house of Marino Sanuto, and it neatly ties together many of the themes discussed previously. Da Porto describes how the world map, with its surrounding images, gave him an entirely new appreciation of the world and its riches, and left him with a great appreciation of Sanuto's profound knowledge. Reading this somewhat hyperbolic reaction reminds a modern reader of the similar effect produced by Google Earth, zooming at will over the Earth's many kingdoms. This fine example of Sanuto's house is particularly telling; added to the other evidence concerning the diffusion of maps in the great intellectual centers of Renaissance Italy, it convinces the reader of their powerful influence.

In *The Mapping of Power in Renaissance Italy*, Rosen deals with a different type of artifact. His painted wall cycles were seen by a relatively small number of people, and if they had the advantages of size and often of a coherent ideology, they had the weakness that they were vulnerable to relatively rapid deterioration that could not easily be corrected. Moreover, they have been the subject of recent and thorough studies, first by Juergen Schulz ("Maps as Metaphors: Mural Map Cycles of the Italian Renaissance" in *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays*, ed. David Woodward [1987]), then by Francesca Fiorani (*The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy* [2005]), and most recently by Peter Barber and Tom Harper (*Magnificent Maps: Power, Propaganda and Art* [2010]); this abundance of previous studies makes new insights difficult to achieve.

The first two chapters painstakingly reconstruct the history of maps painted or carved on walls, ranging from ancient Greece and Rome to late medieval England, Mantua, Rome, and Venice. Almost all these maps have disappeared, but they prepared the way for that time in the middle of the sixteenth century when, largely using the printed maps of Giacomo Gastaldi, "a concentrated group of competing map-room projects were underway at the same time, and a typology of the map hall as a recognizable part of the palace layout" emerged (75). The final five chapters then deal in some detail with the map-cycle found in the Medici Guardaroba of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence.

This map-cycle was an extraordinarily ambitious project, involving eventually more than fifty maps. Begun in 1563, it lost a certain amount of urgency upon the death of Duke Cosimo I in 1574, and was not completed until 1589, by which time it had many rivals, of which the ones at Caprarola, Mantua, Parma, and Rome were the most prominent. Rosen carefully describes this laborious process, in the course of which the leading cartographer, Egnazio Danti, left for the greener pastures of Rome.

Sometimes the text seems a little less sure-footed when the author ventures into the general history of cartography; for instance, the *Relaciones geográficas* were not confined to Mexico, and were undertaken at the command of Philip II, not Charles V (201–202). This is, then, a more detailed account of the development of the Guardaroba than in previous works. It does not contain any surprises, except the interesting observation that "the celebration of the act of exploration" played a very minor role (208); perhaps this reflects the relative insignificance of the Italian states in that process.

As for the actual influence of these map cycles upon society at large, the author is at a distinct disadvantage compared with Carlton. As with printed maps, there were manuals suggesting the most effective deployment of wall map cycles, and we may guess that visitors were often stunned by them, as indeed we still are today. But no source assessing the influence of these maps compares with the statistical information generated by Carlton's inventories; moreover, there does not seem to be any text recording a reaction comparable to Da Porto's astonishment as he was led round Sanuto's collection. Still, in combination, these two books leave one in no doubt about the societal influence of the variety of maps newly available in sixteenth-century Italy.

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Dániel Margócsy. *Commercial Visions: Science, Trade, and Visual Culture in the Dutch Golden Age*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014. Pp. x, 319. $40.00.

The works of Mario Bagioli, Harold J. Cook, Steven Shapin, and Simon Schaffer have emphasized the modes in which political and economic considerations forged scientific consensus in early modern Europe. For example, Cook's *Matters of Exchange: Commerce, Medicine, and Science in the Dutch Golden* Age (2007) argued that international commerce, as practiced by the Dutch, promoted networks that fostered trust in observations and description of the natural world, especially the substances that formed *materia medica*. These works contrast the cultivation of agreement with the supposedly quarrelsome character of scholasticism. But, as Dániel Margócsy demonstrates, the schools did not have a monopoly on disagreement, and, in fact, the competitiveness of early modern mercantile culture encouraged dispute, discord, and rivalry. The openness used to describe the Royal Society did not correspond to the realities of Dutch naturalists and publishers who produced knowledge concomitantly with commercial products.

Commercial Visions: Science, Trade, and Visual Culture in the Dutch Golden Age explores the commodification of early modern science by examining the circulation, collection, preservation, and representation of knowledge of plants, insects, and other natural curiosities and the means by which practitioners guarded the secrets behind anatomical preparations and scientific illustrations. Many of these explorations, especially in the later chapters, should be of interest to art historians and historians of the book, as well as historians of science. Margócsy's discussion of fact making, collecting, and the circulation of knowledge—all major foci of recent histories of early modern science—benefits from his detailed consideration that provides original insights and revisions. The volume is divided according to two primary themes: the first largely considers books and their relation to natural specimens, and the second looks at methods of representing the human body by means of artificial preservation and illustration.

Margócsy offers an original and convincing account of the rise of taxonomical encyclopedias or repertories. The envelopes of the Republic of Letters contained more than ideas. Many circulated seeds, small plants, shells, and insects. The relatively low cost of shipping for the small exemplars—as opposed to quadrupeds, which were not subject to widespread collecting—transformed Renaissance natural history, with its interest in textual authority, into a tool that could be used to identify the desiderata of collecting. Thus, naturalists, sellers, and collectors, without the luxury of having standardized names, referred to specific folios of particular encyclopedias in order to identify the plants, shells, and insects they wished to buy or sell. In effect, these atlases served as catalogues for biological specimens. Their emphasis on description, accurate illustration, and minute differences grew as the result of their instrumental role in trade. This phenomenon reached its acme in Albertus Seba's *Thesaurus*. Seba's renown as a collector, as well as extensive marketing, promoted the sale of numerous subscriptions for the volumes that were intended to depict his cabinet of curiosities. After his death, publishers at first hid the fact that they hired others to finish his work, while his collection, aided by their description in the earlier volumes, was sold at auction, making the task of ghostwriting the remaining sections difficult.

In contrast to the idealized openness of philosophical discourse, methods of representing and preserving the natural world were well-protected secrets, holding significant proprietary value. Frederik Ruysch's anatomical preparations, which were made by an undisclosed technique of wax injections, rendered many details of human cadavers easily visible. They served pedagogical aims as well as financial purposes. Peter the Great, for a large sum, bought not only his collection but also the secret formula for the injections. Ruysch's detractors, most prominently Govard Bidloo, rejected his preparations believing they distended and hardened the body's veins and organs. Bidloo preferred paper as the medium to represent visualizations of human anatomy because it was free from the distortions of wax injections and allowed the author to add what was invisible to the human eye by depicting, for example, tiny capillaries in infants' hearts. Significantly, Margócsy describes a shift during the eighteenth century away from conceiving artisanal practices as fitting into the category of tacit knowledge. Printmakers, such as Jacob Christoph Le Blon and Lambert ten Kate, believed that representational techniques, notably methods for producing color prints and mezzotints inspired by Pythagorean proportions, were reducible to Newtonian-style mathematical laws and thereby communicable. Since their techniques could be rendered as formulas, they were easily transferable and therefore had to be protected as proprietary secrets. Accordingly, in order to obtain a patent, Le Blon was obliged to reveal his mathematical secrets to royal bureaucrats in distinction to earlier practices that assumed craft knowledge was embodied in the artisans themselves. During the Enlightenment, the mathematical and chemical formulas behind invention were highly mobile compared to the circulation of actual practitioners during the previous centuries, thus the stakes were higher for guarding secrets. Consequently, for Margócsy, the Enlightenment was not a period of widespread openness. Rather, the idea that craft practices were universal and mathematically reducible fostered more intense competition among entrepreneurs and the birth of intellectual property.

The greatest merit of this book is its explanations of the mechanisms of the market that defined practices of natural history and anatomy. While historians of science often vaguely invoke economic motives for scientific developments, Margócsy details how the joint ventures, marketing, auctions, subscription schemes, printing projects, specimen sales, shipping expenses, commercial rivalries, and proprietary safeguarding not just functioned but blended with the production of knowledge. His concern is largely with scientific practice in a broad sense. Accordingly, he sets aside many technical issues of

anatomy and natural philosophy as well as the philosophical and religious debates about mechanism and the nature of life. This is not the book for those who desire to know more about what early modern naturalists thought about bodily processes or the relation between the natural and divine. Rather, the book's rich research illustrates the interests and debates concocted through the commercial webs in which early modern Dutch naturalists created and sold collections of nature and depictions of them.

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Laurence Cole. *Military Culture and Popular Patriotism in Late Imperial Austria*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. Pp. xvii, 356. $110.00.

Military culture and military history have so far been relatively underdeveloped domains in the historiography of the Austrian Empire. In his new book, *Military Culture and Popular Patriotism in Late Imperial Austria*, Laurence Cole analyzes the Austrian military with a focus on "the interplay between popular patriotism and military culture" in the late empire (3). The army, argues Cole, long remained an essentially state-supporting institution. However, the question persists whether this function was achieved by force or because military service helped forge a sense of patriotism and loyalty. The author addresses the interplay of militarism and patriotism through an analysis of military practices, conscriptions, commemorations of military heroes, and veterans associations. The book covers the Austrian part of the empire, known as Cisleithania, including Austria, Bohemia, and the Italian territories.

The book is divided into three sections, all linked to the overarching question about military culture and patriotism. In the first chapter, Cole focuses on mechanisms of creating and displaying patriotism in the military. He does so by analyzing patriotic propaganda in the army and the ways in which this patriotism was extended into a non-military sphere. Cole maintains that the army, which participated in peace-time ceremonies and commemorations, was very much present in Austrian public life. Vienna additionally was the largest garrison city in the empire, the army having a visible political and physical presence there. In the second chapter, the author explores commemoration of military heroes in the empire, primarily Marshal Josef Radetzky, who helped restore Habsburg rule in Venetia and Lombardy after the revolution of 1848–1849. Radetzky became a national hero for some and a villain for others, popular in Austrian-German circles but more contested outside of Austria proper. The problematic perception of Radetzky beyond the city of Austria revealed both the national fragmentation of the public sphere and the ambivalent role of the military in the empire. Military culture and celebrations thus fell victim to this fragmentation, which had become pervasive in the late Austrian Empire.

Another aspect of military culture that demonstrated the power of national appeal in the late empire was language. German was the official language of command, but few units were monolingual. Czechs in Bohemia contested German as the language of command just as they questioned its status in administration and education. Even then, argues Cole, military service helped foster loyalty to the Habsburg monarchy, providing a unique unifying experience to many. The veterans associations constituted yet another example of national fragmentation. The veterans represented the most Austrophile section of society, specifically in Italian Trentino. But they too became fragmented along national lines—Austrophile organizations in Trentino and Bohemia facing opposition from their Italian and Czech peers, who placed emphasis upon nationality.

In conclusion, the author emphasizes the overall societal militarization in the empire during the late nineteenth century. He also extends his analysis to World War I, setting the war within the context of imperial politics, society, and military culture at the turn of the century. Cole argues that the army remained functional and reliable, to the surprise of the many. Yet the war was also a turning point for how the wider society, including those who initially demonstrated militaristic enthusiasm, perceived the military. The government's war-time decisions alienated many of its supporters, thereby becoming a disintegrative force and contributing to the monarchy's demise.

Cole has produced a much-needed and extensively researched monograph. The focus on military culture allows for a nuanced reflection on the public sphere, popular culture, nationalism, and patriotism in the late empire. Also commendable is the coverage of all of Cisleithania, a feature that distinguishes this study from many other works on the empire that focus on one province alone. The book addresses several major issues in the historiography of the late empire, including the rise of nationalist loyalties and the politics of language that they engendered. There are, however, some issues. The book aims primarily at an academic audience, but the narrative could have been more engaging. More concise chapter titles and subtitles might have improved readability. Thematically organized chapters all cover the same period: there is little progression in time throughout the monograph, and the narrative sometimes feels stalled. Individual stories that are largely missing could also have strengthened the narrative. Overall, however, the monograph is a very valuable addition to the field of Austrian studies that places the empire within the larger context of European history during the late nineteenth century.

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Thomas Ort. *Art and Life in Modernist Prague: Karel Čapek and His Generation, 1911–1938*. (Palgrave Studies in Cultural and Intellectual History.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. Pp. xiii, 258. Cloth $100.00, paper $39.99, e-book $79.99.

Scholarly interest in the modernist culture of Austria-Hungary, long focused on Vienna, has expanded in the postcommunist era to encompass the empire's other

capitals. Prague's cultural ferment has inspired several works, most recently Derek Sayer's *Prague, Capital of the Twentieth Century: A Surrealist History* (2013). The book closest in spirit to Thomas Ort's work is the older study by Scott Spector, *Prague Territories: National Conflict and Cultural Innovation in Franz Kafka's Fin de Siècle* (2000). Taken together, these two books describe the radically different experiences of Czech and German Jewish writers living in the same city at the same time. Whereas Spector bases his analysis on the concept of "territories," defined as physical, social, and political spaces, Ort uses the idea of "generations" to deconstruct the philosophical underpinnings of the group of artists and writers surrounding the Czech writer Karel Čapek. Most famous outside his homeland as a playwright, especially due to his 1920 science fiction play, *R.U.R.*, which gave the world the term "robot" for an artificial man, Čapek also produced an array of other works, and it is these lesser-known writings that Ort uses in his analysis.

Largely forgotten today but at one time highly celebrated, Čapek came of age in the tumultuous era before the First World War, part of a European-wide phenomenon that the historian H. Stuart Hughes defined as the "generation of 1905." The Czech contingent of this generation rejected the aestheticism and subjectivism of the artists of the fin-de-siècle to embrace the new cultural currents emanating from Paris, especially Cubism, an effort that put Prague "at the leading edge of a major new movement of the arts" on the eve of war in 1914 (58). In contrast to the cultural despair in Vienna and Budapest, the social and national circumstances of Prague had given rise to an optimistic generation of Czech artists unafraid of the challenge of modernity. This hopeful outlook was shaken by the trauma of World War I, and led Čapek to reassess his earlier beliefs. The result was a more skeptical attitude toward the benefits of technology, a new appreciation of individualism, and an embrace of pragmatism. Emerging after the war as leading figures in the cultural establishment of the new Czechoslovak Republic, Čapek and his cohort found themselves challenged by a new, younger generation of avant-garde artists inspired by the communist utopia being erected in Soviet Russia. In the course of the polemics between them, the term "Čapek generation" came into being. The last chapter of Ort's book focuses on the 1930s, when many avant-garde artists lost their enthusiasm for communism following the imposition of socialist realism, and when fascism emerged as the major threat to artistic modernity. The author's account of this period relies on Čapek's writings to highlight philosophical developments in the interwar republic and growing fears about its increasingly tenuous position. Shortly after the Munich Conference that led to the destruction of Czechoslovakia, Čapek died, and with him the progressive spirit of pragmatic reform that had animated his generation.

Like other writers in Europe at this time, among them Thomas Mann and Robert Musil, Čapek walked a fine line between reason and unreason. Rejecting the positivism of the nineteenth century, but never fully abandoning logic, he argued that intuition would lead to empathy, empathy to communication, and communication to democracy. In this way, he avoided the "outright irrationalism" that glorified violence and exalted the will, instead undertaking "to turn aspects of the irrational to manifestly liberal ends" (201–202). The book is most effective in describing the generational conflict that divided Čapek and his group from the Czech artists of the fin-de-siècle and from the communist avant-garde of the 1920s. His generation's response to fascism is less fully explored, merely highlighted through an analysis of his writings. Given the central role that the political and social context had in shaping Čapek's worldview, information about it appears, somewhat disjointedly, only in the introduction and the conclusion. Overall, the book is well written and clearly argued, and provides a solid introduction to the complex cultural politics of early twentieth-century Prague.

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Elun T. Gabriel. *Assassins and Conspirators: Anarchism, Socialism, and Political Culture in Imperial Germany*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2014. Pp. xi, 302. $50.00.

Since the second half of the 1990s, the history of socialism and Social Democracy in Germany has not been among the "hottest" research topics. As transnational history became one of the field's most important focal points during the early 2000s, interest in German socialism before 1914 waned.

Recently, a number of historians have begun to buck this trend, among them John Phillip Short and Dennis Sweeney. *Assassins and Conspirators: Anarchism, Socialism, and Political Culture in Imperial Germany*, written by Elun T. Gabriel, does so as well. The book is a most welcome addition to the historiography on the German Empire. Gabriel demonstrates how vital both the German Social Democrats and the public debates that surrounded them were for the development of a modern, liberal (in the normative sense of the term), and democratic public sphere in Germany before 1914.

Gabriel's research has a double focus. On the one hand, he scrutinizes the inner-Social-Democratic debates about the illegitimacy of political violence as championed by anarchists. On the other hand, he analyzes the general political discussions sparked by the German Imperial government's response to the perceived threat of anarchism and Social Democracy: the Anti-Socialist Law that prohibited socialist and Social-Democratic organizations in Germany from 1878 until 1890. In Gabriel's view, these debates democratized German political discourse as well as German expectations regarding political practice before World War I. Beginning in 1878, within Social-Democratic ranks violence and politically motivated assassinations were harshly condemned and sympathizers with anarchist positions (of which there existed very few in the first place) were expelled. At the same time, left-liberals as well as many representatives of the Catholic Center Party sharply criticized the use of blunt

administrative force to combat the Social Democratic Party (SPD). Left-liberals and Center Party politicians argued instead for an open political engagement with socialism based on rational political arguments rather than supporting the declaration of a legal state of exception (*Kleiner Belagerungszustand*) that justified curbing the political rights of German socialists. After 1878, the stress placed on civil political debate, disavowing violence, and the rule of law by the SPD as well as its left-liberal and Center Party opponents thus "normalized" the SPD. According to Gabriel, by 1890 the party therefore operated within the confines of "respectable" political discourse in Germany, thus even making it possible for prominent liberals such as Franz Mehring, who in the 1870s had written multiple critical essays about German Social Democracy, to join their ranks.

Gabriel's argumentative trajectory does what too few studies of German socialism do: it looks at German Social Democracy as a political actor in its own right. Social Democrats were not, as historians Guenther Roth and Dieter Groh erstwhile argued, merely "negatively integrated" into imperial German culture and politics, but instead influenced and significantly shaped German politics and culture before 1914. According to Gabriel's research, by 1914 the SPD's earlier rejection of anarchism and politically motivated violence had made democracy and democratic political procedures acceptable for a majority of German voters: "if the structures of the imperial system remained formidable in 1914, they faced an increasingly united political culture, in which Social Democrats occupied a central role, committed to open debate, fairness, and the rule of law" (211).

Ultimately, Gabriel argues that "Social Democracy's positive integration into social and political life had been proceeding for decades" before the Great War (216). In the end, World War I merely "swept away most of the lingering vestiges of hostility to the movement" (216). In Gabriel's view, it was therefore not (or at least neither exclusively nor mainly) the Great War and the collapse of the old imperial structures in 1918 that made the Weimar Republic possible, but the growth and increasing political as well as social and cultural acceptance of German Social Democracy before 1914.

Gabriel's book deviates significantly from the standard narratives of German socialism before 1914. Despite the fact that Roth's and Groh's concept of an entirely "negative integration" has been questioned by, among others, Gerhard Ritter's works in the 1980s and early 1990s, the idea that German Social Democracy did not shape the German Empire but was instead merely acted upon by its institutions and therefore over time began to support even German colonialism and imperialism is still alive and well. Gabriel successfully challenges this narrative, and he does so based on a wealth of published as well as archival sources.

Gabriel's *Assassins and Conspirators* is an important book. His focus on the German Empire's largest political group before 1914—the SPD—enables him to highlight how far-reaching the democratization of German political culture really was between 1871 and the outbreak of war in 1914. Most importantly, Gabriel can show that this process was not merely the consequence of Germans coming to terms with the new institutions of the German Empire (first and foremost the democratically elected national parliament), but also the direct result of political challenges to the government's curbing of constitutional rights during the time of the Anti-Socialist Law, which fundamentally shifted—and democratized—political discourse in Imperial Germany.

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Britta Schilling. *Postcolonial Germany: Memories of Empire in a Decolonized Nation*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. Pp. xiv, 258. $110.00.

Britta Schilling's *Postcolonial Germany: Memories of Empire in a Decolonized Nation* takes as its subject what Schilling calls the collective memory of German colonialism that existed long after colonies themselves were no longer a political reality. Colonial memories, Schilling argues, were found in disparate realms of public and private life: school textbooks, jazz balls, and official recognition of independence through state gifts, to name just a few of the areas of analysis.

Schilling traces the ways that colonial memories unfolded in postcolonial Germany through a chronological approach. First, she examines the popular genre of "Africa books" that proliferated beginning in 1915. These texts, which purported to expose the experiences and cultural values of Germans who had lived or fought in the colonies, or which promoted a rejuvenated logic of German Empire through the golden years of the Weimar Republic, served as a memorial touchstone for Germans who found themselves severed from a colonial past. The positive memories of German Empire expressed in these cultural artifacts were in turn reworked in the following decade, the period from 1925 to 1935, when Germans refashioned metropolitan forms of sociability to include the missing colonies. Schilling demonstrates how Weimar jazz performances, colonial commodities, and colonial recreations that appeared in the context of a masquerade colonial ball held special importance for Germans. They served as mechanisms to recreate the emotional frisson of colonialism at a time when the nation was forbidden to retain a colonial empire. Schilling approaches the intersection of colonial memory and Nazism by exploring the ways that young Germans learned about empire in the period from 1935 to 1945. While the Nazis' use of the schoolhouse to promote their ideological agenda regarding colonialism is not surprising (scholars like Clif Stratton, for instance, deal with similar themes in the American context), Schilling provides ample evidence for her claim that colonialism was a critical element of fascist pedagogy. She shows how colonialism appeared in school curricula in whitewashed ways while also adhering to the larger contours of Nazi racial ideology.

There is a natural break in Schilling's argument that comes with the end of the Second World War, and she

turns from pedagogy to diplomacy with her analysis of German attempts to recognize the newly won independence of its former colonies through the giving of official gifts like ambulances or X-ray machines. Comparing the reactions of East and West Germany to newly independent polities, Schilling initiates a fascinating discussion of the ways that recognition ceremonies, colonial memories of the "good colonizer," and Cold War positioning played out in the period between 1949 and 1968. Aspects of this argument reappear in her analysis of the debates about the removal of official colonial memorials in West Germany after 1968. Schilling demonstrates that the memory of German colonialism continued to affect how Germans—both in the East and in the West—understood their place in the world in the period between 1968 and German reunification. The book concludes with a study of what Schilling calls the "private memories of colonialism" (155). Here, she uses the lore and privately held sources from the heirs of well-known colonists like Lothar von Trotha (who commanded the German military in its war against the Herero in 1904 and 1905) to probe some of the intricate differences between official, public memories of German colonialism and private, intimate ones. Her savvy reading of the public-private dimension of memory provides a fitting conclusion to a strong analysis of colonial memory that spans the twentieth century.

Schilling's emphasis on the construction, reconstruction, and political nature of colonial memory is a useful way to think about the German twentieth century. That said, there are places in the book where the analysis seems needlessly forced through a narrow theoretical passage. In the discussion of Weimar commodification practices that appears in chapter 2, for instance, Schilling relies on Freudian dream theory as a way to understand the contours of memory in the 1920s. In chapter 4, she employs Marcel Mauss's theory of the gift to set up descriptions of the German recognitions of newly independent African nations in the 1960s. Why Freud? Why Mauss? Predictable choices, I suppose, and, as such, ones that do not really illuminate the material in unexpectedly helpful ways.

These minor gripes aside, Schilling's work will appeal to scholars interested in the evolution of memory studies as well as those focusing on how the colonial question was answered in Europe after the age of empire. It is easy, when thinking about how to integrate this scholarship into one's teaching, to imagine lectures about the Cold War being enriched by her insights into the public relations maneuvers of the German states as they sought to win the affections of former colonies. And her overarching theoretical claim that the connections between the material and the emotional resulted in a type of "entangled" (9) memory that joins the public and the private is especially welcome as the discipline seeks to understand better how Europeans wrestled with the political fact of colonial independence. Ultimately, Schilling's vision of the multiple "postcolonialisms" in which Germans across the twentieth century participated should attune scholars to the valuable lessons deriving from the ways in which Germany—the first postcolonial nation in Europe—remembered its imperial past.

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Sophie De Schaepdrijver. *Gabrielle Petit: The Death and Life of a Female Spy in the First World War*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015. Pp. xii, 258. $25.99.

Gabrielle Petit was a twenty-three-year-old Belgian woman executed by the Germans on April 1, 1916. Sophie De Schaepdrijver's new book about her life and death lifts this mostly forgotten heroine out of folk memory to place her in history. In doing so, she takes the reader deep into the social history of Belgium in the early twentieth century. In the 1920s, patriotic speakers were fond of claiming that Petit *was* Belgium; De Schaepdrijver comes close to confirming this assertion, although not in the way Petit's promoters envisioned.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first part, De Schaepdrijver has painstakingly reconstructed Petit's short life from fragments tucked away in Belgian, German, and British archives. The second, shorter section explores Petit's afterlife as an icon of patriotic sacrifice and national resistance. Rather than a debunking of myth with reality, De Schaepdrijver presents "'life' and 'myth' as being of a piece" (194) that reveals a moment when public and private conjoined in the First World War and its memory.

Abandoned as a child by her dysfunctional family, Petit was living in poverty when the German Army invaded and occupied Brussels. In the summer of 1915 the British General Headquarters recruited Petit to spy on the German Army along the Franco-Belgian border. For the first time in her life, Petit was reasonably well paid, and more importantly, as De Schaepdrijver argues, she finally had a purpose. In Petit's correspondence with her ex-fiancé, she wrote that she had found something "more useful to do" (51), a job that tested her courage and intelligence and freed her to travel at a time when authorities tightly controlled movement around the country. Inevitably, in these early days of amateurish intelligence networks, the Germans caught Petit after only five months of what the British considered to be valuable observations and reporting. The German Army tried her behind closed doors, condemned her to death, and, to the consternation of even her jailor, denied her any reprieve. After the brouhaha raised by the execution of Edith Cavell, many, including the German police, assumed that there would be no more executions of women. De Schaepdrijver concludes that Governor-General Moritz von Bissing enforced the execution to signal that women would not necessarily be given a free pass. Also, Petit's lack of class status as well as her insolence at her trial worked against a pardon. The spring of 1916 was a period of transition for both the German occupiers and the Belgians living in the occupied country. As the expectation of victory and liberation receded, a new modus vivendi was being established. De Schaepdrijver argues that Petit was caught in this shifting environment as the German authorities

made clear that defiance would not be tolerated and that the Belgian population was expendable.

After the war, Petit's memory was first promoted as an example of the suffering and sacrifice of ordinary folk. Then, in the 1920s, she was raised to the status of a national heroine, a position she continued to hold through the Second World War and its aftermath. It was not Petit's life that attracted attention, nor even her accomplishments as a spy, but her death. Unlike Cavell, Petit went to her execution defiant, never having named her associates and refusing to request a pardon. This defiance became the message she embodied: Belgium the resister rather than Belgium the victim, a meaning, De Schaepdrijver points out, intended to buttress Belgium's claims in the Paris Peace Conference negotiations. But it also made her memory available for a variety of causes: white-collar workers, Catholics, civilian resisters, feminists, and even Flemish nationalists claimed Petit as one of their own. Petit, as depicted in her 1923 statue, embodied a unified Belgium transcending or sidestepping the rifts that the guilt and shame of occupation had opened between profiteers, resisters, soldiers, and civilian authorities as well as the ethnic and linguistic gulf between Flemish and Walloons.

Petit's redefinition of Belgium as the defiant resister to invasion, occupation, and tyranny led to her second demise. Absorbed into the European Union, Belgium has lost its position on the front line of international conflict. In the process, Petit's story of patriotic sacrifice has lost its salience as well. As patriotism has faded in value, so has Petit's memory. Sites sacred to her—her family's home in Tournai, her cell in the Saint-Gilles prison in Brussels, the execution ground where she died, and her burial site—have been repurposed, torn down, and built over. Her statue still stands in the Place Saint-Jean but it means little to residents of today's international Brussels.

De Schaepdrijver tells Petit's interconnected stories with clarity and verve despite occasionally lapsing into jargon like "egodocument" and "memory agent." She also tells a third story, as absorbing as the other two, of her own discovery and piecing together of Petit's life and afterlife. Evolving from one paragraph devoted to Petit in De Schaepdrijver's 1997 history of Belgium in the First World War, she produced this fascinating book by combining her extensive knowledge of the period with fine detective work. It is doubtful we will ever learn more about Petit's short life. Nonetheless, Petit remains an enigma. Just as her memory has been multivalent, the evidence of different aspects of her character never quite coheres into a whole. Her biography is a lesson in how surprising individuals can be when confronted with extraordinary opportunities and desperate choices. And the story of her commemoration traces the arc of Western European patriotism.

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Christopher Dillon. *Dachau and the SS: A Schooling in Violence*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. viii, 282. $110.00.

The Dachau camp, which was established in 1933, formed the nucleus of the subsequent system of Nazi concentration camps. During the prewar period, the Concentration Camps Inspectorate had its headquarters there and its director, Theodor Eicke, introduced a wide range of regulations that became standard in the camps across Germany until 1945. Surprisingly few monographs have been published about this key camp, and nearly all of these works have been written by former inmates and do not meet the high standards that have been achieved by a number of more recent monographs on other main concentration camps. These works are particularly imprecise with regard to the SS, since many former prisoners viewed the SS men as criminals whose behavior required no detailed analysis. Christopher Dillon has selected his topic primarily in an attempt to fill this gap. His choice of subject matter also reflects his involvement in a research project coordinated by Nikolaus Wachsmann called "Before the Holocaust: Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany, 1933–1939." Like the other three dissertations that were written within the scope of this project, Dillon's work focuses on the prewar years. Aside from this approach, Dillon mentions in his introduction that he intends to study the world of the SS in the Dachau concentration camp during the period 1933–1939 from an "interactionist" perspective (7). He refrains entirely from exploring a concrete question or formulating his own theories. This approach proves to be characteristic of the entire book. Indeed, Dillon succeeds in recounting a large number of interesting and impressive stories, but fails to combine these elements analytically and thus point the way to new lines of research.

In chapter 1, Dillon describes the role of the SS in Bavaria until 1933 and the initial acts of violence in the camp following its establishment. In chapters 2 and 3, respectively, he deals separately with the two main organizations in the camp: the Dachau guard troops and the Dachau commandant staff. For future ongoing research, the chapter on the guard troops is of far greater importance, since our knowledge of this group has been limited up to now, whereas in the chapter on the commandant staff, Dillon can only complement Karin Orth's comprehensive study with a limited number of details.

In the fourth chapter, Dillon prudently uses the terminology of sociologist Erving Goffmann to describe how the SS is "framing" and "producing the inmate" (140, 143). At the same time, though, he occasionally takes individual statements by prisoners and rashly derives generalizations, such as when he maintains that the SS distributed for the most part inappropriate and ill-fitting clothing to prisoners, although the many photographic images reproduced in the book—yet barely analyzed—paint a different picture. The most innovative approach is taken in chapter 5, which examines the notions of masculinity that were relevant to the actions of the SS. To be a real man, it was important for many SS men to carry weapons and demonstrate severity toward themselves and others. It should be noted, however, that Dillon does not content himself with the propagated images of these men, or the self-images of the SS found in a number of personal testimonies, but instead attempts to demonstrate how individual SS men

repeatedly had to prove their masculinity in their interactions with prisoners. This sometimes proved to be particularly difficult with a number of working-class inmates, whose physical ideal of powerful, muscular proletarians carried significant weight in their own notions of masculinity. A militaristic drill program launched by communist prisoners as a recreational activity was banned by Eicke because the prisoners were to be robbed of all pride in their masculinity. In the final chapter, Dillon examines the relationships between the SS and the population of the small town of Dachau. He refers here primarily to analyses by German historian Sybille Steinbacher, which are not yet available in English, and complements these with a number of disciplinary incidents that he discovered in the personnel files of SS men relating to disputes between Dachau residents and individual members of the SS. The book ends with an epilogue that traces the careers of a number of SS men after the outbreak of the war. This is ultimately disappointing because it merely rehashes material that is sufficiently well known in the literature and foregoes a deeper analysis that ties together the author's results here.

In short, it should be noted that Dillon's comprehensive screening of the personnel files of Dachau SS men represents the book's major contribution to the research conducted to date. Dillon demonstrates here that he is a splendid narrator who has selected from the files many captivating stories that go beyond individual cases, and has interpreted them in a skillful and thoughtful manner. Unfortunately, however, Dillon refrains from forming an overarching analysis of these individual cases. Comparisons with other camps emerge only very sporadically and are not subject to a systematic review anywhere in the book. In the end, this leaves unanswered what I view as the key research questions in this field. Issues that need addressing here include the specific nature of the "Dachau school" run by the SS and to what extent the Dachau SS units actually differed significantly from the SS units in the other early concentration camps.

In conclusion, Dillon has produced a highly readable history of the Dachau SS units during the prewar years that offers a great deal of new information and is recommended reading for everyone who is interested in the connection between violence and masculinity under National Socialism. It remains, however, in many respects a patchwork of histories and ideas that leaves future researchers with the task of conducting a conclusive analysis of these new results.

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Tuvia Friling. *A Jewish Kapo in Auschwitz: History, Memory, and the Politics of Survival.* (The Schusterman Series in Israel Studies.) Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press, published with the support of the Israel Science Foundation, 2014. Pp. xiii, 325. Cloth $85.00, paper $40.00, e-book $39.99.

Tuvia Friling's gripping and disturbing book, *A Jewish Kapo in Auschwitz: History, Memory, and the Politics of Survival*, is an account of the tragic fate of one of the victims of European politics in the twentieth century. Eliezer Gruenbaum was the second son of Yitzhak Gruenbaum, the leader of one of two Zionist groups that dominated Jewish parliamentary life in Poland in the 1920s. Unlike Leon Reich's Galician Zionists—who believed that the Jews in Poland should seek to persuade the authorities to recognize the rights they were granted under the 1921 constitution and the Minority Treaty imposed on Poland at Versailles—Gruenbaum supported the position that the Jews' situation would improve only when Poland was transformed from a national state into a "state of nationalities." This led him to support large-scale autonomy for the Jews (and other national minorities) and to work for the creation of a National Minorities Bloc (Blok Mniejszości Narodowych) in the parliamentary elections of November 1922. Yitzhak's intransigent strategy proved self-defeating, and in the second half of the 1920s his influence waned as that of the more conciliatory Reich and his colleagues grew, particularly after Józef Piłsudski's coup in May 1926. In 1932, Yitzhak moved first to France and then to Palestine, where he played an important role in the politics of the Yishuv and the Jewish Agency. He became permanent vice chairman of the agency's executive branch and, during the war, a member of the Polish-Jewish community's "Committee of Four" and chairman of the Jewish Agency's Rescue Committee. When the State of Israel was established, Yitzhak was its first Minister of the Interior. After his defeat in the presidential election of 1952, he withdrew from politics and engaged in historical research until his death in 1970.

Eliezer Gruenbaum was born in 1908, became a communist at the age of sixteen, and was sentenced to four years in jail in 1929 for underground communist activity (the Communist Party was illegal in Poland). He was released after two-and-a-half years as a result of the intervention of his parents and moved to Paris, where he remained active in the communist movement. He fought in Spain and then, after the outbreak of the Second World War, went against party policy by attempting unsuccessfully to join the French Army and subsequently enlisting in the Polish Army in France. After the French defeat, Eliezer remained active in the French Communist Party but also expressed doubts as to whether the Soviet Union would be able to withstand the Nazi onslaught. He was imprisoned as a communist and deported to Auschwitz, where he became a kapo, or prisoner functionary, under the brutal block leader Ludwig Konczal. At the end of 1943 Eliezer was sent from Auschwitz to work in the coal mines in Yevishovitz and was subsequently sent to Buchenwald where he spent the remainder of the war. After the liberation of the camp, the communist party accused Eliezer of beating and murdering prisoners while in Auschwitz and conducted an investigation into these charges from both Warsaw and Paris.

One of the great strengths of this extremely well-researched book is that it provides an extensive account of this investigation based on the records in the Polish Archiwum Akt Nowych. According to one of his

accusers, the French communist Jacques Furmanski, Eliezer "was convinced that no one would come out of the camp [alive], that there would be no judges, that he would never have to explain his actions" (110). Eliezer claimed in his defense that the accusations against him were the result of the thankless position that he had assumed, a position that had made him "part of the German machine." He admitted that on occasion he might have "gone too far," but that ultimately he had always acted to protect party members and prisoners in general. Eliezer also claimed that the accusations could be attributed to his family name: "People were more hurt by my actions than they would have been if they had been performed by a person with an unfamiliar name" (106). Nevertheless, the party commission determined that he had given a "defeatist" (30) lecture while in the camp, and that he had been guilty of administering beatings that in some cases resulted in the deaths of prisoners. It concluded that Eliezer had "placed himself outside the party framework, and can never return to it" (110).

Eliezer therefore did not return to Poland cleared of all charges, as he had originally intended, but remained in Paris instead. He was arrested there by the French authorities on the basis of accusations against him by his fellow prisoners in Auschwitz. The trial, in which Yitzhak Gruenbaum intervened in hopes of securing the exoneration of his son, ended inconclusively when the court held that it had no jurisdiction because neither the accused nor the accusers were French citizens. Eliezer's position in France was now increasingly uncomfortable as he was both stateless and shunned by his former communist party comrades. He decided to emigrate to Israel, but there too he was subjected to vicious attacks by right-wing and religious groups eager, among other things, to discredit his father. He decided to redeem himself by fighting in the Israeli armed forces, which he was able to join by means of his father's intercession with David Ben-Gurion, and was killed in battle near Ramat Rachel on May 22, 1948, barely a week after the establishment of the state. There were unsubstantiated rumors that he was killed by one of his fellow soldiers. His death did not end the attacks on him. In Yehiel De-Nur's novel *They Called Him Piepl* (1961), which was widely praised in the Orthodox and revisionist press, Eliezer is depicted (under a fictional name) as a vicious kapo. *A Jewish Kapo in Auschwitz* does not resolve how much truth there is in the accusations against him and concludes with a series of questions: "Was Eliezer Gruenbaum a Shakespearean hero? Macbeth, perhaps? Both evil and tragic? A hero and a villain? . . . Was he also defeated by the horrifying pressure he was under at the camps—was he a victim?" (261) We shall never know.

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Bernard Wasserstein. *The Ambiguity of Virtue: Gertrude van Tijn and the Fate of the Dutch Jews*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2014. Pp. 334. $29.95.

The Ambiguity of Virtue: Gertrude van Tijn and the Fate of the Dutch Jews, based on extensive international research, is the first biography of Gertrude van Tijn—a hitherto little-known board member of the Jewish Council in Amsterdam. Among the sources used are Van Tijn's private correspondence and her unpublished autobiography. As a former board member of the Jewish Council, Van Tijn gained a negative postwar reputation in the Dutch Jewish community as a collaborator with the Nazis and profiteer during the deportation years. Bernard Wasserstein arrives at a much more benevolent conclusion: he regards Van Tijn as a courageous and admirable woman who tried to save as many Jewish lives as possible.

Van Tijn (1891–1974) was born in Braunschweig to an assimilated Jewish merchant family. After the early death of her mother, Gertrude and her two brothers were first sent to foster parents, and later to Berlin. There she completed a course in social work under Alice Salomon. An independent character, she moved to London, started working, and became involved in women's groups and the suffragette movement. During the First World War, the English regarded Germans as enemy aliens, and in 1915 she had to leave the country. Van Tijn came to Amsterdam, where she worked in banks as well as in Zionist and Jewish social aid organizations. She also met her husband Jacques van Tijn there, and had a marriage of seventeen years full of international travel. By 1932 she had become very active in aid work for Jewish refugees. Fundraising became her expertise and she became the Netherlands representative of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in New York. She established work and training projects for young Jewish refugees, and soon became the driving force in the Jewish Refugees Committee in Amsterdam. After the Netherlands was occupied by Nazi Germany in 1940, the work of this Committee became very difficult. The Nazis ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council in February 1941; David Cohen and Abraham Asscher became its infamous directors, while Van Tijn became director of the emigration department, and later the "Aid to the Departing" (Hulp aan Vertrekkenden) department. Working for the Jewish Council meant exemption from deportation, and thus the board members were powerful people.

Wallerstein presents convincing descriptions of Van Tijn's persistent efforts to facilitate the emigration of German Jews; her risky decisions to remain in or return to the Netherlands during the war; and the opportunities and dangers she faced as the only woman in the inner circle of the Jewish Council. In my view, Wallerstein does not recognize the extent of Van Tijn's exceptional and privileged position. He stresses that she was not a full member of the Jewish Council, but it is clear that she was quite powerful and that she was regarded as such even by the Nazis. Her personal documents, dated November 1941 in Amsterdam and December 1943 in Westerbork concentration camp, record her position as "bestuurslid," board member of the Jewish Council.

Van Tijn was also the only German Jew on the Jewish Council—this, is in my view, of vital significance. The tensions between Dutch and German Jews were substantial;

when the deportations started, Dutch Jewish Council members demanded that Van Tijn replace German Jews on her staff with Dutch Jews. She refused and resigned from the council in June 1942, only to resume her position a few weeks later. Even as late as June 1943 Van Tijn could travel, stay out all evening with night permits, and work in two well-equipped, secure offices. Top Nazi Ferdinand Aus der Fünten recognized her as a key contact: he demanded repeatedly that she hand over lists of Jews, and when she refused she was not arrested. She was able to influence the selection of Jews eligible for emigration, for travel, for exchange, etc. At the end of September 1943, Van Tijn arrived in Westerbork with the Jewish Council leadership. Two days later, she was able to use her privileged position to send out typed letters to international contacts in Switzerland and the U.S.

When Wasserstein characterizes Van Tijn as "concerned less with striking attitudes than with saving lives" (257), he adopts the same perspective as Claude Lanzmann in his recent film *The Last of the Unjust* (2013). Lanzmann regards Benjamin Murmelstein, a rabbi from Vienna who became the last president of the Judenrat in Theresienstadt, as a moral hero. Both Wasserstein and Lanzmann confront Hannah Arendt's critical view of the Jewish councils. In a beautiful chapter, Wasserstein describes how both Arendt and Van Tijn were in Lisbon in 1941, both able to flee to the U.S.: Arendt boards the ship; Van Tijn returns to the Netherlands, risking her life.

Now, seventy-five years later, the questions arise: Who are we to judge? In light of the evil of the Nazi extermination program, the accusation of Jewish collaboration has lost a lot of its rhetorical power, it seems. However, historical insight requires us to critically place people in their proper context. Some members of the Jewish councils left the organization, and there were alternative Jewish organizations more directly involved in resistance and finding hiding places for Jews. In my view, Wasserstein disregards the opinions of Jewish survivors who harbored bitter feelings toward the Jewish Council after the war. One such survivor, the Dutch Jewish historian Jacques Presser, remembered his feelings of helplessness and dependence on German and Austrian Jewish officials when in March 1943 he visited Van Tijn's Amsterdam offices after his young wife had been arrested and sent to Westerbork. Presser had to wait a long time before he could speak to a high official who might be able to help him, but his efforts were in vain, and the memory remained fresh, bitter and sad for decades.

Presser's words remind us of our lack of insight into the mostly segregated world of Dutch and German Jewish leaders and the influence of Dutch anti-German sentiment. Wasserstein's biography shows that there is room for a new analysis that frames resistance and solidarity work not as complimentary but as potentially opposed concepts. Jewish Council leaders contested direct anti-Nazi resistance activities and Jewish social workers saw resistance as endangering Jewish lives; they chose instead to maintain their relations with the Nazis. This is not to say that social workers like Van Tijn shunned illegal activities: finding money, fixing routes, forging papers, making lists, and facilitating border crossings were all part of what is now often called "human trafficking." Van Tijn often handled significant amounts of cash to bribe and find passage where possible. *The Ambiguity of Virtue* illuminates a complex history relevant for us today, surrounded as we are by daily news about the latest refugee routes and flows of people trying to find a safe home.

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Marc Buggeln. *Slave Labor in Nazi Concentration Camps*. English ed. Translated by Paul Cohen. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. Pp. vii, 334. $99.00.

The Nazi concentration camps were one of the first topics of research pursued immediately after the Second World War. In the past two decades, however, this topic has seen far-reaching changes. The general approaches that perceived the camps primarily through the lens of violence and murder have been replaced by more meticulous inquiries into the role the camps played in the German wartime economy, the "prisoner society," the socioeconomic profile of the camp staff, gender distinctions between the types of camps that were established, and the final stage of the mass murder during the death marches.

Marc Buggeln now adds his contribution to this crop of scholarly work. An illustration of its importance—though also of its greatest weakness—can already be found in the title's reference to "slave labor in Nazi concentration camps." In fact, he focuses on forced labor at the satellite camps of the Neuengamme Concentration Camp between 1943 and 1945, and he selects the prisoner mortality rates as his starting point of analysis. It provides him with the basis for explaining how camps were different, how the experiences of prisoners from various ethnic groups changed, and how gender altered camp life. Buggeln grounds his focus on different groups of prisoners, the guards, and those responsible for the prisoners.

The two most important chapters, chapters 2 and 4, show that certain economic considerations were taken into account in camps where the prisoners worked for the arms industry; these led to an improvement in prisoners' conditions that lasted until the latter half of 1944. Buggeln proposes classifying the camps according to their function: camps for production as opposed to camps where prisoners were engaged in backbreaking construction work that naturally had higher mortality rates. He has gathered a wealth of statistics on these camps, sometimes so detailed that one loses sight of the forest for the trees. But these are important chapters that add to our corpus of knowledge about the Nazi labor camps.

If, however, we are looking for a broad and integrated understanding of complex aspects of the Nazi genocide and an examination of their implications for the labor camps, the present study is unpersuasive. For example,

the author understates the centrality of the violence perpetrated by the camp guards. Buggeln is caught up in his notion that the labor camps were an economic phenomenon whose rationale was based in production and military needs. He criticizes (sometimes with unwarranted harshness and arrogance) or ignores the conclusions of important scholars who have published trailblazing works on camp violence and its significant role in the camp system. Instead, he asserts that violence in the labor camps was functional in nature and adapted to economic requirements and production. This does not prevent him from citing examples of sadistic guards whose brutality against the prisoners was devoid of functional logic.

Even more problematic is his conclusion that the camps he studied lay outside the domain of the Nazi regime's genocidal policy. For Buggeln, Nazi Germany was not primarily a "racial state" based on the principle of a master race (which it occasionally relaxed for tactical reasons), but one in which genocide coexisted with other methods of repression and non-genocidal murder, notably the concentration camps. In support of this strange notion he goes so far as to enlist the Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime for Genocide (1948), which defines genocide as "acts committed with intent to destroy . . . a national, ethnical, racial or religious group." But, he asserts, the camp prisoners were not such a group.

Buggeln does not seem to be familiar with the extensive theoretical literature on modern genocide. Scholars have long since expanded the definition of genocide beyond that of the United Nations Convention. The fact that men and women who belonged to many different national groups were imprisoned in the camps makes the violence and murder that took place in them an intrinsic part of the Nazi genocide. Was the murder of some eighty thousand Poles at Auschwitz not part of the policy of genocide against the Poles, which claimed three million victims? Or does the fact that Heinrich Himmler permitted the transfer of thousands of Jewish prisoners to the arms industry in 1944 mean that there was no comprehensive policy of genocide against the Jews?

Accordingly, Buggeln does not understand the final period of the death marches. He asserts that since two of Neuengamme's satellite camps were not emptied in 1945, but rather served as a place to concentrate inmates from other camps until liberation, this proves that the evacuation of the camps was not another facet of the mass murder campaign. The truth, however, is that the prisoners in these two camps died en masse—not blatantly murdered, as in the death marches, but because they were not given adequate supplies. If this is not part of a policy of liquidation, what is it?

In conclusion, the main problem with this study is Buggeln's ambition to draw inferences from what took place in the labor camps he studied to the entire camp system. However, he writes nothing at all about the concentration and labor camps in Eastern Europe; this is evidently a language issue, given that all the sources listed in his bibliography are in either German or English. This study is a typical example of the advantages but also of the problematic nature of local history. Although Buggeln provides important information and analyses of what happened in these satellite camps, he is insufficiently cautious and moderate in his projection of his conclusions onto the larger picture of the Nazi genocide, in general, and the history of the concentration camps, in particular.

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Jeremy Varon. *The New Life: Jewish Students of Postwar Germany*. Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 2014. Pp. xiii, 358. $34.99.

At its first postwar congress, in Montreux, Switzerland, in July 1948, the political commission of the World Jewish Congress passed a resolution stressing "the determination of the Jewish people never again to settle on the bloodstained soil of Germany." These words expressed world Jewry's widespread, almost unanimous feeling about the prospect of postwar Jewish life in Germany. And yet, during the first postwar years, almost a quarter of a million Jews lived in what was then the American occupied zone of Germany. They were mainly East European Jews who had fled the continued anti-Jewish violence in Poland and other countries, and they had nowhere to go before the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948 and the lifting of immigration restrictions by the U.S. in 1949.

In recent years there has emerged a rich literature on these Jewish Displaced Persons that has covered many different aspects of their lives. Among the topics so far excluded from thorough research is the way in which this group entered higher education during their sojourn in postwar Germany. Most of the survivors were young adults (children and the older generation rarely survived the Holocaust) who had been deprived for years of any formal education. They were anxious to begin new lives and new careers before they left Germany and Europe behind.

The New Life: Jewish Students of Postwar Germany studies for the first time this chapter of Jewish survivors' lives. Jeremy Varon builds his study on a rich array of archival sources and several dozen in-depth interviews with Jewish students of postwar Germany. His main group of interest is the Jewish Students' Union in Munich, which was established in December 1945 as the largest organized association of Jewish students and contained 460 students by the fall of 1947. This number is quite remarkable considering that the total number of Jewish students in interwar Poland was restricted and that after the war only small fragments of Germans were able to enter university studies. Hundreds of other Jewish students were enrolled in other universities, mainly in the American zone.

Varon provides detailed knowledge about these students' background, age, and choice of subject. The vast majority prepared for practical careers that would allow them to work outside Germany. They studied medicine, natural sciences, and engineering. The number of students enrolled in the humanities or in law school was low.

Given that most survivors were men and that there were relatively few women among the German students, the fact that almost a third of all Jewish students were female is significant. One notable difference compared to most other students is that many Jewish students did not have a high school diploma, as their schooling often came to an abrupt end during the Nazi occupation and their subsequent deportation to concentration camps or flight to the Soviet Union, where many survived the war. They often ended up without any papers in postwar Germany and developed different strategies to gain university admission, from reinventing their biographies to completing high school education in Germany. Some of the students started out at the short-lived United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration University for (mainly non-Jewish Ukrainian and Baltic) Displaced Persons in Munich.

Both there and at Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich and other German universities they encountered fellow students and professors who could have been their own or their families' former tormentors. Varon provides plenty of evidence that at this stage in their lives they were ready to look ahead and build their careers, rather than look back to the horrors of the years past. What most of them longed for was the long-absent "normality" of their lives. Apart from the few instances where they identified a former antagonist, they often developed cordial relationships with German students.

There is some scattered evidence of other Jewish student experiences in existing literature that escaped Varon's attention. The most fascinating account is from the literature professor and writer Ruth Klüger, who in her Holocaust memoir recalled how while being a fifteen-year-old (!) student of literature at the University of Regensburg she had to defend herself against her fellow Jewish students for going out with an older German student. His name was Martin Walser, later to become one of the best-known and most controversial German writers. The reader is also curious to learn a little more about the Hebrew *Gymnasium* (high school) in Munich, which served the Displaced Persons community for several years and which Varon mentions only in passing. But besides these few omissions this is a well-researched and highly innovative account of an overlooked aspect of postwar Jewish life. Many future careers of Jewish survivors started at German universities during the immediate postwar years. While only a handful stayed in Germany, their future lives were in Israel, the U.S., and other countries across the world.

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Kinga Pozniak. *Nowa Huta: Generations of Change in a Model Socialist Town.* (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014. Pp. x, 227. $27.95.

The story of the building of model industrial towns in the Eastern Bloc, such as Nowa Huta, Magnitogorsk, and Stalinstadt, has been richly told. But what fate befell such places when the curtain fell on state socialism? Not only did the changed economic circumstances typically spell economic decline for cities centered on heavy industry, but the new political climate propelled them from the symbolic center to the margins. Kinga Pozniak takes us on an absorbing journey through present-day Nowa Huta, interviewing its inhabitants in what turns out to be a quest for a usable past.

Pozniak is specifically interested in how personal memories of the communist past interact with dominant narratives. Building on classical memory theorists like Maurice Halbwachs, as well as more recent work, she begins from the premise that memories of the past, while grounded in historical events and experiences, also reflect present-day preoccupations. Throughout her study, she stresses how the dominant narrative, embraced not only in Polish public discourse but also by the European Union (EU), has framed the communist era as a period of repression, popular resistance, and inefficiency. Because Nowa Huta was a pet project of the communist regime, this discourse poses a challenge to its past and current inhabitants, who must find a way to articulate their own memories. While Pozniak's informants by and large do not reject the dominant discourse, they are willing to push back against specific aspects that they do not feel reflect their personal experience. But, true to her theoretical framework, Pozniak shows how discussions of the past are framed by broader understandings of the present. Namely, she shows how Polish political discourse has constructed a Manichean world where the only two options are the doomed communist past and the challenging but inevitable neoliberal present. Thus, her informants have difficulty expressing positive memories because they can be construed as "nostalgia," a misdirected desire to return to a hated regime. Similarly, those who fail to thrive in the new neoliberal conditions are portrayed as "stuck" in the mentality of the old regime, drawing on the discourse of communist inefficiency. In other words, this one-sided discourse about the past does not only misrepresent aspects of the communist experience and marginalize some people's personal histories; it also short circuits any critical evaluation of the present, something that is clearly unhealthy for Polish democracy.

The book is divided into thematic chapters. The first chapter examines Nowa Huta's evolution since the end of communism and the way in which memory is inscribed in place, and the second focuses in on its memory as a workplace. This proves to be a particularly meaty topic for examining memory conflicts because of the steelworks' changing role in the new neo-liberal order. While it was a thriving enterprise during the communist era and served as the primary employer in the town that provided all sorts of auxiliary services, such as health, sports, leisure, and consumer goods, it has now shriveled to a fraction of its original size and activity, and become a small cog in a multinational steel conglomerate. Whereas Poles would be hard pressed to defend other aspects of the communist past, the steelworks' presence provides a prime

opportunity for contesting the hegemonic discourse about the past, if not about the present.

The third chapter examines the portrayal of Nowa Huta's history in museums and commemorations. Unsurprisingly, they promote the dominant narrative of repression, resistance, and inefficiency, but what is interesting is how they try to retell the story of Nowa Huta to include it in this dominant narrative by emphasizing the pre-communist past and Nowa Huta's role in the Solidarity movement. This is a good example of Pozniak's broader effort to look at the interactions between memory discourses at the local and national levels. Because Pozniak also interviewed people on their perceptions of the exhibits, she is able to evaluate reception, which varied from enthusiastic, to skeptical, to uninterested.

The fourth chapter looks at the memories of people who lived in Nowa Huta from a generational perspective, shifting some of the focus away from the present to the past. She suggests that the generation that built Nowa Huta in the optimistic 1950s and 1960s had a very different experience of communism from the generation that came of age in the decades of crisis of the 1970s and 1980s. However, the examples of younger people who have an appreciation for the way in which the old regime valued social and cultural life seem to refute such tidy demarcations. The fifth and final chapter carries on with this generational approach by examining how those who grew up after communism ended understand Nowa Huta's past. Young people learn little about the socialist past in their schools and accept the dominant narrative without much questioning, with some exceptions. A few young people such as Piotrek Dukat, who opened "Klub 1949," have tried to reclaim the local past by emphasizing its local significance.

Ultimately, as Pozniak notes, the passage of time seems the greatest threat to local memory, flooding the district with newcomers with no local recollections. In her conclusion, Pozniak broadens the inquiry to ask a most important question: How can memory be empowered to enable Nowa Huta's citizens to critically engage with the present? She proposes liberating local memories from the burden of state socialism and combining them with other ideas and discourses—a reminder of the malleable nature of remembering.

Beyond the Polish context, the reader is left with some real questions about the role of the EU in this story. While it is not a major protagonist, Pozniak does highlight how its own framing of the communist past, which it promotes through its funding of cultural and educational programming, reinforces the dominant narrative in Poland. In light of what this study shows about the pernicious effects of this narrative, it is worth asking whether this does not undermine the EU's other agenda of fostering critical debate and democracy.

Pozniak's fascinating study sheds light on the agency of common people in defining the meaning of their experiences, on the role of broader discourses in either reaffirming or marginalizing these stories, and on the political implications of this process. My one reservation is that she gives equal weight to all voices, making it difficult to evaluate which ones are representative. This study will be of interest to historians, anthropologists, and sociologists working on state socialism and postsocialism.

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Ryan Tucker Jones. *Empire of Extinction: Russians and the North Pacific's Strange Beasts of the Sea, 1741–1867.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. Pp. xi, 296. $58.00.

In *Empire of Extinction: Russians and the North Pacific's Strange Beasts of the Sea, 1741–1867*, Ryan Tucker Jones mines known accounts of late-Enlightenment figures involved in Northern Pacific exploration to produce a fresh interpretation of Russia's empire building in the North Pacific that sits at the intersection of imperial and environmental history. Jones argues that exploration in the North Pacific marks an important moment in the development of environmental history because it led to one of the first known species extinctions—Steller's sea cow—in the 1760s. By extending eastward the concept of a late Enlightenment "republic of letters" (although Jones does not use this term) and incorporating Russian discoveries into cutting-edge knowledge about the natural world in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, *Empire of Extinction* integrates the Russian Empire into a larger global context. Further, the book is a stimulating foray into the connections among geopolitics, resource exploitation, scientific advancement, and the evolution of an environmental ethos.

Chapter 1 recounts the Second Kamchatka Expedition (1733–1743), which Jones describes as "breathtakingly ambitious in scope and homicidally troubled in logistics" (23). While the multipronged expedition has been recounted elsewhere, Jones brings fresh insights to this critical episode. For example, he opens the chapter by tracing the similar but divergent paths of two of the finest eighteenth-century graduates from the University of Halle in Germany: the musician George Frideric Handel, who put his talents to work in the British Empire, and Georg Wilhelm Steller, who spent his career in Russian imperial service. By focusing on Steller's path in this way, Jones helps the reader to "see" Russia in contemporary early modern terms as a prospective place for unique research—opportunities, rapid career advancement, and, often, good pay. Although later, more "modern" developments—Russia's attachment to "Absolutism," its lag in the Industrial Revolution, and its implementation of a Marxist order—moved Russia on a so-called divergent path from Western Europe, Jones's work reveals that, in the early modern period, Russia belonged to a wider European world despite particularities that ranged from fundamental (serfdom) to superficial (cultural norms like hospitality). Of course, within this claim there is much to tease out. *Empire of Extinction* marks a valuable contribution to the enduring conversation about Russia's relationship to the "West."

Chapter 2 covers early Russian contact with North Pacific islands, detailing the tremendous devastation to people and animals. After the Second Kamchatka Expedition, the state sponsored little exploration of the North

Pacific. During this hiatus, Russian *promyshlenniki* (fur hunters/traders/entrepreneurs), lost little time in exploiting the islands' abundant fur resources. When the next state-sponsored expedition returned, it found alarming depletion where there had once been abundance.

The next three chapters deal with the intellectual contours of the encounter between the Russian Empire and its Pacific Northwest possessions. The written account of this encounter was largely mediated by foreigners and Jones explores the ways in which imperial, scientific, and career agendas intersected. In some ways this book serves as a case study in the production of both "scientific" and "public" forms of knowledge. Chapter 3 illustrates real and metaphorical links between empire building and environment through a discussion of natural history research in Russia in the second half of the eighteenth century. Chapter 4 continues this line of inquiry with an analysis of the Billings Expedition (1785–1795). Jones describes a shift in the Russian state's stance on information. Peter I had coveted knowledge for interests of state, and scathing texts such as Jean-Baptiste Chappe D'Auteroche's *A Journey through Siberia* (1768) only reinforced the state's impulse to control the flow of information. Yet the publications and prestige of James Cook's expeditions forced the Russian state to recognize that advertising its knowledge of its possessions fortified it's territorial claims, while the absence of such cultural-intellectual productions jeopardized them. Thus, the Billings Expedition, the first major Russian scientific expedition in four decades, was initiated in response to Cook's expeditions; it even employed some of the same personnel. The foreign composition of Russian imperial "knowledge makers" lent a cosmopolitan character to the endeavor. At the same time, "the foreigners hired to buttress Russian imperial claims brought with them the . . . critical stance toward Russia necessary to focus attention on the overhunting . . . thus raising international awareness of the danger of species extinction" (168).

For example, the Englishman Martin Sauer was the first person to articulate a North Pacific species extirpation that went beyond the local level, reporting that the last sea cow had been killed in 1768 (158). Sauer also described a Russian Empire that mistreated natives, depleted resources wantonly, and failed to gain knowledge (139). Such critiques held a menacing geopolitical implication: if Russia could not manage its empire effectively, it did not deserve to possess it. Indeed, the fact that Sauer, in spite of his distress at Russians' species depletion, recommended that Britain launch hunting expeditions to the region (165) poignantly illustrates the importance of examining imperial and environmental intellectual trends together. Jones does not thoroughly explicate—and perhaps it is too much to ask—the nexus of Enlightenment ideals and patriotic condescension in these critiques. Rather, he emphasizes that "[t]he Billings Expedition's unique contribution to early modern environmental literature was to tie the widely recognized ill effects of European colonization on native peoples with the corresponding decline in animals" (160). Indeed, members of the Billings Expedition recoiled at the wanton cruelty of barbaric *promyshlenniki*. Reports that the Russian hunter Solovev executed over two hundred natives in a 1762 massacre in the Fox Islands (84), and that the merchant Grigorii Shelikhov had ordered natives to stand together "so that he could shoot them both with one shot from a gun" (151), undermine claims of a more benevolent Russian imperialism.

Chapter 5 contends that Sauer's reading of two works of natural history organized quite differently enabled the important breakthrough of recognizing species extinction. While the imperial organization of Peter Simon Pallas's *Zoographia Rosso-Asiatica* created an "imperial blindspot" that allowed Pallas to continue to believe sea otters were migrating, not declining, Welshman Thomas Pennant's *Arctic Zoology*, structured around biogeographical zones rather than geopolitical borders, "helped Sauer conceive of the sea cow's total extinction" (189). Chapter 6 argues that Adam Johann von Krusenstern's circumnavigation voyage (1803–1806), accounts of which both echoed and amplified the critiques of the Billings Expedition, "marked the moment when Russians began successfully co-opting the concerns and language of European observers to recast their Pacific empire." The chapter schematically treats the first half of the nineteenth century, which was characterized by "a new imperial attitude toward environmental concerns" (201). The Russian-American Company reformed its practices and rhetoric to implement conservationist approaches that, although of mixed success, Jones counts as among the most progressive in the colonial world.

In this work of primarily intellectual history, Jones nicely incorporates scholarship on environmental change. He pays welcome attention to the different habits of fur seals and sea otters, which necessitated different conservation schemes. In an elegant conclusion, Jones argues that the Russian imperial experience "had much in common with colonial locations in the rest of the world" (234). Conservation was pragmatic economically, while Romanticism fostered sentiment for animals' suffering and engendered anti-imperialist critiques that facilitated concern for environmental decline in colonial holdings. This rich book touches on themes such as portrayals of natives and how imperial and social hierarchies informed knowledge transmission. It points the way toward new areas of inquiry, such as a fuller accounting of the ideas of Russians like Gavriil Sarychev vis à vis their foreign colleagues. Jones's lucid writing makes for engaging reading, but because the chronology sometimes drops out of the discussion, the book will be most digestible to those familiar with the general narrative. *Empire of Extinction* should become essential reading for graduate students in the history of empire, environmental history, and Russian history.

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Janet M. Hartley. *Siberia: A History of the People*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2014. Pp. xx, 289. $38.00.

This book's claim to difference is its focus on "how people lived" (xiv) and it clearly achieves this goal in a concise but

holistic English-language account of Siberian history. It is not quite social history but rather a depiction of the pragmatic aspects of life. Janet M. Hartley covers housing, diets, and coping with long-distance travel in conjunction with key historical events from Yermak Timofoyevich's expedition in the 1580s and Mikhail Speranski's reforms of the 1820s to Soviet socialism. Equally important, the book does not aim to be comprehensive but to provide a sense of the diversity of ways of life in different locations (villages, towns, garrisons); among different population groups (Cossacks, exiles, explorers, missionaries, Soviet workers, and academics); and around projects such as railway construction, collectivization, and the making of the new Soviet citizen. Hartley covers most of the established narrative such as Siberian hardships and opportunities, including freedom from serfdom, and critically addresses popular and scholarly stereotypes: Siberian emptiness and wilderness, the domination of its history by terror and exile, and Siberia as a place for only resource extraction.

As an anthropologist reviewing this book, two points stand out. First, Hartley does not frame her study around the strict division between settler and indigenous society, a binary distinction that remains foundational in Siberian studies. For example, fur tribute is discussed both from the point of view of indigenous fur hunters and Russian tribute collectors and fur traders. Hartley's account of religious life includes a discussion of "double faith" (141–146), or the intermixture of Christian and non-Christian indigenous beliefs and practices. Her depictions of the settlement landscape, such as that of Yakutsk in the seventeenth century (45–46), benefit from attention to how indigenous houses (yurts, or tents) and households were intermixed with those of newcomers. She enriches her discussion of collectivization with examples of the purges of reindeer herders and shamans. Hartley sees indigenous history as one of the key features that distinguishes the history of Siberia from that of European Russia. As she rightly points out, Siberia in many ways looks like northern Russia climatically as well as in appearance of peasant houses, forts, villages, and urban centers.

Second, the book's attention to everyday life depicts the Siberian social landscape, particularly the figures of the conqueror, the ruler, the explorer, and the missionary, in a way that forces us to take these social categories into consideration. Siberian riches (fur, oil, gas) constituted a source of wealth for colonizers and indigenous people alike. However, the structures and processes of modernization imported by colonial agents had an ambivalent effect on life in Siberia. The colonizer acquired economic wealth, but also obtained practical knowledge of the land. These life skills on the land, and access to resources such as supplies of seeds, were crucial for survival and distinctly shaped colonization in the region. One vivid example from the book depicts life at Gizhiga garrison, a post on the coast of the Sea of the Okhotsk in the Russian Far East manned by about one hundred soldiers and two hundred Cossacks in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The location of this fort was unsuitable for agriculture, so fishing became the basis for the garrison's subsistence. In 1773, the Gizhiga River flooded, ruined the fishing, and put the garrison on the verge of hunger, forcing its officers to beg Okhotsk authorities for grain. Another famine occurred in 1815–1819. An additional 5,000 rubles worth of supplies were allocated to alleviate it (on top of about 80,000 rubles a year that the government spent annually to maintain the fort and the garrison). However, transport of supplies from Irkutsk could take up to six months (98).

The rationale for keeping a fort there was to maintain a military presence on a sea route to Kamchatka in order to pacify and collect tribute from the indigenous Koriak and Chukchi peoples. Hartley emphasizes that the stark reality and fragility of day-to-day life in these remote areas complicates the traditional account of colonialism based on domination and expropriation of a territory by a colonial administration. Cossacks still had to work the land like peasants for about half of their service time. The Russian state also sent convicts as agents of colonialism by providing them with land and resources to cultivate these remote areas. Hartley draws a connection between the way the Russian state manipulated convict settlers in Siberia and the treatment of kulaks later in the Soviet period during collectivization.

Hartley does not follow this line of analysis into the later Soviet period or into any urban contexts but her observations correspond with other historical and ethnographic scholarship. Early twentieth-century fur traders in north Krasnoyarsk are described in contemporary documents as "living like peasants most of the year," and even today village networks remain important for the survival of scientists in the Novosibirsk Akademgorodok. The continuous importance of various connections to the land for most, if not all, Siberian estates and categories of population across time has significant conceptual implications from the point of view of economic anthropology. Russian expansion in Siberia is a case *par excellence* of state as well as peasant colonialism. But this book raises a question about the relationship between the two. What kind of everyday economy did the colonial administration in Siberia engender? How was the colonial economy embedded at the local level? How subsistence-dependent were Siberian households across time? Equally interesting is the flip side of these questions: How embedded are the so-called "traditional" economies in Siberia (indigenous, peasant, *dacha*, and seasonal hunting-gathering) in current market, state, and professional infrastructures? The account of Siberia as "a history of the people" that Hartley has given us is interesting not merely as a reading of Siberian history in this fresh light but also as a rich foundation for further research.

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Sergey Radchenko. *Unwanted Visionaries: The Soviet Failure in Asia at the End of the Cold War.* (Oxford Studies in International History.) New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. Pp. xi, 383. $36.95.

This balanced, fair-minded, and thoughtful study by the distinguished historian Sergey Radchenko covers the

period not since, but *at* the end of the Cold War, specifically the late period from Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev's pathbreaking 1982 speech in Tashkent to the disintegration of the Soviet Union into fifteen sovereign republics in December 1991. Though the book relies mainly on decreasingly accessible Russian archives (regional as well as central), Radchenko's prodigious research includes Hungarian, East German, and Mongolian Communist Party archives, declassified Chinese materials, the Archive of the International Olympic Committee in Lausanne (for the diplomacy of the Korean Olympic games), the Nehru Library in New Delhi, the United Nations Archive, and several American presidential libraries. This is supplemented by a reading of the available memorial literature of the principals.

As noted, Radchenko covers Moscow's attempt to reorient its Asia policy during the late Cold War period. The first chapter concerns the Kremlin's internally contested decision to initiate reconciliation with China. This occurred under old guard leaders Brezhnev, Iurii Vladimirovich Andropov, and Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, who despite their age and infirmity and deep ideological investment in the Soviet critique of Chinese communism, decided to patch things up with erstwhile allies. Ironically this breakthrough took place only after the Chinese had let the Sino-Soviet alliance lapse, and in the face of Beijing's strong preference at the time for a rapprochement with the U.S. that was based precisely on shared opposition to the Soviet Union. But the pragmatic Chinese responded positively to Soviet overtures, launching biannual "normalization" talks while at the same time maintaining warm relations with Washington, thereby turning Henry A. Kissinger's strategic triangle to their advantage. They pursued these normalization talks in Fabian fashion, dragging them out for seven years until the Soviets overcame "three obstacles" that the Chinese contended stood in the way of full "normalization": demilitarization of the border and resolution of so-called proxy fights in Afghanistan and Cambodia (15).

The "unwanted visionaries" referred to in the book's title are Mikhail Gorbachev and his foreign policy advisers, and they envisioned a Soviet Union that was an essential pivot to Asia—after all, Russia sits astride the Eurasian landmass facing, like the double-headed Russian eagle, both east and west. Yet the vision was more specific than that. Gorbachev hatched the idea of a "strategic triangle" consisting of the USSR, India, and China, which together (i.e., under Moscow's leadership) would dominate the continent. This plan never really fell into place. Moscow's relations with New Delhi had always been cordial, and Rajiv Gandhi was receptive to the idea, but there were two problems: first, the bogged-down Soviet engagement in Afghanistan did not meet with Indian approval; and second, India could never really warm up to China, harboring an unresolved border dispute. China, the second corner of the triangle, had little interest in India and preferred launching its own "independent foreign policy" to being an angle in a Soviet grand design that might pit it against the U.S., from which Beijing hoped to get help in its new focus on modernization. Gorbachev and his like-minded colleagues were still somewhat distrustful of China at the end of two decades of harsh polemics and chary of a pivot eastward exclusively into the arms of the Chinese—indeed that was the point of the triangle, to balance Sino-Soviet normalization with an ongoing Soviet-Indian partnership. According to Radchenko, the fact that both Russia and China were pursuing "socialist reform" was more conducive to competition than to cooperation, and the disastrous outcome of the Soviet effort has been a useful nightmare qua object lesson for the Chinese.

The failure of the Gorbachev vision (under both Gorbachev and later Boris Yeltsin) obliged Moscow to improvise. Sino-Soviet normalization continued, surprisingly, despite the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The freshly minted democratic Russia quickly lost hope in Western capitalist salvation, particularly at a time of critical need after the collapse of the Russian economy in the 1990s. So Moscow perforce turned elsewhere. South Korea became the source of emergency relief in the early 1990s in return for Russian desertion of North Korea, but this offered no lasting solution to the divided nation, and mutual interest waned. In Southeast Asia, Russia's only client was the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. But after the Vietnamese expansionist drive was exhausted in Cambodia and the Americans left their bases in the Philippines, Vietnam saw no further need for Soviet assistance and forced the USSR to leave Da Nang. Japan, with its advanced technology and abundant investment capital, was obviously the ideal alternative (or complement) to the Sino-Russian embrace, and the price seemed cheap: return four tiny islets in the southern Kuriles that the Soviets had seized as spoils at the end of the war. Radchenko spends two chapters examining Soviet-Japanese negotiations in excruciating detail, only to discover what others have found. The Japanese were not as pragmatic or willing to compromise as the Chinese, and the Russians for their part became equally stubborn. In the name of national pride, they spurned Ichiro Ozawa's prospective offer of $50 billion in aid at a time of severe financial duress.

Thus, at the end of the book, Radchenko sees Russia with not only an unwanted vision but lacking any plausible plan B. The population of the Russian Far East is tiny and shrinking, the mighty Soviet navy and maritime nuclear deterrent are no longer strategically relevant, and (despite winning membership in the East Asian Summit) Russian influence has reached a new nadir. Yet Putin's post-Ukraine Asian turn—pipeline deals with China, cooperation with Iran and India, launching a Eurasian Union—illustrates that the vision is far from dead. But this of course takes us beyond Radchenko's historical perspective.

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David B. Ruderman. *A Best-Selling Hebrew Book of the Modern Era:* The Book of the Covenant *of Pinḥas Hurwitz and Its Remarkable Legacy.* (The Samuel and Althea Stroum Lectures in Jewish Studies.) Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014. Pp. xvi, 172. $50.00.

When I was studying in a Kabbalah *yeshiva* (seminary) in Jerusalem in the early 1980s, there was a book that surreptitiously went around the circle of young twenty-something students, especially those with a college education, for extracurricular reading. The book was by an author none of us knew, Pinḥas Hurwitz of Vilna, and the title of the book was *Sefer ha-Brit* (*The Book of the Covenant* [1797]). We were told that this book was by a modern Kabbalist who took science seriously and proved the truth of Kabbalah against the claims of the scientific study of nature. Since we had a good foundation in Lurianic Kabbalah, the book was quite accessible. And since most of us only had a basic knowledge of science and a commitment to Jewish Orthodoxy, its arguments for tradition seemed convincing.

According to David B. Ruderman in his engaging book, *A Best-Selling Book of the Modern Era:* The Book of the Covenant *of Pinḥas Hurwitz and Its Remarkable Legacy*, my experience likely reflected those of thousands of Jews over the past two centuries. Ruderman's compelling book argues that *Sefer ha-Brit*, which went through forty printings from 1797 to 1990, is one of the most popular Hebrew books in the modern period. This does not necessarily mean that it was the most widely read, but its many editions suggest that it was a book in demand almost continuously since its first printing.

Ruderman advances three main reasons for the book's popularity. The first was the assertive personality of its peripatetic author, Pinḥas Hurwitz, who traversed Europe promoting the work while meticulously overseeing its printing and securing impressive endorsements. Second, Hurwitz fashioned the book as a compendium to the well-known pietistic work *Sha'arei Kedsuah* by the sixteenth-century Safadean Kabbalist Hayyim ben Joseph Vital. And third, the book offered traditional Jews who were encountering modernity for the first time a way to engage with science without undermining their core beliefs. For the freethinkers (*maskilim*), it offered a Kabbalistic work that was anti-philosophical yet open to the progress of modern science.

Hurwitz cleverly used Immanuel Kant's critique of metaphysics to undermine medieval philosophical claims to know truth through reason, while maintaining metaphysical claims of positive religion. Thus, for Hurwitz, Kant served as the "proof" of Kabbalah. Ruderman rightly compares Hurwitz's view to that of Isaac Breuer, who also used Kant to present religion as transcendental, meaning that revelation displaces rational certainty as the basis for religious truth (in Hurwitz's case, by way of Kabbalah). The medieval faith-reason symbiosis has been broken leaving only religion as that which can achieve any kind of certainty beyond the empirical world even as Hurwitz offers a surprisingly modern definition of faith as "what a man knows and accepts in his heart and pictures in his imagination as actually existing in reality outside of what he thinks and feels in his heart" (73). It would have been beneficial for Ruderman's readers if he had explored Hurwitz's truth claim in greater depth. Hurwitz does not reject science and reason as much as show the limitations of both and then uses those limitations to secure the authenticity, and need, for Kabbalah, whose truth claims are not rationally verified. However, by using Kant's critique Hurwitz claimed to have opened the door for Kabbalah to enter modernity.

The free-thinking *maskil* would be attracted to this book because it engages science in a serious way and, more importantly, because it advocates, even requires "social responsibility to all creatures, both humans and animals" (157). Here Hurwitz moves beyond the enlightened notion of universalism as a social ethos. Ruderman states that "[o]nly by embracing all human beings is divine revelation possible . . . Hurvitz's moral cosmopolitanism is not simply a social theory or even a philosophical commitment . . . [i]t declares that a love for humanity on the part of Jews is at the very core of their religious consciousness" (89). This is not an expression of liberalism for Hurwitz as much as an adaptation of much of Italian Renaissance Jewish thinking into an Eastern European milieu.

In a chapter on the readers of *Sefer ha-Brit*, Ruderman includes a surprising discussion of the fideistic Hasidic rabbi Naḥman ben Simḥah of Bratslav and his disciple Nathan Sternhertz of Nemerov. Naḥman is often considered the quintessential antirationalist. Yet Ruderman argues, citing only secondary literature, that Naḥman appreciated Hurwitz's critique of philosophy and his discussion of the wonders of nature, both close to Naḥman's heart. He mentions Naḥman citing Hurwitz, although to my knowledge Naḥman never cites him, or almost anyone else, in his homilies. It is Nathan who mentions him, perhaps sometimes in the name of Naḥman his teacher. One good source not mentioned by Ruderman would be the anonymous *Kina'at ha-Shem Ziva'ot*, a mid-nineteenth-century anonymous book likely written by a follower of Naḥman who wages a spirited polemic against reason and philosophy in favor of Kabbalah.

What emerges from Ruderman's fresh and compelling analysis is the history of a book that was so popular perhaps because it had something for everyone. The question is, of course, how did this all hang together for Hurwitz? Is *Sefer ha-Brit* a coherent statement about the place of religion in modernity or, as Ruderman suggests, is it the case that "Hurwitz had in mind a composition more reminiscent of the medieval or early modern encyclopedia, a kind of spiritual journey or ascent where the reader would be carried to a higher state of consciousness by the continuous reading that the composition required of him" (36)? When we first encountered the book in the 1980s we saw it as a breath of fresh air in the often overly doctrinal world of ultra-Orthodoxy. Now I know that we were not the only ones.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

Neguin Yavari. *Advice for the Sultan: Prophetic Voices and Secular Politics in Medieval Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. Pp. vii, 197. $55.00.

In this little book, the author attempts "a history of Islamic political thought in the medieval past" (1). This is misleading, as is the book's subtitle. It is, in fact, a study of the thematic content of *fürstenspiegel*, "mirrors for princes," in the medieval Islamic world. These are books of practical advice written, typically by professional bureaucrats, to guide the king in the everyday demands of ruling. Neguin Yavari's book thus deals with only one of the three significant genres of theoretical political thought in medieval Islam, omitting the Greek-inspired political treatises of philosophers like al-Farabi and the discussion of constitutional law and the law of nations found in the works of Islamic lawyers and theologians.

The major surveys of Islamic political thought have dealt with this genre only in passing. It is easy to dismiss, since these works typically consist of practical advice ("Do not leave officials in one office too long; have spies reporting on your governors; beware of relying on the advice of women"), illustrated by entertaining anecdotes about famous kings and viziers of the past—fun to read but not, one supposes, intellectually deep. The scholarship on these texts has dealt with their sources, particularly their non-Islamic sources, or their value as literature.

The author dismisses the project of tracing the sources of these works. While it is well known that the Islamic mirrors for princes have roots particularly in Sasanian Iran, the author claims that the mirrors' chief interest is in certain recurring themes and patterns, which she proceeds to trace, using a number of Islamic works in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, as well as pre-Islamic Persian and Indian texts and some premodern European texts. The most famous of these for Europeans is the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum*, the *Kitab Sirr al-Asrar* in its original Arabic. This very popular work purporting to be a letter from Aristotle to Alexander the Great is based on a variety of materials from Greek and Persian sources. Such works continued to be written until fairly recent times. Two others are *Kalila wa-Dimna*, an Arabic adaptation of an Indian collection of fables, the *Panchatantra*, that exists in various recensions in several languages; and the *Siyar al-Muluk*, "The Ways of Kings," by the eleventh-century vizier Niẓam al-Mulk.

Yavari identifies characteristic narrative strategies. Perhaps most important, the source of the wisdom in these books most commonly is attributed to a foreign origin. In the *Kalila wa-Dimna*, for example, the vizier of a pre-Islamic Persian king is sent to India to acquire wisdom and brings back this book. The anecdotes very commonly involve pre-Islamic kings and ministers, such as Alexander and the Persian kings. Often the wisdom is unveiled by revealing secrets, usually of foreign origin, for example, the interpretation of the rules of chess as an allegory of wise kingship. The prevalence of this strategy is striking considering that both medieval Islam and medieval Christendom were societies with a dominant revealed religion.

The author is anxious to decontextualize these works, arguing that certain themes recur over many centuries. She is particularly interested in certain fundamental dichotomies. The two most important for her are the relation between kingship and religion and the tension between the virile young king and his wiser and older minister. Rather surprisingly in an Islamic (or Christian) context, kingship is typically seen as having a role coequal to that of religion and, under certain circumstances, co-opting it. The relation between king and minister is also problematic since the advice books tell stories of unfaithful ministers, kings made great by listening to wise ministers, and kings who murder faithful ministers.

Yavari situates her project in tension with the ideas of Quentin Skinner and the Cambridge School on the history of modern political thought, a school that she believes is unable to handle the history of non-Western and premodern political thought. While Yavari deals mainly with Islamic texts, the book is easily accessible to anyone interested in the history of practical political thought in the Middle Ages. Names and historical contexts are explained. It is actually more or less accidental that this book focuses on Islamic texts; the author cites similar texts from India, pre-Islamic Iran, and medieval Europe as far afield as Norway. All in all, this is a useful and readable book, doing the valuable service of showing the intellectual relevance of these once-popular texts.

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Avner Giladi. *Muslim Midwives: The Craft of Birthing in the Premodern Middle East*. (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Pp. x, 195. $95.00.

Avner Giladi is among the first to treat religious, legal, and philosophical Islamic texts from a historical, sociological, and even psychological perspective in order to better understand family, women, and gender relations in Muslim societies. His previous works on medieval Islamic views on breastfeeding (*Infants, Parents and Wet Nurses: Medieval Islamic Views on Breastfeeding and Their Social Implications* [1999]) and the concept of childhood in medieval Muslim society (*Children of Islam: Concepts of Childhood in Medieval Muslim Society* [1992]) are pioneers that laid the groundwork for more interest on issues such as birth, wet-nursing, parenthood, child mortality, infanticide, orphanhood, family, and gender in Middle Eastern history. His new admirable work on midwifery approaches captures the most intimate and gender-specific aspects of family life.

Giladi's "previous research on medieval Islamic views on breast-feeding . . . was based on the assumption that lactation is not merely a biological-instinctive routine but an aspect of 'mothering,' the culturally constructed bonding between mother and child, 'grounded in specific historical and cultural practices'" (17). *Muslim Midwives: The Craft of Birthing in the Premodern Middle East* treats childbirth from a similar perspective. The birth and reception of an infant into the family and society, Giladi underlines, exposes the fundamental characteristics of the life experience in a society. The childbirth scene divided the community along gender lines "as an arena for a

power struggle between males and females" (9). Men were excluded, whereas women as a group looked up to the midwife as the sole authority holding the future of the lineage in her hands (161). Despite their low rank in social (patriarchal) terms, the midwives assumed an elevated status as overseers of the birth place.

The intervention of the midwife in the intimate corners of family life, however, not only empowered her (both in practical and legal terms) but also marginalized her. Midwives hold a precarious position at the intersection of public and private, of male and female (130). The discussion of this special status is the main concern of the book, and Giladi contributes greatly to our understanding of gender relations within and outside the medieval Muslim family.

In his introduction, Giladi refers to Ibn Khaldun's praise that midwifery was indispensable to the human species as an essentially urban craft. Ibn Khaldun's presentation of midwifery, however, was among the rare accounts that were positive. The book provides an exhaustive survey of the marginalization of midwives in countless theoretical and literary writings of (male) biographers, physicians, and jurists. The accounts were mostly silent on the probable presence of a midwife. According to the account of Muhammad ibn Saʿd (d. 845), for instance, Prophet Muhammad was born clean, with his umbilical cord already cut, and circumcised; clearly, there was no need for a midwife. When there was reference to the midwife, this was frequently in the form of accusations of her using disgraceful practices and popular customs in contradiction with the sacred law, breaking hygienic and purification rules, and using magical devices. The negative stance toward midwifery was related to the gendered division of power between midwives and (male) doctors and circles of religious scholars. Moreover, the freedom of midwives to be present in all corners of the urban space, and at random times, and to mingle with men, was an absolute challenge to the gender regime. Midwives were typically women with low social status and thus could engage in socially compromising work that defied the rules of propriety along gender lines.

Another strength of the book is the excellent survey of Islamic attitudes toward femininity, wifehood, and motherhood. With reference to both standard religious texts and anthropological works on womanhood, women's roles, and gender differences, Giladi directs our attention to the volatile social status of women. Womanhood as a hypothetical category was associated with impurity, subordination, inferiority, and obedience. Yet, there was a difference between femininity and motherhood. Women were circumstantially redeemed from their innate social inferiority by having a child and joining the "queendom of the mothers" (163). The perception of the midwife was similar in its ambivalence and contradictions. Midwives were seen as complicit in the physical essence of femininity, particularly its impurity (during menstruation, in childbirth, and after) and they were associated with women's creative power. In their centrality in the feminine subculture, they were both feared and despised by men and became targets for misogynist sentiments.

Finally, *Muslim Midwives* is an inspiring work for its treatment of the available sources. After underlining the scarcity of references to midwives in normative Islamic texts, Giladi notes that anecdotes and unrecorded female wisdom transferred orally provide exceptionally detailed and accurate impressions. Thus, he takes a courageous step (for a medievalist) and relies on ethnographic research on midwifery in the contemporary Muslim world to fill the gaps. His suggestion to think of midwifery in terms of the *longue durée* (12–14) should be taken as very valuable advice for researchers of social and cultural history.

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Kenneth M. Cuno. *Modernizing Marriage: Family, Ideology, and Law in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Egypt*. (Gender and Globalization.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2015. Pp. xxi, 305. $39.95.

Kenneth M. Cuno's book is a most welcome addition to histories of the family in the Middle East. It builds on current historiographies, usually focused on transformations of family law or on the emergence of companionate marriage as the new notion of the ideal family. The preface opens with an anecdote that captures Cuno's central observation: "Khedive Ismail had multiple wives and concubines . . . However, his grandson . . . practiced polygyny surreptitiously, like a man with a mistress in a legally monogamous society, even though polygyny remains legal in Egypt to this day" (xv). The overwhelming power of the idea of monogamy, by the turn of the twentieth century, had made polygyny a culturally unacceptable practice even for the ruler of the country.

Cuno argues that "these hegemonic ideas . . . have only a limited connection with Islamic concepts of an earlier time . . . The idea of the conjugal family as the basis of society comes from Enlightenment thought, as does the notion that the purpose of marriage is the formation of a family and childrearing" (2). Yet, he rightly resists any simple projection of the emerging hegemony of the ideal conjugal family as a colonial import. As Cuno notes, "the transition to conjugal family households seems to have been caused by multiple factors, including the development of modern education, a rising age of marriage for both sexes, and the adoption of European architectural styles" (7).

In six chapters (plus an introduction and a conclusion), Cuno traces the changes that contingently produced this sociocultural shift. Chapter 1 focuses on how "polygyny and harem slavery did 'political work' in the system of household government established by Muhammad Ali, founder of the khedival dynasty . . . The decline of polygyny and joint household formation in the upper and middle classes resulted from contingent political and demographic changes . . . influenced by a new family ideology. . . in a global circulation of ideas about the family, education, and progress" (10–12). Cuno persuasively demonstrates not only how the ideal marriage became a companionate

marriage, but also how the conjugal couple became the idealized meaning of family.

Cuno uses diverse sources to support his analytical propositions, including novels and memoirs, mid- to late-nineteenth-century census data and village reports, and legal treatises, some of which have been used by previous historians. But Cuno's readings and interpretations offer fresh insights that further support his emphasis on contingent patterns of marriage practices and legal change within the emerging hegemony of the new ideal family. For instance, late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century novels generally were written in a style to produce the supremacy of love in a marriage. To the contrary, the writings of the memoirists continued to project the cultural expectation that affection among spouses would develop after marriage. Such disparities between the plot lines of novels and the sub-plots of remembered life are critical in understanding how despite ideational hegemony of romantic monogamous marriage, practices of family life have developed in multiple patterns, and continue to be lived in varied combinations. Cuno uses memoirs effectively as a prime source for studying "Marriage in Practice" in chapter 2. As a source for "recollection of [the memoirists'] sentiments," memoirs demonstrate how polygyny lost its place in the new family ideology, how families negotiated for a monogamous contract, and, in particular, how women in the family asserted their expectations of a lasting companionate marriage. Indeed this change in expectation seems to have happened over a relatively short period: women whose mothers lived in polygynous households considered their husbands' polygynous practices intolerable. Cuno recalls this sentiment in Huda Shaʿrawi's memoirs; a sentiment echoed in Halidé Edib Adivar's *House with Wisteria: Memoirs of Turkey Old and New* (2003).

Cuno's use of family photographs is another welcome and persuasive move in tracing this history. The coincidence of changes in familial concepts and practices with the arrival of photography in the Middle East gives the historian a significant archival resource. Both the physical camera and the "family photographs" were among those objects of everyday life that generated changes in practices and "a couple-centered notion of family" (69). As Cuno argues, "regardless of whether they lived in a joint or conjugal family household, couples who posed for intimate photos . . . presented themselves as bourgeois conjugal families" (55). These photographs not only reflected the process of "ideationalization" of the conjugal couple, they in turn contributed to its power incessantly: these photographs were framed and displayed in the home in prominent places. Their ubiquitous visual presence contributed to the normative idealness of the conjugal couple.

Subsequent chapters ("Marriage Reformed," "Marriage in Law," "Marriage Codified," and "Marriage Modernized?") fully trace the developments in the ideas of family, and in the idealization of the conjugal couple and their children, linked with the critique of polygyny and easy divorce for men as a source of social instability and erosion of civil sentiments. The critique led to "the invention of family law as a distinct category of law known as 'personal status law'" (78), a term that "was unknown in Muslim jurisprudence before the late nineteenth century" (165), a critical argument discussed in chapter 5. In particular, the decision to develop civil, commercial, and criminal laws on the basis of French law in Egypt, to be enacted through the establishment of National Courts, and separating family law to a separate domain and under separate courts, had the enormous consequence that "nowadays the association of religion with the domestic realm and the derivation of family law from religious law is taken for granted (159). Cuno's detailed discussion of Qadri's Code demonstrates wonderfully how the Code generated a family law that took its content from the Hanafi school while presenting it in the form of modern law articles "without any acknowledgment of the historical scholarship that led to its formulation. There was no hint that these rules resulted from generations of discussion and debate or that they might be subject to disagreement and revision in certain circumstances" (169).

Despite such meticulous attention to detailed textual, organizational, and visual analysis, in Cuno's own narrative one occasionally finds slippages among family ideology, family life, and family law, and at times the use of companionate marriage and monogamy as necessarily coincidental terms, demonstrating the weight of the hegemony of these ideas on all of us. Nonetheless, this book opens up fresh possibilities for further research on practices of family life beyond the power of hegemonic ideas. It is a must-read not only for historians of the modern Middle East, but for historians of family law and life more generally.

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Mateo Mohammad Farzaneh. *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution and the Clerical Leadership of Khurasani.* (Modern Intellectual and Political History of the Middle East.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2015. Pp. xxii, 329. $49.95.

Recently, the life and political views of Akhund Mullah Mohammad Kazim Khurasani (1839–1911) have been the subject of much scholarly interest, particularly in Iran. This has been prompted both by the publication of a number of Khurasani's previously unknown political writings and by the political need for reassessing the role of Shi'a state theory in Iran. With *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution and the Clerical Leadership of Khurasani*, Mateo Mohammad Farzaneh has written the first book-length work in English analyzing Khurasani's contribution to the Constitutional Revolution. The book includes an interesting account of the intellectual and political debates of Iranian religious scholars at the beginning of the twentieth century and the political conditions that made it possible for some of the *ʿulama'* and secularists to work together in promoting constitutional ideas and opposing a despotic monarchy.

Farzaneh's book is composed of three parts: "The Iranian State and Religion" a review of the historical

background; "Khurasani and Constitutionalism," which covers Khurasani's life and views; and "A House Divided," a discussion of Khurasani's relationship with Shaykh Fazlullah Nuri, the ultraconservative leader of the anti-constitutionalist *'ulama'* in Tehran. The bulk of Farzaneh's original research is in the last two parts.

Farzaneh's overall narrative of Iran's encounter with the West and constitutionalism is heavily influenced by the modernization theory. Implied in his argument is that three types of positions toward the Western powers and Western ideas evolved. Some Iranians rejected the Western influence and its political model and instead defended the existing order and its inherent values. Farzaneh calls them "dogmatic" or "antireform." A few intellectuals accepted what he calls "the European model of life and culture" (52), becoming what other scholars have called "Westernized intellectuals." Other Iranians engaged with Western ideas and tried to formulate their own synthesis of progress. Farzaneh uses a variety of terms for this group, including "reformist," "modernist," and "progressive thinkers."

Building on the work of other scholars who have written about the failure of modernity in Iran, Farzaneh concludes: "Iranians consistently failed to adjust their intellectual discourse and likewise failed to consider the possibility of a different kind of intellectual awakening, or one that was different from Europe's. Iranians also misunderstood the notion of 'faith' and how to separate it from reform in the political realm that lessened the power of the ulama" (53). Farzaneh's last assertion is his point of departure in discussing the importance of Khurasani's contribution as a progressive religious thinker in defending the Constitutional Revolution despite its being an essentially secular political development.

Farzaneh argues that it was Khurasani's unique understanding of *ijtihād* as defined in his 1903 *Kifayat al-Usul* (Sufficiency of Principles), his major treatise on *fiqh* and now a classic work in Shi'a jurisprudence, that permitted him to conclude that shari'a and secular laws can together be the basis of a constitutional state. Farzaneh explains that Khurasani's defense of constitutionalism is "based on his 'reformed' knowledge of Shi'ite [*sic*] jurisprudence" (144). Accordingly, in Khurasani's view, a jurist could arrive at "certainty" by following a "rationalist argument" (145, 146). While the other *usuli* (principle-based) jurisprudence scholars had also discussed the certainty of a ruling based on rationality and sufficient evidence, Khurasani went much further than promoting "the use of rationalist argument on the same level as the Qur'an, the Hadith, and 'consensus'" (145). In fact, Khurasani used this "rationalist argument" to defend constitutionalism as an Islamic duty. It is doubtful, however, that such an approach could lead to a separation of state and religion or lessen the political power of the *'ulama'*.

Farzaneh tells us that Khurasani argued for the need of a "*mutlaq mujtahid*," an absolute jurist, to deal with "contemporary pressing issues in society" (148). Yet, in the Shi'a jurisprudence there can never be a consensus in any rulings including the need for an absolute jurist. Shi'a jurisprudence is based on multipolarity (hence existence of numbers of *maraje taghlid*—sources of emulations—at any given time after the formation of this office in the late nineteenth century) and consensus is actually antithetical to the Shi'a jurisprudence. Indeed, many of the *'ulama'* did not accept Khurasani's position on constitutionalism because of this peculiarity of the Shi'a jurisprudence. Farzaneh paraphrases Khurasani when he discusses his belief that the jurist is a *mutlaq mujtahid* even when his ruling is not accepted by consensus.

Khurasani was perhaps defending the theoretical possibility of the need for a *mutlaq mujtahid* in the religious realm irrespective of political rule and was considering himself as a *mutlaq mujtahid*. In his other political writings he separated the political realm from the religious, but they are in fact interconnected. When considering the possibility of a *mutlaq mujtahid* in the religious sphere, one cannot rule out that the only way to sustain the status of such an absolute position is through force and coercion as we see in today's Iran. Therefore, Farzaneh's description of Khurasani's view on the power of *mutlaq mujtahid* could be considered an earlier form of the theory of *vilayat mutlaqah faqih*—the theory of the absolute power of the jurist used in Iran's constitution after its 1989 amendments. In all his writings, Khurasani emphasized the primacy of religion over politics. This emphasis should make us more skeptical of how Khurasani would have actually acted had he gained political power.

In the second stage of the Constitutional Revolution, after revolutionaries had executed Shaykh Nuri, Khurasani pushed for implementation of Article 2 of the Iranian constitution, ironically initiated by Nuri, which called for a committee of five *mujtahids* to be elected to oversee parliamentary legislation and evaluate its compatibility with Islam. The committee was created informally for a short period because of Khurasani's insistence, but withered after his death and as long as the 1907 Constitution was in use. Not so ironically, after the establishment of the Islamic Republic, a similar committee with similar power was included in the new Iranian constitution.

By providing an exhaustive reading of Khurasani's work, Farzaneh has done a great service to students of Iranian history and has shed light on the life and work of an important religious leader of the constitutional period. Farzaneh's work would have benefited, however, by greater engagement with the question of the compatibility of religious law and a secular constitution, which remains a topic of heated debate in Iran and throughout the Middle East.

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Farzin Vejdani. *Making History in Iran: Education, Nationalism, and Print Culture*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 269. $60.00.

Between 1860 and 1940 the production and consumption of history in Iran moved from the imperial court to the modern school system. By the 1930s, the handwritten chronicles of court historians glorifying the dynasty had

been succeeded by printed standardized history textbooks exalting the nation, written by a new generation of government-trained professional educators for use by the continually growing number of primary, secondary, and college students. Farzin Vejdani's *Making History in Iran: Education, Nationalism, and Print Culture* explores the evolving relationship between state and cultural institutions, individual historians, historiography, print technology, and nationalism during this period, deftly illustrating how institutional and social changes enabled Iranians of diverse backgrounds and with differing social, political, and pedagogical agendas to define the Iranian nation and shape Iranian nationalism through the writing of history.

Vejdani's engaging and precisely written study traces the circuitous path of history from the court to the classroom by detailing the institutional entanglements and social milieus of Iranian historians while analyzing their diverse works. Complementing his nuanced interpretation of the published histories, school curricula, textbooks, periodicals, and pedagogical manuals that are at the core of the analysis, Vejdani skillfully draws from an array of additional Persian language primary sources to integrate poetry, memoirs, speeches, and unpublished letters into his analysis. To develop a methodological approach to study Iranian historiography and assess the relationships between institutions, historians, and forms of historical discourse, Vejdani utilizes Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the field and Jürgen Habermas's formulation of the public sphere. By historicizing Bourdieu's field and drawing from Habermas to delineate Iran's peculiar and evolving public sphere, Vejdani provides a useful framework through which to analyze the interpretations of individual historians and understand the role of relative autonomy from institutional power in shaping them. Based on its implicit periodization of Iranian nationalism and emphasis on language, print technology, and mass public education, *Making History in Iran* could arguably be considered a case study in the modernist theory of Ernest Gellner, despite the fact that Gellner's seminal work on the subject of nationalism is not referenced in the book.

The first break from the traditional Qajar dynasty (1789–1925) pattern of patronage of individual court historians came in the mid-nineteenth century with the creation of the Translation and Publication Bureaus, which were tasked with translating histories that in one way or another legitimized the Qajar regime, and biographies that provided relevant models of top-down modernization by European autocrats for Qajar shahs to emulate. Vejdani illustrates how the constraints and allowances of court patronage, the social position of the translator, and the intended audience for the translation factored into which histories and biographies were translated for Nasir al-Din Shah (r. 1848–1896) and his successor Muzaffar al-Din Shah (r. 1896–1907) and which were avoided. Concurrent with the development of excessive state debt during the reign of Muzaffar al-Din Shah, the private schools that began to proliferate in the late 1890s were given wide latitude free from government oversight and general autonomy in the development of their curriculum. Thus, on the eve of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution of 1906, independent schools were facilitating the translation and composition of diverse historical narratives and increasing the numbers of Iranians writing about and reading history, while an increasing number of historians outside of the court, often funded by independent patrons, began translating and writing histories on subjects such as revolutions, imperialism, popular mobilization, and democracy. During the Constitutional Revolution and in its immediate aftermath, historiographical translation had been transformed from a conservative practice that bolstered the Qajar monarchy to an autonomous revolutionary activity intent on subverting it. Vejdani introduces dissident writers of diverse backgrounds who published printed works for a growing reading public that now emphasized the Iranian people and nation, rather than tribe, dynasty, or religious community.

During World War I, the continued autonomy of Iranian schools and historians enabled experiments in form as well as content. Scholars published verse histories and combinations of prose and verse, emphasizing topics such as civilization, constitutionalism, and anti-imperialism. However, as Vejdani shows, the period of autonomy and experimentation for both educational institutions and historians in Iran would come to an end in the immediate postwar era with the implementation of a centralized education program led by the Ministry of Education. Standards for teaching history at primary and secondary schools were set by the Teachers' Training College, which was established in 1919 to professionalize teaching and bring curriculum under state control. While new government educational initiatives and institutions of the 1920s and 1930s rapidly increased the number of Iranian historians and history students, constraints on what teachers and students could write correspondingly increased as the Pahlavi state appropriated historiography for service in its nation-building project. At public schools, adult classes, military colleges, and the University of Tehran, the history of the Iranian women's movement and local histories of tribes, ethnic and religious minorities, provinces, and cities were integrated into an increasingly uniform historical narrative glorifying Reza Shah (r. 1925–1941) and celebrating Pahlavi modernization.

Well researched and convincingly argued, *Making History in Iran* represents a major contribution to the study of Iranian historiography and a valuable addition to the growing literature on the subject of Iranian nationalism. While the study's complexity would not make it suitable for most undergraduate classrooms, it would be a useful addition to graduate seminars in modern Iranian history, historiography, and nationalism, and is highly recommended for specialists.

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Robert S. G. Fletcher. *British Imperialism and "the Tribal Question": Desert Administration and Nomadic Societies in the Middle East, 1919–1936.* (Oxford

Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. viii, 324. $110.00.

For more than a century prior to the First World War, British foreign policy in the Eastern Mediterranean was focused on the perilous state of the Ottoman Empire and the ultimate disposition of its vast territories, a set of issues encompassed by the term "the Eastern Question." In this book, Robert S. G. Fletcher argues that, upon the conclusion of the war and the European occupation of many of these territories under mandates from the League of Nations, the key focus of British policy in the area shifted to "the Tribal Question," an overriding concern with "the nature of nomadic societies, the problems posed by their administration, and their future on the arid frontiers of the British Empire and beyond" (33). Fletcher explores the origins and ramifications of the Tribal Question by tracing the emergence of a new type of professional expert, "the desert administrator." The author focuses on the careers and writings of three such experts, Claude Scudamore Jarvis, Frederick Gerard Peake, and John Bagot Glubb, locating them within a set of institutional networks, chief among them the Egyptian Frontier Districts Administration, the Arab Legion of Transjordan, the Special Service in Iraq, and the Royal Central Asian Society in London. The soldiers, scholars, and bureaucrats occupied with the Tribal Question shared a singular worldview, one that "divided the world's peoples (and the empire's subjects) according to their modes of life: nomads against settlers, the desert against the sown" (273). This ideological disposition, the "defining feature of British desert development" between the wars, posited the essentialized "nomad" as a temporally and spatially universal category of analysis, and thus prompted colonial officials and their contemporaries in journalism and the academy "to perceive common problems, and to apply common solutions" across a vast swath of arid landscapes from North Africa to Central Asia (188, 274). This is an extremely solid work of historical scholarship that makes creative use of a wide range of primary and secondary sources. In the process, it documents the multiple administrative constraints placed on the nomadic peoples of Egypt, Iraq, and Transjordan. It also elucidates the nexus of imperial power and scholarly interest in the region, embodied in the Royal Central Asian Society (RCAS). By analyzing the membership, publications, and a multitude of other documents produced by the RCAS—"a clearing-house for questions about nomads and their future on the frontiers of empire" (13)—Fletcher makes a valuable contribution, demonstrating that the empire's desert administrators were part of a much broader intellectual and cultural milieu, one whose fixation on the arid zones bisecting the British Empire produced knowledge on a truly "imperial" scale. That said, I do have a few, admittedly subjective, criticisms. First, given that conceptions of physical space are central to this story, I hoped to see a sustained engagement with the theoretical and methodological postulates of the recent "spatial turn" in the humanities and the social sciences. While Fletcher engages with James C. Scott's concept of "illegible" landscapes and refers, in passing, to the "imagined geography" that was the British Empire's "desert corridor," he makes no further attempt to place these concepts in the context of more recent historiographical developments (63). In this vein, a dialogue with Middle East environmental history, particularly the concept of the "environmental imaginary" pioneered by Diana K. Davis (co-editor, with Edmund Burke III, *Environmental Imaginaries of the Middle East and North Africa* [2013]) would have enriched Fletcher's narrative. This reader could have also benefitted from a brief historicization of the concept "mode of life." While it appears to be the sociocultural corollary to Marx's mode of production, Fletcher leaves its origins and the context of its adoption by the RCAS and the desert administrators unexplained. Finally, the absence of Arabic sources means that local voices appear only episodically and after the calculated mediation of British officials. In fairness, however, I must note that this is not a history of the Middle East per se, but a "new imperial history" set in the Middle East. It offers a "view from the frontier" of the late British Empire and makes novel arguments about the empire's dynamism at its twilight (7). Its broad, deep, and insightful survey of the relevant English-language sources thus enriches the historiography of the British Empire and, by extension, of the critical period of state formation in the former territories of the Ottoman Empire (13). Read in conjunction with Priya Satia's *Spies in Arabia: The Great War and the Cultural Foundations of Britain's Covert Empire in the Middle East* (2008), it adds nuance, detail, and context to our knowledge of Britain's brief imperial adventure in the deserts of the modern Middle East.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Darshan Vigneswaran and Joel Quirk, editors. *Mobility Makes States: Migration and Power in Africa*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015. Pp. vi, 297. $59.95.

The volume constitutes an effort to redirect current scholarly engagement with human mobility and state power in Africa. Prompted, in part, by Charles Tilly's aphorism that "war made the state, and the state made war," the editors' titular contention is that "mobility makes states" and, correspondingly, states also make mobility. Darshan Vigneswaran and Joel Quirk aver that various forms of human movement have played a "central role in shaping the way states in Africa are constituted as political and legal entities and also the way these states intervene in everyday life" (2). The organizers disclose that they were motivated in this endeavor in response to the considerable focus that scholars have exhibited regarding statutory efforts to prevent human movement across sovereign territorial borders, as well as the arguably undue attention paid to intercontinental

outflows of Africans. Instead, the editors implore the reader to consider the significantly more numerous "shorter and circular patterns of intracontinental mobility" (1), and the ways that states "promote" and "channel" certain types of human movement, even as they simultaneously seek to prevent other forms of mobility. In their theorization of the interplay between state power and human mobility (and the constituent components of this dynamic interaction), the editors convincingly assert that these movements dictate how and where state power is concentrated, expressed, and augmented. Particularly cogent is their contention related to state "portability," in which power—often times embodied by state agents who relocate in reaction to migratory flows—is exercised in response to various forms and patterns of human mobility, thereby highlighting the spatial unevenness and impermanence of state authority.

As with any edited volume, the introductory chapter strives to provide an analytical framework into which the ensuing chapters smoothly and intuitively fit. The product of a conference and associated training series entitled "Migration and Forced Labour in Southern Africa," the volume features a rich collection of empirical contributions. The ensuing ten chapters are arranged into two parts: "Channeling Human Mobility" and "Moving Concentrations of Power," though most contributions could have logically appeared in either section. Readers interested in Lusophone Africa will be pleased to encounter four chapters that examine the former Portuguese territories—three exclusively, and another that considers the Angolan-Zambian borderlands, albeit largely through a Zambian lens. Collectively, the contributions feature case studies from different eras and were produced by researchers from an array of disciplines, utilizing various methodologies, such that the content will appeal to a wide range of Africanist scholars. Perhaps, most importantly, the chapters are all of sufficient quality; each could well have been published in leading academic journals.

In fact, the strength of the individual chapters, including their topical, temporal, and geographic diversity, ironically points to the volume's most significant shortcomings, namely the elasticity of the editors' proposed concepts and the rather self-evident theorizations. Indeed, because the editors admittedly formulate extremely expansive definitions of "state" and "human mobility," there are countless article- or chapter-length contributions that would have been suitable for inclusion in the volume. Although this prospective fungibility is, then again, a testament to the broad applicability of the concepts that the editors introduce, the endless examples that exist in human history in which state action has influenced mobility, and vice versa, render the theorizations rather benign, thereby undermining their analytical utility. Moreover, most of the chapters read as though they have been retrofitted for inclusion, at times awkwardly featuring the conceptual language introduced in the opening chapter and, thus, would have been more fruitfully published elsewhere. Consequently, although the chapters are all of significant quality, they are not necessary to substantiate what is posited in the introductory chapter. Ultimately, one wonders if a slightly longer essay drawing upon the already-ample collection of relevant existing research to undergird and validate the editors' theorizations, published as a journal article, rather than as the framing chapter of an extended volume, would have been more useful.

Irrespective of this concern, the editors should be applauded for drawing our attention to the interplay between human mobility and the attendant making and unmaking of "state" (even broadly conceived) power. These interactions are germane to a wide range of scholarly research and the editors rightfully strive to refocus academic attention on intracontinental mobility and states' attempts to profit from these incessant flows, most of which transpire far from formal border crossings, in the understudied spaces of the continent.

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Abena Dove Osseo-Asare. *Bitter Roots: The Search for Healing Plants in Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014. Pp. vii, 300. $35.00.

Debates about biopiracy have taken center stage over the past twenty years. The well-trodden narrative pitches northern researchers and corporations against indigenous peoples and local communities, and the exploitation of local knowledge and biodiversity for commercial gain without offering a fair compensation for communities or the countries from which such resources originate. A multitude of policies and laws have been formulated in response to this concern, spearheaded by the recently adopted "Nagoya Protocol on Access to Genetic Resources and Benefit Sharing" under the Convention on Biological Diversity.

Despite growing attention to drug discovery, critical thinking on its histories and complexities is sorely lacking, even more so within the African context. In a refreshing and innovative approach to bioprospecting, Abena Dove Osseo-Asare's *Bitter Roots: The Search for Healing Plants in Africa* helps to fill this gap by telling the stories of six African healing plants—rosy periwinkle, Asiatic pennywort, grains of paradise, *Strophanthus*, *Cryptolepis*, and *Hoodia*—all of which have been the subject of commercial investigation.

By taking us on a historical journey from colonial exploration and exploitation to the contemporary controversies within which such plants are located, Osseo-Asare shows how multiple innovators have contributed toward the shaping of scientific knowledge. Through meticulous ethnographic research, she demonstrates how class distinctions allowed some parties to claim credit for drug discovery at the expense of others, highlighting the complexity of natural product research in African countries, and the "hierarchies of knowledge that privilege 'scientific knowledge' over 'traditional medicine' expertise" (6).

The development of anticancer drugs from the rosy periwinkle, for example, reveals the entanglement of scientific discovery and the indebtedness of local Malagasy

scientists to one another. The creation of a new heart medication from *Strophanthus*, drawing on knowledge of the seeds as a crucial ingredient in arrow poisons, provides a fascinating account of the interplay between weapons and drugs in West Africa, and how the innovations of African plant experts were appropriated by colonial scientists. The evolution of an anti-obesity drug in South Africa, based on the succulent plant *Hoodia*, exposes how African scientists themselves were complicit in marginalizing the indigenous San who contributed knowledge of the plant as an appetite suppressant. In a more personal account, the author describes how Ghanaian scientists worked to develop an independent pharmaceutical industry, ironically in collaboration with an American company.

Osseo-Asare boldly approaches the controversial question of "who was first," or priority, in an attempt to gain understanding about knowledge conflicts. Through reviewing textual documentation and conducting oral histories with healers and scientists, her research reveals how the biography of each plant has involved a long chain of rural communities, healers, researchers, and drug companies, each contributing in different ways toward product development. An important conclusion is that while priority may be economically expedient under the regime of the Nagoya Protocol, it is likely to be untenable from a historical perspective. Priority is more "fantasy than reality" (204), she concludes, and "more mythic than historical" (2). The extensive geographic range of many species further muddies proprietary claims, leading Osseo-Asare to declare that benefit sharing as a model has over-emphasized local priority and has failed to acknowledge the widespread distribution of herbal knowledge.

While this conclusion may well be true, it also reveals a weakness of the book—both in method and analysis—to locate histories in contemporary debates. Despite the renowned nature of cases such as the rosy periwinkle, *Stropanthus*, and *Hoodia*, interviews have been confined to healers and scientists and there is surprisingly little that draws upon the wealth of expertise that exists within the community of policy-makers, NGOs, governments, private sector, and others who have grappled with the complexity of these cases for decades.

Casting a wider net may well have enriched the author's proposed concept of "bioprosperity," which seeks to embed equity in current relationships. For example, a valid case is made against the "who was first" argument, but the political and economic nature of such demands is unlikely to listen to historical reason. The question of how we should move forward thus remains unresolved.

In a similar vein, Osseo-Asare seems unfamiliar with new benefit-sharing models now encapsulated in Article 10 of the Nagoya Protocol, which envisages a multilateral mechanism to deal with cases where species and knowledge are widely distributed. The book could have been strengthened by reflections about how such approaches might overcome the existing nationalistic and dominant model of closed access to plants and knowledge.

These gaps do not, however, detract from the high degree of scholarship and originality of *Bitter Roots*, which is not only engaging and provocative, but also provides new perspectives on old stories, in a region that has received little attention. I strongly recommend it.

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Elizabeth A. Eldredge. *Kingdoms and Chiefdoms of Southeastern Africa: Oral Traditions and History, 1400–1830.* (Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2015. Pp. xi, 438. $99.00.

The first academic historians of Africa in the 1960s dedicated themselves to using oral tradition as a way to tell early history from an African perspective. But few scholars continue this quest today given evidentiary skepticism, the challenges of multidisciplinary and multilingual work, and postcolonial relevance. Elizabeth Eldredge's new book is thus a welcome addition to this neglected field, making the case for the utility and reliability of oral tradition as historical sources. Eldredge's research on Lesotho and then Zulu-Natal began in the early 1980s, and contributed to debates over the origins of the "Mfecane" disturbances. Her mastery of the primary sources, particularly written oral traditions, is the product of decades of patient work in archives across national and linguistic boundaries during the difficult apartheid years. This is the first long-term regional synthesis of southeastern African history (including eastern South Africa, Lesotho, Swaziland, and southern Mozambique) focused on the question of why and how small chiefdoms developed into large-scale kingdoms from earliest times up to the critical decade of the 1830s when the Zulu leader Shaka died and Europeans dominated. Eldredge seeks to demonstrate the endurance of older flexible sociopolitical patterns that incorporated people from various descent groups as chiefdoms expanded or dissolved in response to changing conditions. Despite the promise of a new argument about precolonial political development or oral tradition methodology at a regional level, *Kingdoms and Chiefdoms* should be read as a comprehensive sourcebook of the precolonial period for regional scholars.

Eldredge uses her impressively detailed and wide knowledge of the region's corpus of oral and archival sources to make an argument for the historicity of oral tradition. She employs an interdisciplinary method, with archeological and linguistic sources, developed by an earlier generation of historians to compare independent forms of evidence that point to similar developments. The opening chapters summarize each of the extant sources, largely oral tradition collected by Europeans in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as archival accounts from Portuguese shipwrecks and traders starting in the 1550s to later European missionaries and officials. All this is useful, yet Eldredge overstates the extent to which oral traditions can reliably recover an objective past. She recognizes the narrator's subjectivity and where feedback or false information compromise the account, but sees the task of critical skepticism as one of simply discerning the few distortions. Historians must

"suspend disbelief" (17), she claims, to find the accurate information therein. Her claim of reliability is based on the following: 1) the importance of accurately remembering lineage seniority for chiefdom succession, 2) the transmission of independently verifiable oral accounts across the region of both winners and losers, 3) and, most importantly, the belief in the ongoing presence of ancestors that kept men from intentionally distorting genealogies for fear of reprisals from the dead. Eldredge unfairly criticizes named historians who treat parts of the genealogies as mythical and manipulated by those in power. Rather, she claims to take an internal view; that the oral accounts are a straightforward report of events, necessary for maintaining the welfare of the community. However, Eldredge does not consider how elements of oral tradition could be repackaged in hindsight when new polities emerged in times of rupture, while keeping their essential "truth." The choice is not between uncritically accepting oral accounts and rejecting them as fiction.

Although the details of these many stories are usefully summarized for scholars, the claim of a new regional synthesis is lost without a sustained argument. The book traces the myriad migrating chiefdoms organized around ruling families, some dominated and others dominating, by following each descent group separately and sequentially, interspersed with long block quotes from the sources, without much overt interpretation. It is only in the conclusion that Eldredge briefly summarizes her argument about the continuity of political patterns in the face of environmental change, which would have been more helpful in the introduction and interwoven throughout. In fact, the uninitiated reader cannot understand the underlying argument and basic social patterns without having read her earlier work, beginning with "Sources of Conflict in Southern Africa, c. 1800–30: The 'Mfecane' Reconsidered" in *The Journal of African History* (1992). In the current book, Eldredge sacrifices complexity to emphasize oral tradition's claim of the long term continuity of chiefs as benevolent protectors and providers and their independence from European power. She explains the consolidation of kingdoms as a result of conflict and resource competition among chiefs but minimizes the importance of European influence and the power chiefs gained from trade goods, so evident in the accounts. Similarly, she fails to reiterate her earlier, more complex argument that would explain the disruptions and violence of the early-nineteenth-century "Mfecane" centering on Shaka's expansion; now viewed as consistent with past patterns until its disruption by the arrival of European settlers in 1830. In spite of her insistence to the contrary, Eldredge's evidence shows that by the early nineteenth century there was not just quantitatively more violence but a qualitatively different kind of political power, even if rooted in internal dynamics. These issues, however, do not diminish the importance of *Kingdoms and Chiefdoms* as an essential compendium to the early historical sources and oral narratives for this region.

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Benjamin N. Lawrance. *Amistad's Orphans: An Atlantic Story of Children, Slavery, and Smuggling*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2014. Pp. xiv, 358. $85.00.

It is no small thing to propose a name change for the so-called "Age of Abolition." However, African historians would agree that such a change is warranted, since they have long recognized that the period did not usher in an end to slavery. Indeed, slave emancipation in the Americas served as the gateway to the mass enslavement of Africans in the late nineteenth century. But scholars specializing in other parts of the Atlantic World in this period have remained trained on the theme of freedom and its meaning. Benjamin N. Lawrance does not reject this theme so much as he turns it inside out by tracking the lives of the nineteenth century's most powerless witnesses. According to Lawrance, "[f]ar from being an age of abolition—and if we must name epochs—the nineteenth century should more accurately be called the age of child enslavement" (34).

"Amistad's orphans" are the six children associated with the well-known story of *La Amistad*. The slave ship carrying people illegally brought from Sierra Leone that left Havana, Cuba, in 1839 and set sail for a Caribbean plantation. The enslaved men on board seized control of the ship and murdered the captain, demanding the ship return to Sierra Leone. *La Amistad* was captured off the coast of Long Island and after a high-profile trial, the U.S. Supreme Court declared that because the men were held illegally, they should be given their freedom. There were five children aboard the ship—Mar'gru, Kag'ne, Te'me, Ka'le, and Antonio. The sixth member of "Amistad's orphans" was a young man, Covey, who was enslaved as a child and liberated, and served as interpreter for the others.

Historians have pored over the surviving documentation related to *La Amistad* and the people associated with it—the enslaved, the slavers, the lawyers on both sides of the dramatic case, and the abolitionists who publicized it. But the story of the children swept up in the international incident has been mostly a sidebar about abolitionism, philanthropy, and (because all but one of the children returned there) the return of "liberated Africans" to their native land.

Lawrance reaches back to fill in and refine what is known of the children's birthplaces, follows them from the African coast (to the extent it is possible) to the *barracoons* of Cuba, and from their troubled custody in Connecticut back to Sierra Leone where they maintained contact with their missionary guardians until slipping, at varying points in time, from the historical record. He also conducted fieldwork in Sierra Leone to tease out more information about the geographical and linguistic origins of the children. Throughout, Lawrance takes on what he terms the "liberty myth" (23)—that the U.S. Supreme Court ruling on *La Amistad* meant the liberation of all of the enslaved people aboard—by considering the experiences of the youngest of them.

The author justifies this focus with several overlapping arguments: that children were singled out by slavers in

the illegal slave trade in the early to mid-nineteenth century as more "coercible" (36) and easier to transport; that child slaves did not have or experience "ethnicities and identities" (22) in the same way adults did; that children experienced slavery and subjugation in episodic and serial ways and that the linear narrative of the Middle Passage story does not represent the multiple spaces of children's enslavement; that liberated child slaves never achieved the level of freedom that emancipated adults did; and that liberated child slaves faced larger obstacles to reintegration into their home societies than adults did, often remaining "imprisoned in a permanent state of childhood" (23).

Of particular interest to historians of childhood is Lawrance's choice of the term "orphans" to describe those who were young when on board *La Amistad*. The term is partly a response to the constant question of how to define "child"—a question with increasingly limited utility if we accept that childhood, like other social categories, is relative and must be historicized. The utility of "orphan" is that it conjures both separation—from family, from home, from cultural belonging—and also what Lawrance calls "self-realization and self-awareness" (17) of one's alienated status, a status that could be used as a strategy for survival. For those it described, orphanhood served "as a metaphor of kinlessness and alienation" which could, in turn, help in the cultivation of patron-client relationships (18).

Although the result of Lawrance's efforts is an incredibly sad story, it is one that challenges all historians of Atlantic slavery to look more clearly at the individual as well as the collective consequences of enslavement for African people, and indeed all people. In one poignant detail, for instance, the children practically adapted to their surroundings when the girls took the shawls donated to them in New Haven, Connecticut, and turned them into turbans (206). In these small and large ways, the narratives of *Amistad's Orphans: An Atlantic Story of Children, Slavery, and Smuggling* also inform our understanding of modern-day slavery and the vulnerability of the world's poorest children in the face of it.

Although the author speaks briefly to this last point, going forward he should expand further on this connection. Indeed, it is not every day that I pick up a monograph and wish that it would be made into a website or placed in some other public storytelling format. But *Amistad's Orphans* offers a trove of insight into nineteenth-century Atlantic slavery and a powerful means of historicizing present-day slavery. These insights should reach beyond the graduate seminar.

Indeed, since Carlo Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (1980), academic historians have been using individual stories as tools for deeper understanding of particular historical periods. Lawrance joins Atlantic World historians who have begun doing the same over the past decade. However, despite a few exceptions, scholars have not used microhistories effectively as a means to share these hard lived and hard-won stories with the rest of the world. *Amistad's Children*, delivered to a broader audience, would bring the storytelling power of microhistory to the vibrant field of public history and open important discussions about the effects of slavery, past and present.

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S. E. Duff. *Changing Childhoods in Cape Colony: Dutch Reformed Church Evangelicalism and Colonial Childhood, 1860–1895*. (The History of Childhood.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. Pp. xi, 206. $90.00.

African historians have long recognized age as a central category of analysis. Scholars of colonial Africa have seen childhood as a crucial phase in which racial inequities were learned and contested. But often historians foreground adults' anxieties and debates about how youth *should* behave, while neglecting to explore what it *felt* like to be young. There are good reasons for this. Adults more often author our archival materials; and the political stakes of childhood are more legible in the arguments of adults than in the experiences of children. Yet, when we examine childhood from perspectives of adults and youth together, we can see the full complexities of youth in the making and unmaking of racial difference. S. E. Duff ably takes up this challenge of writing a multiperspectival history of childhood in a changing colonial context.

This book explores how the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) shaped ideas and experiences of childhood in the Cape Colony, focusing on Cape Town and surrounding towns in the southwestern Cape. Duff thus examines an influential church in an important part of the colony, whose population was then the youngest in the British Empire. This region also gained recognition as the birthplace of an early Afrikaner nationalism, which developed in this period in part through leaders' concerns about the development of Dutch-Afrikaans speaking children. She demonstrates that the colonial state relied increasingly on the DRC's educational expertise over the latter half of the nineteenth century, and she shows how DRC leaders' investments in children were increasingly racialized as white middle-class experiences of childhood changed in this period. Amidst industrialization, following a mid-century wool boom and then rising diamond exports in the 1870s, DRC leaders and state officials grappled with deepening divides between affluent and poor Dutch-Afrikaners in the Cape. Through formal education, church and state sought to shore up whiteness by creating more protected, protracted childhoods for Dutch-Afrikaners in order to distinguish them from indigenous youth.

Duff incorporates personal collections of DRC ministers and their families, young people's diaries, child-rearing manuals, and official reports to probe with sensitivity how everyday experiences shaped this racial project. She writes with verve and clarity, in five succinct body chapters. Her first chapter demonstrates how young people's piety fueled a revivalist movement in the DRC in the 1860s, awakening church leaders to the influence of both white and black Christian youth. The second chapter shows how DRC ideas of childhood were changing

through the experiences of leading ministers and their families over the nineteenth century, constructing an ideal childhood that included a new period of adolescence and an extension of formal schooling for whites. The third chapter examines how DRC officials sought to propagate this ideal modern childhood through child-rearing manuals. Together, these chapters narrate "a narrowing of the DRC's focus: from an initial willingness to work for the conversion of all children whose parents were members of the church to an exclusive interest in white children, and particularly those who were poor" (20). This turn was, significantly, fueled by officials' growing anxieties about the large number of poor rural whites who were not in school, which the fourth and fifth chapters detail. Duff vividly depicts struggles between adults in the DRC and the state about how to educate youth, with state officials especially concerned about educating boys as colonial citizens and church leaders keen to educate girls as evangelists.

Throughout, adult debates are made more compelling by Duff's sensitive treatment of what racialized childhoods felt like. Take, for instance, the case of the all-white students at the Huguenot Seminary, a DRC school to train Dutch-Afrikaner female teachers in the small town of Wellington, modeled on Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in Massachusetts. In the 1880s and 1890s, these young women led a Sunday school for black children without access to state-supported formal schooling. These black children took to their lessons with zeal, and they tended to become confirmed members of the church at earlier ages than their teachers. "Unlike their teachers, who were under no obligation to work and were considered to be girls by their parents and teachers, most of these children would have assisted in running households or would have been engaged in wage-earning labour," Duff explains (87). Thus in some respects, the young pupils were more "adult" than their young teachers. Yet, Huguenot Seminary archives reveal that the white girls voiced a maternal "love" for their black charges, and that black "children received a great deal of personal attention from their teachers, particularly if they converted—and possibly more than that which they would have received at home, among several other siblings and with busy, working parents" (86). Thus, white girls were learning racial superiority by exercising power over black students. This power, however, was defined in terms of care for students that were often fuller Christians and more adult than their teachers. Even as racial hierarchies were being taught, Duff shows, these lessons were contradictory.

The complicated racial dynamics operating at a micro-level among youths also shaped formal politics. The book concludes with the 1895 passage of legislation in the Cape to remove impoverished or neglected children of "European parentage" from their homes, placing them in school and apprenticeship. The goal, as a member of the commission discussing this bill put it, was to ensure that "the white population should maintain the ruling position in the country" (134). The act's immediate impact would be limited by rising tensions between nationalists in inland Afrikaner republics and British officials, culminating in war in 1899. The connections, however, between social reproduction and racial order on which it rested would remain foundational assumptions for powerful adults in twentieth-century South Africa. In showing the roots of these assumptions—and the experiences of youth that complicated them—this book provides a valuable, and haunting, history of the complexities of colonial childhood.

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Saul Dubow. *Apartheid, 1948–1994*. (Oxford Histories.) New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. Pp. xx, 360. Cloth $99.00, paper $29.95.

As its name suggests, Saul Dubow's *Apartheid, 1948–1994* is an account of apartheid's emergence and establishment; it is also an examination of the challenge to apartheid and therefore of its eventual—if incomplete—undoing. The book is primarily organized by narrative history and chronology. Chapter 1 deals with the partisan white politics that brought the National Party (NP) to power with the promise of apartheid. It also includes an important discussion of the debates behind apartheid ideology. Dubow's brief elucidations about key goals for apartheid, as well as his discussion of apartheid and Afrikaner nationalism, are especially valuable.

The second chapter covers the period from 1948 to 1960. It addresses themes that are found throughout the book including (but not limited to) state power and its legislative expression; the international context (influence and response), and domestic resistance, most notably in the African National Congress (ANC). Chapter 3 argues that resistance and the repression that followed the killings in Sharpeville (1960) only "rocked the government" (81) briefly; indeed, "Verwoerd used the Sharpeville crisis to entrench his control" (86), despite the turn to armed struggle by the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC).

Apartheid solidified and increased in sophistication in the 1950s and 1960s, a topic examined by Dubow in chapter 4. The NP and whites generally gained more clout in many spheres, especially in the economic sector. The key here was (evolving) policies of "separate development." By relegating Africans to supposedly "self-governing" homelands, the regime sought to make apartheid a "positive" project creating a white majority. Dubow succinctly captures the hubris of this vision that slowed urbanization and forcibly relocated about 3.5 million people, mostly to impoverished rural areas. This social engineering required massive coercion and occasioned devastating "human suffering, poverty, and starvation" (114). The chapter also notes both new Afrikaner and persistent liberal, especially white English-speaking, critics of the regime.

But the limits to challenge are captured in the title of chapter 5, "The Opposition Destroyed." A fairer title to the argument Dubow makes, and the historical record, might have been "Reconstituting Opposition." This chapter and the next, the sixth, "Cracks within the

System," show the increasing role resistance to apartheid began to play in shaping, and ultimately unmaking, apartheid. In these chapters, anti-apartheid forces—primarily the ANC, PAC, the Black Consciousness (BC) Movement, the 1976 student uprising, striking workers, and key people like Oliver Tambo and Steve Biko—take center stage. They were enabled by, but also contributed to, domestic and international pressures, both economic and political. However, internal resistance is always the most crucial, as in the example of Robben Island prisoners' role in resurgent opposition.

The state adjusted to these new realities, from economic challenge to opportunity as well as internal and international political tests, which Dubow reviews in chapters 7 and 8. The 1980s started out relatively well for the regime with economic gains, a more favorable international climate, and plans for a new constitution intended to reform, but not end, apartheid. But the "constitutional changes and reforms precipitated a full-scale crisis of governmental legitimacy" (205). The dominant challenge proved ultimately to be the United Democratic Front (UDF), rooted partly in ANC tradition, and emphasizing a racially, regionally, generationally, and organizationally diverse coalition that also drew on other influences including BC and religious ideas, especially Christian ones. Labor organizing also grew in size and importance, ultimately leading to a close alignment between the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the UDF. Dubow suggests that "*Perhaps* the most important force for change in the 1980s was organized labour" (226, emphasis added). However, the range and diversity of forces for change were considerable: from poor black school students to whites and, significantly, Afrikaner elites, and from grassroots and government levels to international coalitions.

The repressive reply was insistent. Using ever-expanding apartheid law along with extra-legal violence, the state employed police and military forces inside and outside South Africa to quell both nonviolent and insurgent resistance. By the late eighties, a stalemate resulted; neither state nor anti-apartheid groupings could displace the other. The fall of the Berlin Wall proved decisive in apartheid's end; it undercut both NP fear of communism and ANC reliance on the Soviet bloc. (On a somewhat related note, Dubow's assessment of the relationship between the ANC and the South African Communist Party exemplifies his fair-minded scholarship.)

From the book's outset, Dubow emphasizes that his interest is in charting *why* history turned out in particular ways. (He does not—and reasonably, could not—give equal attention to all areas where this core question of "how do we not assume outcomes as inevitable?" might be asked.) He addresses this point by articulating the different ideas and practices that emerged for the 1948 electoral competition that offered apartheid as a political platform. He similarly makes the ANC's turn to violence into an argument that could not reach an inevitable conclusion; his accounting of BC renders it surprising that this movement failed to retain its once-strong influence. (In contrast, the reemergence and dominance of the ANC-oriented forces in the 1980s are offered as more "matter of fact.")

Dubow's conclusion reviews the complexity of the challenge of negotiating a democratic transition. It provides a helpful rebuff to contemporary suggestions that the ANC should have insisted on a much harder bargain than it achieved. He also admits to the complexity of his own task to create an integrated history; he succeeds in his quest to "interweave accounts of state power, ideology, resistance, religion, international politics, and transnational solidarity, within a common frame of analysis" (301). Perhaps my own favorite dimension of the book was the persistent theme of how competing Christian debates shaped South African politics. Dubow's history emphasizes ideas and contexts, from global realities like the Cold War to philosophical, theological, and theoretical debates. It is a superb, easily readable, book that offers a comprehensive historical overview and nuanced analysis.

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Christine Hatzky. *Cubans in Angola: South-South Cooperation and Transfer of Knowledge, 1976–1991*. (Africa and the Diaspora: History, Politics, Culture.) English ed. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2015. Pp. xvi, 386. Paper $39.95, e-book $34.95.

Between 1974 and 1991, Cuba, together with the Soviet Union, supported Angola's socialist Movemento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) against the rivaling independence movements União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) and Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA). During this time, over four hundred thousand Cuban soldiers and more than fifty thousand Cuban civilian aid workers were sent to Angola.

While Cuba's military engagement in Angola has been researched and hotly debated, Cuban-Angolan civil cooperation in the form of education, health care, technical and administrative support, etc., has been rather overlooked in the literature. Christine Hatzky's *Cubans in Angola: South-South Cooperation and Transfer of Knowledge 1976–1991* seeks to fill this gap. With a particular focus on education, she examines the important role Cuba's social cooperation programs and Cuban civilians played in developing Angolan state institutions and transforming postcolonial Angolan society.

While most of the literature on Cuba's involvement in Angola is couched in a Cold War, political science/international relations framework, Hatzky's work adopts a conscious South-South perspective. Moreover, through the use of historical and ethnographic methods she includes Cuban and Angolan voices from "above" and "below." In so doing, Hatzky convincingly argues that Cuba and Angola were not mere pawns in a proxy war between the Cold War superpowers, but that both countries worked as independent actors with their own specific interests in a relationship of equal partnership. Furthermore, by focusing on civil cooperation, Hatzky sheds light

on an understudied aspect of Cuba's engagement in Angola and brings to life the actual experiences of its participants.

The well-written and excellently translated book (from German into English) is divided into three parts. Part I begins with a useful historical overview of Angola's complicated path toward independence and the postcolonial political landscape; Cuba's internationalism as a foreign policy strategy; the development of Cuban-Angolan relations and cooperation; and a detailed description of the Cuban and colonial Angolan educational systems, as well as Angola's many educational challenges following independence.

Part II focuses on the nuts and bolts of Cuban-Angolan cooperation in education: its agreements, as well as the scope, dynamics, and characteristics of the aid programs. Based on archival research in Angola and interviews with former Cuban and Angolan officials, Cuban teachers, and Angolan students, Hatzky critically examines both the governments' motives for the cooperation programs, and how these were negotiated and implemented. In so doing, she shows that both governments mutually benefited from the aid programs. In fact, one of Hatzky's most revealing findings is that the Cuban government received payments from the Angolan government for each of its aid workers, while the individual aid workers never saw a penny of it. Hatzky thus shatters the still widespread myth of Cuba's involvement in Angola as a purely disinterested act of socialist solidarity.

Moreover, as the book reveals, the relationship between Cubans and Angolans, at both the state and grassroots levels, was far from harmonious and, at times, even conflictual. Stereotypes and prejudices toward each other were apparently common. Despite Fidel Castro's definition of Cuba as an "Afro-Latin-American nation" (73), Cubans did not share deep intercultural connections with Angolans, according to Hatzky.

Part III is dedicated to giving voice to the personal experiences and memories of the former Cuban and Angolan civilian participants in the education programs. Hatzky describes their daily lives, work and schooling experience, living conditions, personal and romantic relationships, and the impact these events had on them. Based on individual interviews, Hatzky provides a nuanced picture of peoples' multifaceted personal and professional experiences on the ground. She also looks at the long-lasting, emotional impact of these events on the Angolan but especially Cuban participants. In so doing, she opens up a Pandora's Box of untouched and silenced issues in Cuba, particularly that of the trauma many Cubans still have regarding their time in Angola.

Here, as throughout the book, Hatzky elegantly juxtaposes the official political discourses with the everyday lived experiences of the former grassroots participants (Cuban teachers and administrators, as well as Angolan students). This focus on the discrepancies between the voices from "above" and "below" is one of the book's greatest contributions. Myths are debunked, realities complicated, and memories uncovered.

In assessing the Cuban educational cooperation with Angola, Hatzky comes to a very different conclusion than the official celebrated success story told in Cuba and Angola. According to her research, the impact of Cuba's aid on the Angolan education system was at best ambiguous. However, Hatzky concludes that Cuba's civil cooperation in general and the educational programs in particular, did ultimately help to stabilize and consolidate the MPLA's power and thus support the country's nation-building process.

Given Hatzky's research constraints in Cuba (she was denied access to the archives) one can only wonder what treasure trove of data still remains to be uncovered. This lack of access to the Cuban documents resulted in some speculation in Hatzky's conclusions. The book would have also benefitted from even more individual voices, i.e., family members and friends of participants. In other words, what was it like to stay behind in Cuba and/or Angola? Further discussion about and from the Cubans who defected and stayed in Angola would have presented an interesting and useful perspective. The few photos in the book add a rich texture to peoples' stories. I would have liked to have seen more pictures.

Forty years after the launching of "Operation Carlota," *Cubans in Angola: South-South Cooperation and Transfer of Knowledge 1976–1991* is a timely contribution to the literature on Cuba's engagement in Angola. The book's nuanced and multivoiced perspective will interest both experts and novices to the field. It will hopefully also encourage other scholars to continue examining many of the important issues and questions Hatzky's book opens up.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD/TRANSNATIONAL

KEITH MICHAEL BAKER and DAN EDELSTEIN, editors. *Scripting Revolution: A Historical Approach to the Comparative Study of Revolutions*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 438. $29.95.

TIM HARRIS, Did the English Have a Script for Revolution in the Seventeenth Century? DAVID R. COMO, God's Revolution: England, Europe, and the Concept of Revolution in the Mid-seventeenth Century. DAVID ARMITAGE, Every Great Revolution Is a Civil War. KEITH MICHAEL BAKER, Revolutionizing Revolution. JACK RAKOVE, Constitutionalism: The Happiest Revolutionary Script. DAN EDELSTEIN, From Constitutional to Permanent Revolution: 1649 and 1793. GUILLAUME MAZEAU, Scripting the French Revolution, Inventing the Terror: Marat's Assassination and Its Interpretations. MALICK W. GHACHEM, The Antislavery Script: Haiti's Place in the Narrative of Atlantic Revolution. GARETH STEDMAN JONES, Scripting the German Revolution: Marx and 1848. DOMINICA CHANG, Reading and Repeating the Revolutionary Script: Revolutionary Mimicry in Nineteenth-Century France. CLAUDIA VERHOEVEN, "Une Révolution Vraiment Scientifique": Russian Terrorism, the Escape from the European Orbit, and the Invention of a New Revolutionary Paradigm. IAN D. THATCHER, Scripting the Russian Revolution. JEFFREY WASSERSTROM and YIDI WU, You Say You Want a Revolution: Revolutionary and Reformist Scripts in China, 1864–2014. ALEXANDER C. COOK, Mao's Little Red Book: The Spiritual Atom Bomb and Its Global Fallout. LILLIAN GUERRA, The Reel, Real and Hyper-Real Revolution: Scripts and Counter-Scripts in Cuban Documentary Film. JULIAN BOURG, Writing on the Wall: 1968 as Event and Representation. ABBAS MILANI, Scripting a Revolution: Fate or Fortuna in the 1979 Revolution in Iran. SILVANA TOSKA, The Multiple Scripts of the Arab Revolutions. DAVID A. BELL, Afterword.

JAMES BEATTIE, EDWARD MELILLO, and EMILY O'GORMAN, editors. *Eco-Cultural Networks and the British Empire: New Views on Environmental History*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015. Pp. xvi, 323. $120.00.

JAMES BEATTIE, EDWARD MELILLO, and EMILY O'GORMAN, Introduction: Eco-Cultural Networks and the British Empire, 1837–1945. GEORGINA ENDFIELD and SAM RANDALLS, Climate and Empire. JOSEPH LAWSON, The Chinese State and Agriculture in an Age of Global Empires, 1880–1949. EDWARD D. MELILLO, Empire in a Cup: Imagining Colonial Geographies through British Tea Consumption. NANCY J. JACOBS, Africa, Europe and the Birds between Them. EUGENIA W. HERBERT, Peradeniya and the Plantation Raj in Nineteenth-Century Ceylon. JAMES BEATTIE, Eco-Cultural Networks in Southern China and Colonial New Zealand: Cantonese Market Gardening and Environmental Exchange, 1860s–1910s. KATHRYN M. HUNTER, Colonial Hunting Cultures. ROBERT PECKHAM, Game of Empires: Hunting in Treaty-Port China, 1870–1940. EMILY O'GORMAN, Experiments, Environments, and Networks: Commercial Rice Cultivation in South-Eastern Australia, 1900–1945. SEAN KHERAJ, Animals and Urban Environments: Managing Domestic Animals in Nineteenth-Century Winnipeg.

JEFF FORRET and CHRISTINE E. SEARS, editors. *New Directions in Slavery Studies: Commodification, Community, and Comparison*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015. Pp. viii, 261. $47.00.

CALVIN SCHERMERHORN, Commodity Chains and Chained Commodities: The U.S. Coastwise Slave Trade and an Atlantic Business Network. BONNIE MARTIN, Silver Buckles and Slaves: Borrowing, Lending, and the Commodification of Slaves in Virginia Communities. KAREN RYDER, "To Realize Money Facilities": Slave Life Insurance, the Slave Trade, and Credit in the Old South. KENNETH S. GREENBERG, Nat Turner in Print and on Film. JOHN DAVIES, Taking Liberties: Saint Dominguan Slaves and the Formation of Community in Philadelphia, 1791–1805. JEFF FORRET, "A Slave That Will Steal from a Slave, Is Called *Mean* as *Master*": Thefts and Violence inside Southern Slave Quarters. KATHLEEN M. HILLIARD, Bonds Burst Asunder: The Transformation of the Internal Economy in Confederate Richmond. ANTHONY E. KAYE, The Problem of Autonomy: Toward a Postliberal History. MARIANA DANTAS, Slave Women and Urban Labor in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World. CHRISTINE E. SEARS, "In Algiers, the City of Bondage": Urban Slavery in Comparative Context. ENRICO DAL LAGO, The Nineteenth-Century "Other Souths," Modernization, and Nation-Building: Expanding the Comparative Perspective. DAMIAN ALAN PARGAS, "When I Think How Our Family Is Scattered": Comparing Forced Separation among Antebellum Slave Families.

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Richard R. John and Jonathan Silberstein-Loeb, editors. *Making News: The Political Economy of Journalism in Britain and America from the Glorious Revolution to the Internet*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. 263. $95.00.

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Richard Marback and Marc W. Kruman, editors. *The Meaning of Citizenship*. (Series in Citizenship Studies.) Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 2015. Pp. vii, 382. $34.99.

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Amy E. Randall, editor. *Genocide and Gender in the Twentieth Century: A Comparative Survey*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015. Pp. xvi, 357. $39.95.

Amy E. Randall, Introduction: Gendering Genocide Studies. Lisa Pine, Gender and the Holocaust: Male and Female Experiences of Auschwitz. Adam Jones, Masculinities and Vulnerabilities in the Rwandan and Congolese Genocides. Anthonie Holslag, Exposed Bodies: A Conceptual Approach to Sexual Violence during the Armenian Genocide. Zoë Waxman, An Exceptional Genocide? Sexual Violence in the Holocaust. Patricia A. Weitsman, Constructions of Identity and Sexual Violence in Wartime: The Case of Bosnia. Jennie E. Burnet, Rape as a Weapon of Genocide: Gender, Patriarchy, and Sexual Violence in Rwanda. Stephen R. Haynes, Ordinary Masculinity: Gender Analysis and Holocaust Scholarship. Nicole Hogg and Mark Drumbl, Women as Perpetrators: Agency and Authority in Genocidal Rwanda. Lerna Ekmekcioglu, The Biopolitics of "Rescue": Women and the Politics of Inclusion after the Armenian Genocide. Olivera Simic, Wartime Rape and Its Shunned Victims. Selma Leydesdorff, Distortions in Survivor Narratives from Srebrenica: The Impossibility of Conveying Their Truth. Doris Buss, Making Sense of Genocide, Making Sense of Law: International Criminal Prosecutions of Large-Scale Sexual Violence. Elisa von Joeden-Forgey, Gender and the Future of Genocide Studies and Prevention.

William Harrison Taylor and Peter C. Messer, editors. *Faith and Slavery in the Presbyterian Diaspora*. (Studies in Eighteenth-Century American and the Atlantic World.) U.S. ed. Bethlehem, Pa.: Lehigh University Press, 2016. Pp. x, 277. Cloth $85.00, e-book $84.99.

Iain Whyte, From James Montgomery to James Macbeth: The Development of Scottish Antislavery Theology and Action, 1756–1848. Gideon Mailer, Between Enlightenment and Evangelicalism: Presbyterian Diversity and American Slavery, 1700–1800. William Harrison Taylor, "Made of One Flesh?" Revisiting the 1787 Slavery Policy of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia. Peter C. Messer, "A Blessing or a Curse, Depending on How It Is Used": David Ramsay's Presbyterian Antislavery Journey. Nini Rodgers, Transatlantic Family Journeys: From Antislavery Ethos to Proslavery Ethic. William J. Roulston, The Reformed Presbyterian Church and Antislavery in Nineteenth-Century America. Richard Finlay, Commerce and Christianity: Scottish Presbyterians, Slavery, and Islam in East Central Africa, 1870–1900. Kimberly Hill, Antislavery Work by the American Women of the Presbyterian Congo Mission. Valerie Wallace, "The Slave Trade in the New Hebrides": Covenanting Ideology, the New Hebrides Mission, and the Campaign against the Pacific Island Labor Traffic. Joseph S. Moore, Presbyterian Orthodoxies and Slavery.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

BETH BAILEY and RICHARD H. IMMERMAN, editors. *Understanding the U.S. Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan*. New York: New York University Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 366. Cloth $89.00, paper $30.00.

MICHAEL A. REYNOLDS, The Wars' Entangled Roots: Regional Realities and Washington's Vision. TERRY H. ANDERSON, 9/11: Bush's Response. RICHARD H. IMMERMAN, Intelligence and the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. STEPHEN BIDDLE and PETER D. FEAVER, Assessing Strategic Choices in the War on Terror. CONRAD C. CRANE, Military Strategy in Afghanistan and Iraq: Learning and Adapting under Fire at Home and in the Field. JONATHAN HOROWITZ, Human Rights as a Weapon of War. LISA MUNDEY, The Combatants' Experiences. DAVID FARBER, Fighting (against) the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. SAM LEBOVIC, Limited War in the Age of Total Media. ANDREW C. MCKEVITT, "Watching War Made Us Immune": The Popular Culture of the Wars. DAVID KIERAN, Veterans' Readjustment after the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars. ROBERT K. BRIGHAM, The Lessons and Legacies of the War in Iraq. AARON B. O'CONNELL, The Lessons and Legacies of the War in Afghanistan.

CATHERINE M. CAMERON, PAUL KELTON, and ALAN C. SWEDLUND, editors. *Beyond Germs: Native Depopulation in North America*. (Amerind Studies in Anthropology.) Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 275. $60.00.

DAVID S. JONES, Death, Uncertainty, and Rhetoric. GEORGE R. MILNER, Population Decline and Culture Change in the American Midcontinent: Bridging the Prehistoric and Historic Divide. CLARK SPENCER LARSEN, Colonialism and Decline in the American Southeast: The Remarkable Record of La Florida. DEBRA L. MARTIN, Beyond Epidemics: A Bioarchaeological Perspective on Pueblo-Spanish Encounters in the American Southwest. GERARDO GUTIÉRREZ, Identity Erasure and Demographie Impacts of the Spanish Caste System on the Indigenous Populations of Mexico. ALAN C. SWEDLUND, Contagion, Conflict, and Captivity in Interior New England: Native American and European Contacts in the Middle Connecticut River Valley of Massachusetts, 1616–2004. CATHERINE M. CAMERON, The Effects of Warfare and Captive-Taking on Indigenous Mortality in Postcontact North America. PAUL KELTON, Remembering Cherokee Mortality during the American Revolution. KATHLEEN L. HULL, Quality of Life: Native Communities within and beyond the Bounds of Colonial Institutions in California. JAMES F. BROOKS, The Pestilent Serpent: Colonialism, Health, and Indigenous Demographics.

DAVID B. DANBOM, editor. *Bridging the Distance: Common Issues of the Rural West*. Foreword by DAVID M. KENNEDY. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, in cooperation with the Bill Lane Center for the American West, 2015. Pp. xiii, 296. $30.00.

JON K. LAUCK, Finding the Rural West. GEOFF MCGHEE, Conquering Distance? Broadband and the Rural West. JUDY MULLER, Too Close for Comfort: When Big Stories Hit Small Towns. J. DWIGHT HINES, On Water and Wolves: Toward an Integrative Political Ecology of the "New" West. BURKE W. GRIGGS, Irrigation Communities, Political Cultures, and the Public in the Age of Depletion. MARC SCHENKER, Health Disparities among Latino Immigrants Living in the Rural West. MARK N. HAGGERTY and JULIA H. HAGGERTY, Energy Development Opportunities and Challenges in the Rural West. MICHAEL HIBBARD and SUSAN LURIE, The New Natural Resource Economy: A Framework for Rural Community Resilience. LEISL CARR CHILDERS, The Angry West: Understanding the Sagebrush Rebellion in Rural Nevada. DAVID RICH LEWIS, Skull Valley Goshutes and the Politics of Place, Identity, and Sovereignty in Rural Utah.

FRANCISCO JAVIER RODRÍGUEZ JIMÉNEZ, LORENZO DELGADO GÓMEZ-ESCALONILLA, and NICHOLAS J. CULL, editors. *US Public Diplomacy and Democratization in Spain: Selling Democracy?* (Palgrave Macmillan Series in Global Public Diplomacy.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. Pp. xi, 237. $109.00.

NICHOLAS J. CULL and FRANCISCO JAVIER RODRÍGUEZ JIMÉNEZ, Introduction: Soft Power, Public Diplomacy, and Democratization. GILES SCOTT-SMITH, US Public Diplomacy and Democracy Promotion in the Cold War, 1950s–1980s. ROSA PARDO SANZ, Furthering US Geopolitical Priorities and Dealing with the Iberian Dictatorships. LORENZO DELGADO GÓMEZ-ESCALONILLA, Modernizing a Friendly Tyrant: US Public Diplomacy and Sociopolitical Change in Francoist Spain. PABLO LEÓN-AGUINAGA, US Public Diplomacy and Democracy Promotion in Authoritarian Spain: Approaches, Themes, and Messages. FRANCISCO JAVIER RODRÍGUEZ JIMÉNEZ, Culture and National Images: American Studies vs. Anti-Americanism in Spain. NEAL M. ROSENDORF, Spain's First "Re-Branding Effort" in the Postwar Franco Era. AMBASSADOR MARK L. ASQUINO, US Public Diplomacy and Democratization in Spain: A Practitioner's View. LORENZO DELGADO GÓMEZ-ESCALONILLA, Consistency and Credibility: Why You Cannot Collaborate with Dictatorships and Sell Democracy.

CURTIS M. HINSLEY and DAVID R. WILCOX, editors. *Coming of Age in Chicago: The 1893 World's Fair and the Coalescence of American Anthropology*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016. Pp. xliii, 574. $65.00.

CURTIS M. HINSLEY, Anthropology as Education and Entertainment: Frederic Ward Putnam at the World's Fair. CURTIS M. HINSLEY, Ambiguous Legacy: Daniel Garrison Brinton at the International Congress of Anthropology. DAVID R. WILCOX, Anthropology in a Changing America: Interpreting the Chicago "Triumph" of Frank Hamilton Cushing. IRA JACKNIS, Refracting Images: Anthropological Display at the Chicago World's Fair, 1893. JAMES E. SNEAD, Relic Hunters in the White City: Artifacts, Authority, and Ambition at the World's Columbian Exposition. DONALD MCVICKER, Patrons, Popularizers, and Professionals: The Institutional Setting of Late Nineteenth-Century Anthropology in Chicago. DAVID R. WILCOX, Going National: American Anthropology Successfully Redefines Itself as an Accepted Academic Domain. CURTIS M. HINSLEY, Afterword: The Ironies of the Fair, the Uncertainties of Anthropology.

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

JONATHAN ADAMS and JUSSI HANSKA, editors. *The Jewish-Christian Encounter in Medieval Preaching*. (Routledge

Research in Medieval Studies, no. 6.) New York: Routledge, 2015. Pp. viii, 334. $145.00.

Raúl González Salinero, Preaching and Jews in Late Antique and Visigothic Iberia. Regina D. Schiewer, *Sub Iudaica Infirmitate*—"Under the Jewish Weakness": Jews in Medieval German Sermons. Jonathan Adams, Preaching about an Absent Minority: Medieval Danish Sermons and the Jews. Kati Ihnat, "Our Sister Is Little and Has No Breasts": Mary and the Jews in the Sermons of Honorius Augustodunensis. Filippo Sedda, The Anti-Jewish Sermons of John of Capistrano: Matters and Context. Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli, The Effects of Bernardino da Feltre's Preaching on the Jews. Jussi Hanska, Sermons on the Tenth Sunday after Holy Trinity: Another Occasion for Anti-Jewish Preaching. David I. Shyovitz, Beauty and the Bestiary: Animals, Wonder, and Polemic in Medieval Ashkenaz. Giacomo Todeschini, The Origin of a Medieval Anti-Jewish Stereotype: The Jews as Receivers of Stolen Goods (Twelfth to Thirteenth Centuries). Pietro Delcorno, The Roles of Jews in the Florentine *Sacre Rappresentazioni*: Loyal Citizens, People to Be Converted, Enemies of the Faith. Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, Mendicants and the Jews in Florence. Martine Boiteux, Preaching the Jews in Early Modern Rome: Words and Images.

Jacqueline Fabre-Serris and Alison Keith, editors. *Women and War in Antiquity*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015. Pp. viii, 341. Cloth $55.00, e-book $55.00.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

T. G. Fraser, editor. *The First World War and Its Aftermath: The Shaping of the Middle East*. London: Gingko Library, 2015. Pp. 350. $80.00.

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William C. Olsen and Walter E. A. van Beek, editors. *Evil in Africa: Encounters with the Everyday*. Foreword by David Parkin. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 392. $45.00.

Walter E. A. van Beek and William C. Olsen, Introduction: African Notions of Evil—The Chimera of Justice. Sónia Silva, Political Evil: Witchcraft from the Perspective of the Bewitched. Susan Reynolds Whyte, Lotte Meinert, and Julaina Obika, Untying Wrongs in Northern Uganda. Jok Madut Jok, The Evil of Insecurity in South Sudan: Violence and Impunity in Africa's Newest State. Jennie E. Burnet, Genocide, Evil and Human Agency: The Concept of Evil in Rwandan Explanations of the 1994 Genocide. Wyatt MacGaffey, Politics and Cosmographic Anxiety: Kongo and Dagbon Compared. René Devisch, Ambivalence and the Work of the Negative among the Yaka. Léocadie Ekoué with Judy Rosenthal, *Aze* and the Incommensurable. Walter E. A. van Beek, Evil and the Art of Revenge in the Mandara Mountains. Diane Ciekawy, Distinction in the Imagination of Harm in Contemporary Mijikenda Thought: The Existential Challenge of Majini. Ulrika Trovalla, Haunted by Absent Others: Movements of Evil in a Nigerian City. Roy Dilley, Attributions of Evil among Haalpulaaren, Senegal. Kjersti Larsen, Reflections regarding Good and Evil: The Complexity of Words in Zanzibar. Susan J. Rasmussen, Constructing Moral Personhood: The Moral Test in Tuareg Sociability as a Commentary on Honor and Dishonor. Dorothy L. Hodgson, The Gender of Evil: Maasai Experiences and Expressions. Nancy Scheper-Hughes, Neocannibalism, Military Biopolitics, and the Problem of Human Evil. William C. Olsen, Theft and Evil in Asante. Maia Green, Sorcery after Socialism: Liberalization and Anti Witchcraft Practices in Southern Tanzania. Linda van de Kamp, Transatlantic Pentecostal Demons in Maputo. Adam Ashforth, The Meaning of "Apartheid" and the Epistemology of Evil.

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FANT, JENNIE HOLTON, editor. *The Travelers' Charleston: Accounts of Charleston and Lowcountry, South Carolina, 1666–1861*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016. Pp. xvi, 367. $49.95.

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GUGIN, LINDA C., and JAMES E. ST. CLAIR, editors. *Indiana's 200: The People Who Shaped the Hoosier State*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society Press, 2015. Pp. xiv, 423. $39.95.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

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Other Books Received

The following books were recently received in the *AHR* office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

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Bicho, Nuno, et al., editors. *Muge 150th: The 150th Anniversary of the Discovery of Mesolithic Shellmiddens*. Vol. 1. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015. Pp. xvii, 390. £57.99.

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Cesarani, David. *Disraeli: The Novel Politician*. (Jewish Lives.) New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2016. Pp. viii, 282. $25.00.

Connell, William J. *Machiavelli nel Rinascimento italiano*. (Storia/Studi e ricerche.) Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2015. Pp. 267. €32.00.

Devine, L. P. *The British Way of War in Northwest Europe, 1944–5: A Study of Two Infantry Divisions*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016. Pp. 237. $112.00.

Epstein, Catherine. *Nazi Germany: Confronting the Myths*. (Wiley Short Histories.) Malden, Mass.: Wiley Blackwell, 2015. Pp. xii, 240. Cloth $95.00, paper $29.95, e-book $95.00.

Farren, Seán, and Denis Haughey, editors. *John Hume: Irish Peacemaker*. Foreword by Bill Clinton. Portland, Ore.: Four Courts Press, 2015. Pp. 223. $35.00.

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Gale, Barry G. *Love in Vienna: The Sigmund Freud—Minna Bernays Affair*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Praeger, 2016. Pp. xi, 250. $48.00.

Hart, Peter. *Voices from the Front: An Oral History of the Great War*. U.S. ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. Pp. xv, 424. $34.95.

Hitchmann, Valerie, and Andrew Foster, editors. *Views from the Parish: Churchwardens' Accounts c. 1500–1800*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015. Pp. vi, 234. £47.99.

Huggins, Mike. *Vice and the Victorians*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016. Pp. xiii, 257. $34.95.

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Marrus, Michael R. *Lessons of the Holocaust*. (UTP Insights.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press, 2016. Pp. xiii, 196. $23.95.

Mawdsley, Evan. *Thunder in the East: The Nazi-Soviet War 1941–1945*. (Modern Wars.) 2nd ed. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016. Pp. xxiii, 507. $39.95.

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Miguez Macho, Antonio. *The Genocidal Genealogy of Francoism: Violence, Memory and Impunity*. (The Cañada Blanch/Sussex Academic Studies on Contemporary Spain.) Brighton, England: Sussex Academic Press, 2016. Pp. xv, 154. $45.00.

Orrells, Daniel. *Sex: Antiquity and Its Legacy*. (Ancients and Moderns.) New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. x, 246. $99.00.

Palatine, John Vincent. *The Little Drummer Boy: From Bismarck to the Beer Hall Putsch*. Munich: Amadé, 2015. Pp. xiv, 995. €52.95.

Robertson, Clare. *Rome 1600: The City and the Visual Arts under Clement VIII*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. ix, 449. $75.00.

Sharples, Caroline. *Postwar Germany and the Holocaust*. (Perspectives on the Holocaust.) New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016. Pp. ix, 238. $29.95.

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Steinberg, Jonathan. *Why Switzerland?* 3rd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Pp. xv, 387. $29.99.

Stone, Gerald. *Slav Outposts in Central European History: The Wends, Sorbs and Kashubs*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016. Pp. vii, 398. $39.95.

Sundermann, Elizabeth "Libi." *For God and Country: Butler's 1944 Education Act*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015. Pp. xii, 155. £41.99.

Urdank, Albion M. *Birth, Death, and Religious Faith in an English Dissenting Community: A Microhistory of Nailsworth and Hinterland, 1695–1837*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2016. Pp. xvi, 133. Cloth $75.00, e-book $74.99.

Wood, Elizabeth A., et al. *Roots of Russia's War in Ukraine*. New York: Columbia University Press; Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2016. Pp. xv, 147. Paper $25.00, e-book $24.99.

Wrigley, E. A. *The Path to Sustained Growth: England's Transition from an Organic Economy to an Industrial Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. Pp. xi, 219. $29.99.

Wulf, Meike. *Shadowlands: Memory and History in Post-Soviet Estonia*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2016. Pp. x, 246. $90.00.

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

Brown, Peter. *Treasure in Heaven: The Holy Poor in Early Christianity*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016. Pp. xxv, 162. $22.95.

Faust, Aaron M. *The Ba'thification of Iraq: Saddam Hussein's Totalitarianism*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015. Pp. xxiv, 296. $55.00.

Gribetz, Jonathan Marc. *Defining Neighbors: Religion, Race, and the Early Zionist-Arab Encounter*. (Jews, Christians, and

Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World.) Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2014. Pp. xi, 287. $35.00.

LANGE, CHRISTIAN. *Paradise and Hell in Islamic Traditions*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. Pp. xvii, 365. $29.99.

YESSAYAN, ZABEL. *In the Ruins: The 1909 Massacres of Armenians in Adana, Turkey*. Translated by G. M. GOSHGARIAN. Edited by JUDITH SARYAN, DANILA JEBEJIAN TERPANJIAN, and JOY RENJILIAN-BURGY. Boston: AIWA Press, 2016. Pp. xv, 262. $20.00.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

MCCASKIE, TOM. *Asante, Kingdom of Gold: Essays in the History of an African Culture*. Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 2015. Pp. xxvi, 1031. $150.00.

Digital Primary Sources

This new feature serves as a preliminary guide to freely accessible online collections of primary sources. The sites identified here draw on the expertise of *AHR* staff and the Board of Editors, but we also solicited submissions from a small group of readers to test a larger crowdsourcing initiative that will drive the list of archives in the future. We intend to add to this section with each issue, with the complete list to be available online at historians.org/digital-primary-sources. Readers are encouraged to use the form available there to submit their own favorite primary-source archival collections.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD/TRANSNATIONAL

Cuba and Southern Africa (Woodrow Wilson Center)
http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/173/cuba-and-southern-africa
Scanned documents about Cuba's policy toward Southern Africa during the end of the Cold War. These Spanish-language documents were acquired by Piero Gleijeses for his book *Visions of Freedom: Havana, Washington, Pretoria, and the Struggle for Southern Africa, 1976–1991* (2013).
Geography: Cuba; South Africa; Angola
Period: 1976–1989

ASIA

Biblioteca Sinica 2.0 (University of Vienna)
http://www.univie.ac.at/Geschichte/China-Bibliographie/blog/about/
A digitized bibliography of "Western Books on China in Libraries in Vienna/Austria" and a smaller number held elsewhere, with links to digitized versions of most texts. Items are primarily in French, German, and English; were published from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries; and include reference books, travelogues, and translations of Chinese classics.
Geography: World; China
Period: 1477–1939

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

Frances Willard Digital Journals (Frances E. Willard Memorial Library and Archives)
http://willard.archivestree.com/index.php
Digitized transcriptions of journal entries.
Geography: United States
Period: 1855–1896

Haymarket Affair Digital Collection (Chicago Historical Society)
http://www.chicagohs.org/hadc/hadctoc.htm
Trial transcripts, police records, broadsides, newspapers, images, and artifacts related to the 1886 Haymarket Affair and subsequent criminal proceedings.
Geography: United States
Period: 1886–1893

Historic Government Publications from World War II (Southern Methodist University)
http://digitalcollections.smu.edu/all/cul/hgp/
Scans of 343 printed U.S. government pamphlets, reports, and propaganda materials. Covers women's issues, home-front race relations, conservation and rationing, soldiers' guides to other countries, and more.
Geography: United States
Period: 1940–1945

The Liberator Files (Boston Public Library)
http://www.theliberatorfiles.com/liberator-scans-year/
Scanned images of all 1,803 issues of William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist newspaper *The Liberator*, along with a photo gallery and a site directory that links to thematically grouped material.
Geography: United States
Period: 1831–1865

The Negro Motorist Green Book, 1936–1967 (New York Public Library)
http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/collections/the-green-book
Digitized scans of 22 issues of the *Green Book*, published to aid African Americans in avoiding racial discrimination while traveling throughout the U.S.
Geography: United States
Period: 1936–1967

Post Family Papers Project (University of Rochester)
http://rbsc.library.rochester.edu/items
Scans of correspondence, financial records, legal documents, and printed ephemera from Amy and Isaac Post, Rochester Quakers who were deeply involved in the abolitionist and women's rights movements of their day.
Geography: United States
Period: 1817–1918

The Voice of Industry (Public Domain)
http://www.industrialrevolution.org/about-the-project.html
Digitized full issues of the U.S. labor newspaper *Voice of Industry* in scanned image format, plus transcribed material, as well as additional resource links related to labor history.
Geography: United States
Period: 1845–1848

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

Caribbean Newspaper Digital Library (Digital Library of the Caribbean and the University of Curaçao)
http://dloc.com/cndl

Digitized versions of newspapers, gazettes, and other research materials on newsprint from the Caribbean and circum-Caribbean in Spanish, English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese.

Geography: Caribbean and Circum-Caribbean
Period: 1884–2016

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

Penn in Hand: Selected Manuscripts (University of Pennsylvania)
http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/index.html

An ongoing project to digitize the Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts; provides bibliographic information, digital facsimiles, and detailed description of provenance for a large volume of manuscript codices, folios, documents, and papers in a variety of languages from Europe, North Africa, India, the Middle East, and China.

Geography: World; Europe
Period: 1000–1850

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

London Lives, 1690–1800: Crime, Poverty and Social Policy in the Metropolis (University of Sheffield)
http://www.londonlives.org/index.jsp

A searchable compilation of eight archives and fifteen databases, which generate 3.35 million names of individuals living in London during the eighteenth century. In addition to primary source data, the website includes a wiki and allows researchers to register for a personal online workspace that can be used to build biographies from the data.

Geography: London, England
Period: 1690–1800

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Archives de l'Afrique Équatoriale Française (Brazzaville)
https://archivescolonialesbrazzaville.wordpress.com/

Digitized material of the colonial archives of French Equatorial Africa (AEF) stored in the National Archives of the Congo-Brazzaville. These archives constitute a heritage shared between France and the republics of the old AEF: Congo-Brazzaville, Gabon, the Central African Republic, and Chad.

Geography: Congo-Brazzaville, Gabon, Chad, Cameroon, Central African Republic
Period: 1930–1946

Indian Opinion (National Gandhi Museum, Delhi)
http://gandhimuseum.org/MGM/INDIAN%20OPINION.htm

Digitized excerpts of the *Indian Opinion* newspaper of South Africa.

Geography: South Africa
Period: 1903–1914

Communications

A letter to the editor will be considered for publication only if it relates to an article or review published in the *AHR*. Letters should not exceed 1,000 words. They can be submitted by e-mail to ahr@indiana.edu, either as a Microsoft Word attachment or within the body of the message. Publication is solely at the editors' discretion. The AHA disclaims responsibility for statements, of either fact or opinion, made by the writers. For detailed information on the policies for this section, see http://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/american-historical-review/letters-to-the-editor.

REVIEWS

To the Editors:

I could not have asked for a more solicitous review of *History's Peru* than Cecilia Méndez's (*AHR*, December 2015, 1852–1853). I am particularly grateful for her auspicious insight that while "epistemologically conservative," the book adopts "a most radical postmodern approach." In her review Méndez says that I should make more explicit my reasons for certain choices, and indeed she closes by posing a "truly bold" question. I am happy to take up her entreaties in these pages, which I hope are of some benefit to potential readers of *History's Peru*.

Although Méndez does not explain what she means by a "postmodern approach," in what follows it becomes clear enough. I "belittle historians' attempts to convey historical truth," she says, "and deem the line dividing history from fiction irrelevant." I was rather surprised by these sweeping verdicts, since *History's Peru* is a historical meditation on the poetic means by which "Peru" became and becomes, again and again, a profound "historical truth." My concept of historical truth is, as I point out in the book, drawn from Edmundo O'Gorman, a Mexican philosopher of history influenced by Heidegger. As for the line between history and fiction, I note on page 250 that inconstant critical distinctions (of degree, not kind) do indeed exist, since the constraints on history's poetic license are generally greater and more political. Méndez continues that I "treat historians' texts as self-contained entities" and ignore "political context and audiences." I found this puzzling, since all of the texts discussed are presented as singular inflections of wider historical discourses and political contexts, which I identify as dynastic history, enlightened natural history, and the headless history of the people.

I was also perplexed by Méndez's insinuation that I engage in a cunning form of self-censorship. She claims that I "silence" a supposed earlier adherence to Chakrabarty's ideas and a rejection of Klor de Alva's as a "selling point" for *History's Peru*, where, in a moment of wishful thinking, perhaps, she imagines that I wholly reject Chakrabarty and embrace Klor de Alva. But there was no reason to enlist Klor de Alva in *History's Peru*, since my work is and always has been at odds with his position that "the Latin American experience" has never been postcolonial nor indeed colonial. As for Chakrabarty, I argued long ago and again in *History's Peru* that South America was postcolonial long before South Asia was, although not in the same ways. One may make such an argument without subscribing to Anglophone "postcolonialism," whose universalizing historical claims I carefully critiqued in previous work. What is novel about *History's Peru* in regard to Chakrabarty's thesis is my argument that Peruvian historicism was not imported from nineteenth-century "Europe." Méndez deploys the dubious self-silencing claim to advance an even more tenuous one: that I "silence something even more important, to wit: the fact that a vibrant Latin American critique to postcolonialism had taken place two decades" ago. Here Méndez "silences" the fact that I was among the first to critically engage postcolonial theory from a Latin American perspective in an essay published in the *Journal of Historical Sociology* in 1996. Books (and book reviews) do indeed silence many things.

Méndez also suggests that "Thurner does not explain the rationale for his choice of authors. While the reasons for some absences are self-evident, the omission of Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, Peru's foremost native Quechua speaking historian, is perplexing . . . because the *Nueva coronica* fits so well with Thurner's erudite analysis of history as a 'book of kings,' as the 'arts of rule,' and the baroque mode of writing 'as if' the king was listening." Actually, in an article published in the *Latin American Research Review* in 2009, I pointed out that my reading applies to Guaman Poma's letter to the king. The reason I do not engage his text here should be self-evident to a scholar such as Méndez, since she knows that it could not possibly have formed part of the Peruvian historiographi-

cal tradition I trace in this book for the simple reason that it was not read. Guaman Poma's unpublished manuscript came into circulation and debate later, as Méndez rightly notes, as an important text for Andean studies or ethnohistory. Méndez uses this "perplexing" omission to suggest that a better title for my book would be "History's Creole Peru." Her favoring of such a title suggests to me a possible misreading if not "silencing" of its central argument. The argument is simple: what made and makes "the Peruvian history of Peru" possible is the homonymic inscription of the writing subject (the "Peruvian" historian) under the governing proper name ("Peru") that sustains the discourse for a posterity sustained by its addressees ("Peruvians"). In this regard it matters little if the historian is otherwise marked as Indian, Mestizo, Creole, Spaniard, European, etc. The argument applies to "France," "India," "Mexico," or what have you, although in each case the hermeneutic tradition written under its proper name differs in significant ways that only research into past modes of historical writing and understanding can truthfully reveal, as O'Gorman insisted.

Méndez finds my book "epistemologically conservative" since it does not engage with non-logocentric or "indigenous" forms of memory. Guilty as charged. I only wish to point out that my book is, as the subtitle states, about "historiography." Most historians understand "historiography" to denote "historical writing," and every major dictionary of the English language agrees. The same goes for Méndez's curious claim that I "transgender" Peru (it is *el Perú* in Spanish usage) by using the feminine form, which, she says, "deserved an explanation." The explanation is simple: standard English usage, enforced by my copy editor. The Spanish edition of *History's Peru* uses the masculine, as is appropriate in that language. I admit that I worked under the delusion that this was translation, not "transgendering."

Méndez closes her review thus: "*History's Peru* would have been truly bold, I think, had Thurner asked himself the question he asked the historians he scrutinized, prominently, Basadre: Who is he writing for? According to Thurner, Basadre was writing for 'Peru,' a poetic invention crafted in writing. Is Thurner writing for another poetic invention?" In indirect ways I do ask myself this question, notably in the Epilogue and, in the Spanish edition, the *Explicación del frontispicio*. In a word, I write for the poetic invention and trace named "Beru." "Beru" is the misheard native of Spanish encounter who, via the exegetical pen of Inca Garcilaso, names Peru for history in what Basadre calls "an abyss of history." My gesture is to turn the abysmal trace of Beru into a looking glass for the history and theory of historiography at large, an argument I develop in more succinct form in two articles published in the journal *History and Theory*. In making this gesture I merely add a "second-order" layer to the insights of Garcilaso, Peralta, Unanue, Lorente, and Basadre. For this reason I find Méndez's aside that I do "not seem very interested in conversing with" Peruvian historians hard to fathom. *History's Peru* is above all a conversation with Peruvian historians of all ages. Moreover, I cite every notable Peruvian historian who has written on the history of historiography, the manuscript was read by Peruvian historians, the Peruvian translation was published in Lima nearly simultaneously with the Florida imprint, and the book was presented and debated in notable Peruvian fora.

In sum, Méndez is quite right to say that *History's Peru* is conservative and radical, although perhaps in ways more mundane than she ascribes. It is conservative since it cultivates an empathetic conversation with past historians, and radical because it bends that conversation toward critical tasks that normally escape the attention of today's historians.

Mark Thurner
Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London

To the Editors:

The review of my book *Revolutionary Pamphlets, Propaganda and Political Culture in Colonial Bengal* (*AHR*, December 2015, 1876–1877) suffers greatly from being viewed through the narrow lenses of the reviewer's personal academic interests and biases. I agree with the reviewer that there exist valuable histories of the nationalist movement in Bengal. But I find his claim that my study of pamphlet propaganda is based on conventional source materials and only reiterates conclusions with which scholars of the region and time period are very familiar curious, to say the least. There exist few, if any, monographs that explore and analyze the diverse implications of the use of violence as a weapon of political control and the role of pamphlet propaganda in framing, legitimizing, and disseminating such violence in early-twentieth-century Bengal. The core of the book revolves around issues of political violence and its legitimation through propaganda, the representations and practices of state power and its subversion, and memories of violence that survive in collective memory to be continually reconstructed in space and time—all of which are of continuing relevance not only to the study of political cultures in South Asia but in other regions as well. It is noticeable that the reviewer does not engage with any of these issues and instead airily dismisses the book, supposedly because of the familiarity of scholars with the conclusions drawn by the author. He lists secondary materials at the head of the sources used by the author, followed by "scattered excerpts from pamphlets." This being a study of revolutionary pamphlet propaganda, I have relied heavily on pamphlets as sources. However, there is ample evidence of textual criticism in the book (especially chapters 3 and 4) despite contrary claims from the reviewer. Far from being scattered excerpts, these are pamphlets in their entirety, whose contents, by definition, cannot be "familiar" simply because much of this material was unavailable for long and had not been accessed, far less worked with, before I began research for this book. The author omits any mention of my use of newspaper files, memoirs and letters of the revolutionary nationalists, and contemporary writings, and also of judicial archives (which are of a different order of evidence than routine administrative records), possibly because they might have tipped the scales a little too heavily in favor of the use of primary sources that I have mentioned on pages 18–19 and 198–199.

After this less than conscientious example of citing from sources, the author peremptorily shoots down my methods of using source material as evidence, as not belonging to the realm of "serious scholarship" and as "hyperbole." I have quoted liberally from the original Bengali-language editions of the pamphlets and provided English translations in support of my contention that these pamphlets were finely crafted rhetorical pieces written mainly by erudite men and that this propaganda had the desired impact on audiences (citing additional evidence in chapters 1, 3, and 4, especially pp. 91 and 97, 52 n. 26, and 118–119 nn. 12, 19, and 20). The author is at liberty to disagree with this assessment, as are the readers of this book, but the statement that my assessment suffers from a lack of evidence and follows from my overt sympathy for my subjects (1877) is tendentious. In my view, a historian writing in the present who is well versed in the language and sensitive to context is quite equipped to find literary and rhetorical merit in pamphlets written a century ago without being accused of indulging in hyperbole and of abandoning the space of "serious scholarship." I could have used literary criticism to support my arguments, but would that have made my source material any less "scriptable" and my assessment more "objective" and less inflected by perspective?

The reviewer informs us that writers and intellectuals exist in "historically grounded contexts" and their "contributions may be understood outside of the national question alone." No doubt. But has it occurred to the reviewer that a narrative that deals with pamphlet propaganda disseminated by revolutionary nationalists who lived and died for the nation may be framed, quite logically, within the context of the national question? And it is my awareness of historical context that prompted me to reopen the debate on the "communal" outlook of the revolutionary nationalist movement in Bengal through my analysis of the blind spots in early-twentieth-century pamphlet propaganda (chap. 2, pp. 57–86). My references to the works of scholars like R. K. Ray, Sumit Sarkar, and Dipesh Chakrabarty may appear to the reviewer as a reliance on dated historiography, but in my opinion the works of these scholars are indispensable to the serious study of the content and contours of the debate as it has unfolded in historical literature.

I have drawn attention to and explored the reasons for the absence of Muslims from the realm of pamphlet propaganda and the revolutionary nationalist movement in general and also commented on the consequences of this absence for the political life of Bengal. The under-representation of Muslims in the narrative follows from the logic of the subject. Under the circumstances, the comment that "the erasure of Bengali Muslims" from my work is a consequence of a "lack of distance from [my] subject" ("Hindu" propaganda?) is downright disingenuous. That a scholar who repeatedly comments on the datedness of my work should himself be prone to reason in terms of such outdated and stereotypical binaries is ironic!

The reviewer draws attention to a sentence in my work that appears to contrast a monolithic "tradition" with a monolithic "modernity" and comments that this is a noticeable marker of my approach. I accept that this sentence is faultily constructed. I also hold that with the rise and spread of nationalism, the history of Bengal entered a critical "conjuncture" or turning point, of which, admittedly, there were many.

The reviewer's premise appears to be that this book can have nothing of interest to give its readers because it does not take connected histories of South Asia as its frame of reference. From this follows his failure to engage with the conceptual arguments and the nuances of the debates contained in the book. This results in a review which, for all its lecturing on how to write good history, gives short shrift to the principles of writing a professional review for an academic journal.

Shukla Sanyal
Kolkata, India

Neilesh Bose responds:

Shukla Sanyal writes that I "peremptorily shoot down" her "methods of using source material as evidence," that I "airily dismiss the book" because "it does not take connected histories of South Asia as its frame of reference." With all due respect to Sanyal, these claims distort my review, which does not dismiss the book out of hand, as I appreciate her detailed research, which draws on a variety of original sources. However, my review does raise questions about the book's conceptual framework, and its place within the historiography of Indian nationalism.

First, Sanyal claims I critique her use of "conventional source materials" such as pamphlets, newspaper files, memoirs, letters, contemporary writings, and judicial records. I have no objection to her using these sources, but simply citing from, and quoting verbatim, chunks of pamphlets is, in my view, methodologically "conventional." My point about hyperbole derives from the fact that the author has not introduced any discernible method to interpret these sources in any way other than laudatory, and as a reflection of a (presumably positive) nationalist mind at work. Sanyal's claim in her response to my review that the "pamphlets were finely crafted rhetorical pieces written mainly by erudite men and that this propaganda had the desired impact on audiences" only confirms my original assessment. Finely crafted rhetorical pieces written by erudite men they may be, but historical analysis requires contextualization within some broader framework. The book does not address the question of how the allegedly fine rhetoric and form of the pamphlets enhance our understanding of Indian nationalism in Bengal, much less modern political culture in South Asia.

Sanyal's response also suggests that I question her ability to assess "the fine literary and rhetorical merit" of the pamphlets. I did not in fact question the author's credentials in this regard. However, I could not find in the book a reasonable assessment of their historical significance beyond the declaration (and reiteration) of their greatness. Furthermore, on the question of the erasure of Muslims, it is true that Sanyal mentions this point herself. However, she does not use this insight anywhere in her analysis of the rhetoric and form of the pamphlets, the politics of the

authors, and the broader political culture. Since the issue of Muslim social and political history in Bengal has long been an important element of the Bengal historiography (and admittedly, a preoccupation of my own research and therefore a bias in my critical apparatus), I felt compelled to mention the absence of any analysis of this point. Readers of the book can make up their own minds about the significance of this omission, and about my broader critical understanding of the book's goals and conclusions.

Neilesh Bose
University of Victoria

To the Editors:

I am appreciative of the positive commentary by reviewer Sylvia L. Hilton on my book *Adventurism and Empire: The Struggle for Mastery in the Louisiana-Florida Borderlands, 1762–1803* (*AHR*, February 2016, 230–231). The review is certainly judicious in stating that my book "focuses on the ways in which individuals negotiated their own interests, social identities, and political loyalties amid the uncertainties created by imperial policies, colonial agents, frontier disputes, Indian negotiations, and international war." Hilton aptly indicates that James Wilkinson looms large in my book, though she then focuses on eight largely unsuccessful colonial projectors who, in her critique, "do not even merit a mention" in my book's "analytical index." Readers should know that four of these men—David Carroll Franks, Agustín Macarty, Baron von Steuben, and Peter Paulus—are discussed in the book, even while omitted from an index that is thoroughly cross-referenced if not entirely comprehensive. (Here I take responsibility as the index's composer.)

More to the point, *Adventurism and Empire* explains that von Steuben and Paulus proposed large-scale German colonization in the Lower Mississippi Valley, thereby echoing Spanish officials' preferences for such immigrants. Franks and Macarty are considered in my book as men putting forward Irish colonizing proposals—the first plan airing the idea of colonization from Ireland itself, and the second by Irish Catholics already resident in the United States (pp. 155–158). The Spanish court rejected both plans as unduly costly and impolitic, especially after the crown expended enormous sums in the transportation and settlement of some sixteen hundred Acadian immigrants in 1785–1786. Hilton might have commented on my book's examination of generally understudied though important colonial promoters and schemers who occupy a significant place in *Adventurism and Empire*. Here I include Montfort Browne, George Morgan, Thomas and Anthony Hutchins, Oliver Pollock, Barthélemi Tardiveau, Thomas Green, James O'Fallon, and Daniel Clark, Jr. No reviewer could be expected to treat most of those individuals, let alone all, but there should be at least some reference in the review to William Augustus Bowles, whose portrait is on the book's cover and who occupies a major role as "an adventurer in all the principal meanings of his era"—a man who "was not only a freebooter, but also a colonial and commercial promoter" whose "constant rallying cry" was "free trade" (pp. 259–260). Moreover, my book offers a novel interpretation of James Wilkinson, whom I portray not simply as a "scoundrel" or an "artist in treason," as reflected in the standard biographies cited by Hilton. Wilkinson is instead examined in my book as a frontier power-broker exemplifying "the imperial self," and aspiring "to place his own person at the center of a new continental order" by shaping Louisiana's relations with Kentucky and the Trans-Appalachian West through ties of mutual "interest" (p. 137). Wilkinson's maneuvers typify adventurist strategies "linking coastal to interior zones"—one of my book's major themes (p. 3). If considered in depth, *Adventurism and Empire* may fulfill and perhaps exceed Hilton's description of its being a "useful book" and "likely to be a stimulus to further study."

David Narrett
University of Texas at Arlington

Sylvia L. Hilton does not wish to respond.

To the Editors:

Although I appreciate the review in the *AHR*, in his review of my book *For Fear of an Elective King: George Washington and the Presidential Title Controversy of 1789* (*AHR*, February 2016, 233–234), Benjamin Kleinerman confused Patrick Henry with Richard Henry Lee. Richard Henry Lee's name should be substituted for Patrick Henry's in the explanation of "the interesting and paradoxical alliance that developed between high Federalists like Adams who thought the honorifics essential to enhancing and preserving the strength of the executive and anti-Federalists like Patrick Henry [Richard Henry Lee] who worried most about the 'aristocratic' body, the Senate" (234) and in the other references to Henry [Lee]. In my book, I only mentioned Patrick Henry briefly, in his capacity as Virginia's governor, where he was addressed as "His Excellency." It is Richard Henry Lee, senator from Virginia and a staunch Antifederalist during ratification, who sided with John Adams in the title campaign and played a major role in the presidential title controversy and in my book. As I wrote, "their unease about a government of the powerful few and overriding fear of the corrupt dominance of Senate elites over a weak federal executive formed the crux of the push for a strong presidential title" (4). I would appreciate a correction and hope the digital version of the review can be amended to correct this problem.

Kathleen Bartoloni-Tuazon
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ERRATUM

As detailed in the letter above, in the second paragraph on p. 234 of the February 2016 issue, Richard Henry Lee was mistakenly identified as Patrick Henry. The error has been corrected in the online version of the review.

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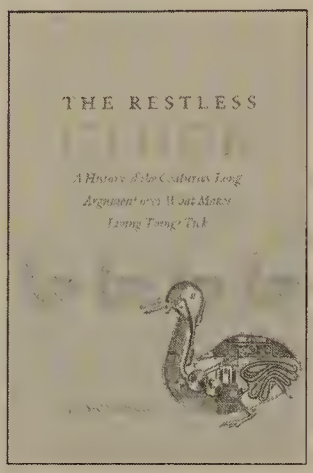

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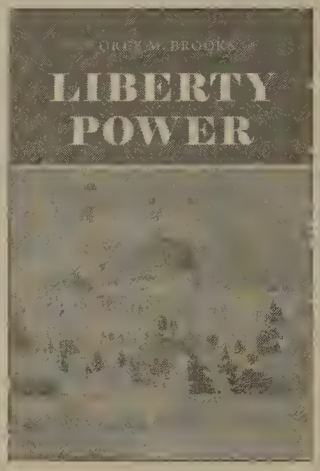

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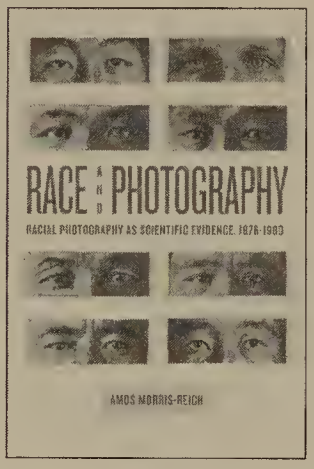

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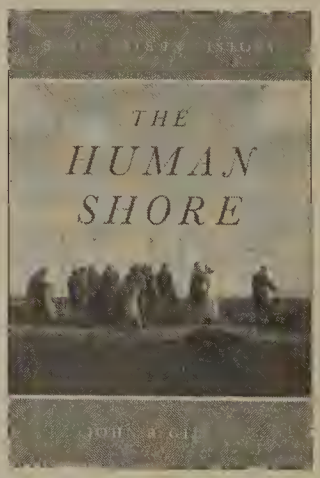

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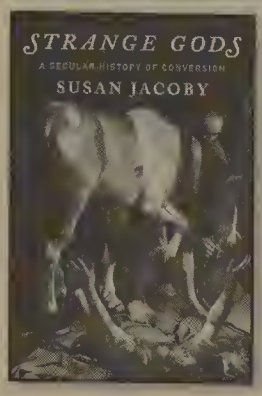

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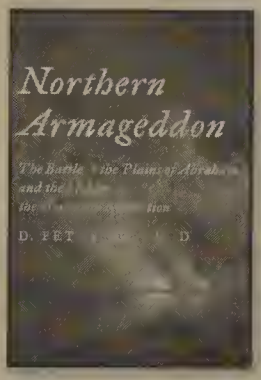

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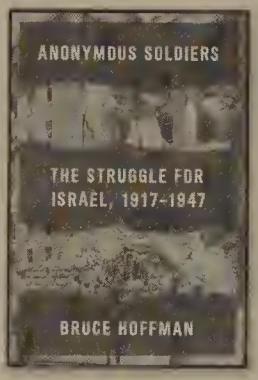

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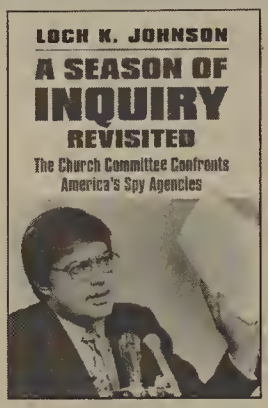

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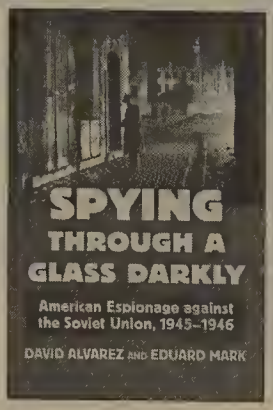

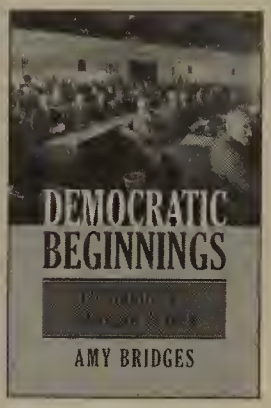

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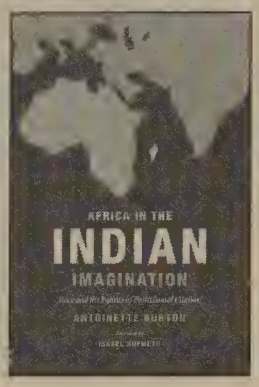

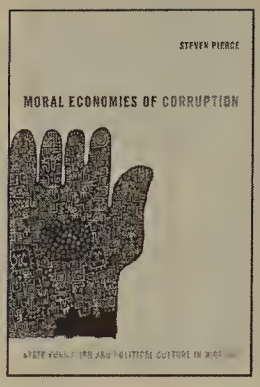

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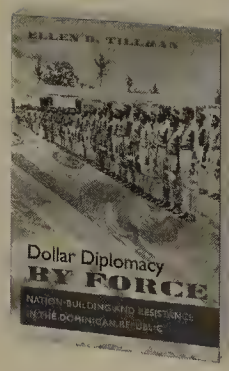

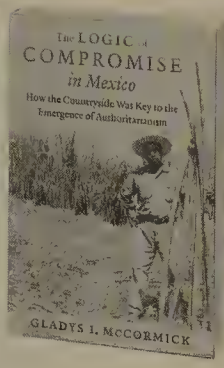

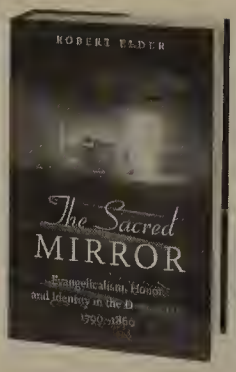

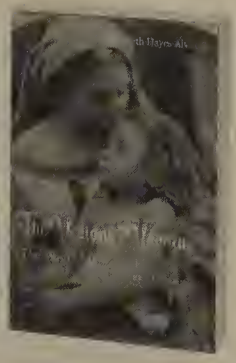

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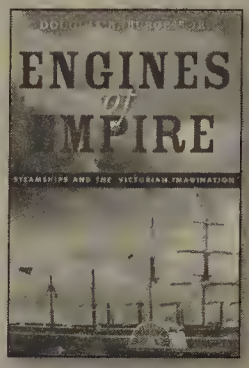

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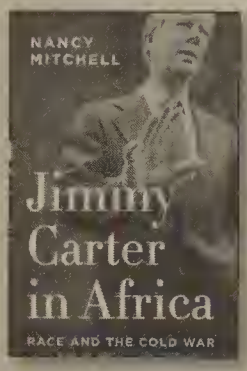

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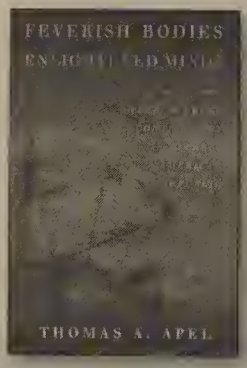

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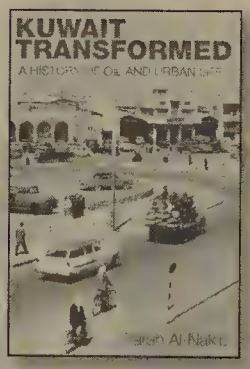

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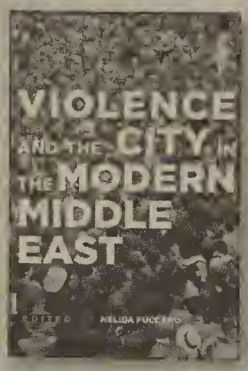

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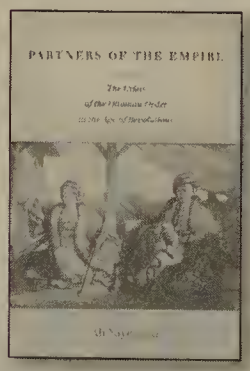

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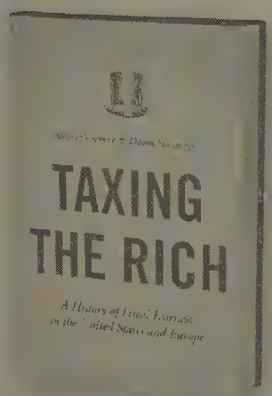

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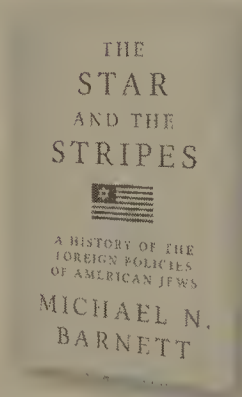

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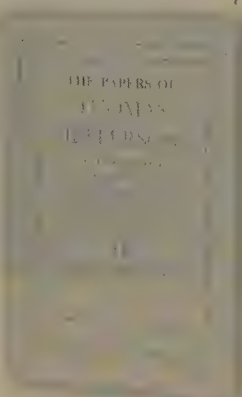

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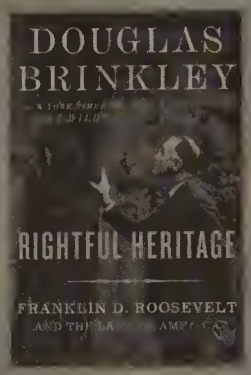

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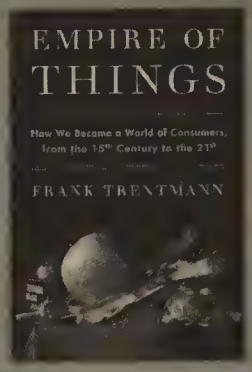

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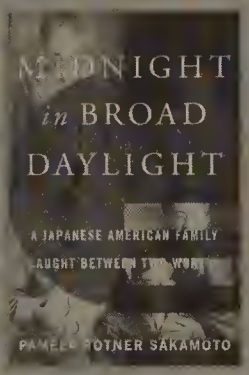

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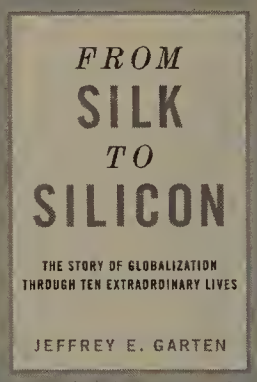

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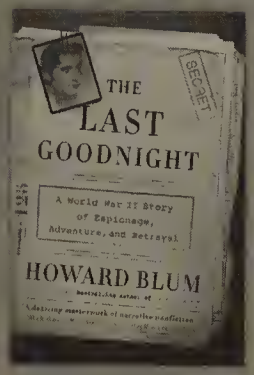

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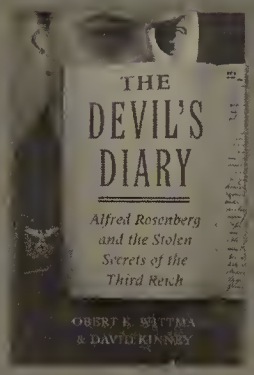

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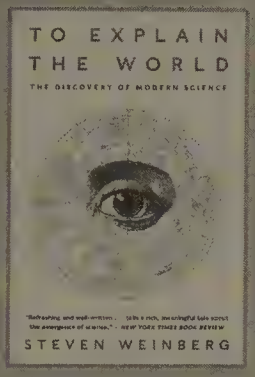

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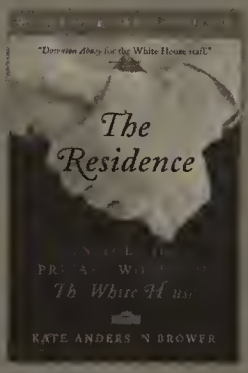

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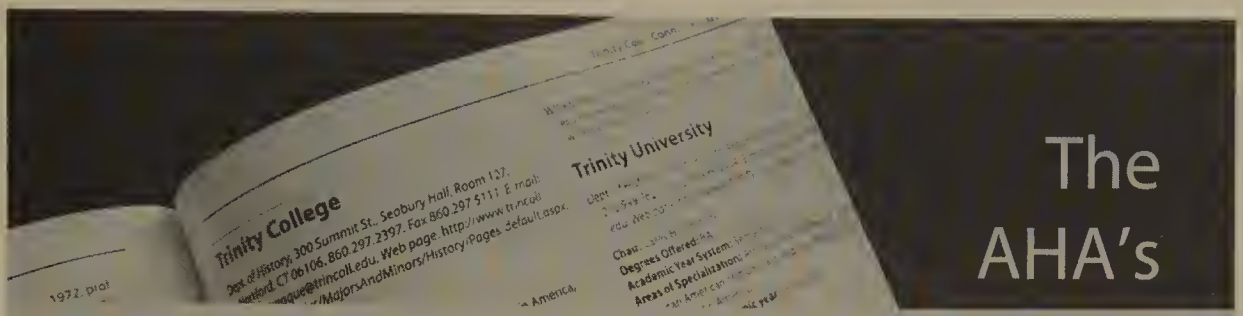

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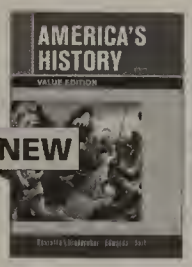

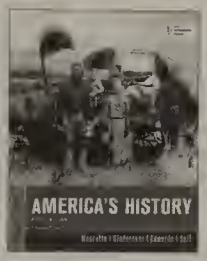

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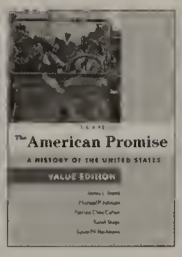

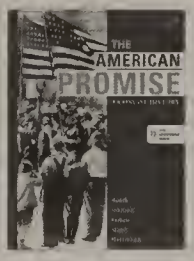

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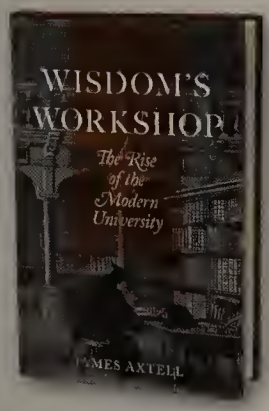

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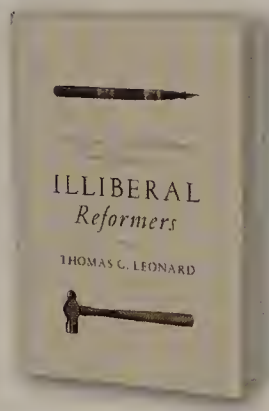

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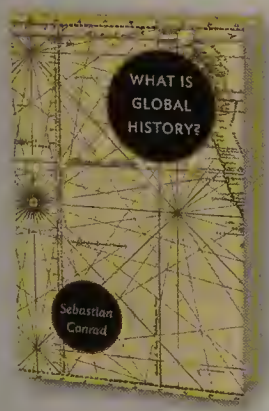

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